OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS

Volume XXII

COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
FRED J. HEER
1913

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Ohio Valley Historical Association—Fifth Annual Meeting	1-125
Autobiography of Thomas Ewing. CLEMENT L. MARTZOLFF	126-204
The Ohio Frontier in 1812. REV. BENJAMIN MORTIMER	205-266
Dedication of the Logan Elm. MISS MAY LOWE	267-307
Marking the Old "Abolition Holes." FELIX J. KOCH	308-318
Fort Hill, Indian Cemetry. By FELIX J. KOCH	319-325
The Evolution of the Ohio-Erie Boundary Line. REGINALD C. McGRANE	326-339
Protection of Prehistoric Mounds and Village Sites	340
The Early French Settlements on the Great Lakes. JOHN M. BULKLEY	341-348
The Tammany Society in Ohio. SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS	349-370
Old Fort Sandoski of 1745. G. FREDERICK WRIGHT	371-380
Speech of Richard Douglas, Esq., of Chillicothe	381-408
Fort McArthur Memorial Tablet	409-418
Unveiling Fort Recovery Monument	419-454
Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society	455-469
Editorialana—E. O. RANDALL	
Myron T. Herrick	470
James E. Campbell	471
J. W. Yeagley	472
Albert Douglas	473
Meeting of the American Association of Museums, 1913	473-476
Notes on Perry's Victory	476-480
Reuben Gold Thwaites	549
Thomas J. Brown	550
Abraham J. Baughman	551
Rise of Medical Colleges in the Ohio Valley. OTTO JUETTNER	481-491
Andrew Poe's Encounter with Indians	492-499
Gen. Clark's Campaign, 1780. Official Letters	500-501
Bowman's Campaign of 1779	502-519
Logan's Campaign, 1786	520-521
Major George Adams. GEO. A. KATZENBERGER	522-542
Letters of Senator H. B. Payne of Ohio	543-548
Index Vol. XXII	553-567

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

Replica of the "New Orleans" 2
Mr. Nicholas J. Roosevelt, Mrs. Lydia Roosevelt and J. Montgomery Roosevelt Schuyler, living (1912). Grandson of Nicholas Roosevelt (Group) 4
Fac Simile of Monument of Abel Sherman 128
Millstone used in Wolf Creek Mills 136
Thomas Ewing 147
Wolf Creek Mills 160
Site of Wolf Creek Mills 170
Logan, the Mingo 268
Map of Locality of Logan Elm 270
Bronze Plate on Boggs Monument 272
Elm Tree, showing Mound in Front, etc 273
Congo Creek which passes close to Logan Elm 274
Logan Elm as treated by the Tree Surgeon 278
Land embraced in Logan Elm Park 281
Logan Elm and crowd of spectators 283
First arrival at scene of celebration 285
Crowd with platform and speakers 286
Boggs Mounment with Indian Party and Escort from Columbus 290
Captain Michael Cresaps Stone, Trinity Church Yard, New York 299
Logan Elm—Diameter, etc 307
A Convenient Landing Place 309
The Start of the Trail and the Old Slave 310
Raising the Light 311
The Landing Mounment 312
The Ferry at Ripley 313
The Wharf Boat 314
The Rankin Homestead 315
One of the Tablets 317
Fort Hill Indian Cemetery. Felix J. Koch 319
On the Mounds above the River 320
A Mound in the Forest 321
Part of Mitchell's Map, 1755 372

PAGE

Part of Lewis Evans' Map, 1755 374
The Sandusky-Scioto Water Course, connecting Portage 376
Bourne's Survey (1820) of Sandusky River 378
Richard Douglas 381
Pioneer Soldier on Ft. Recovery Monument 419
Fort Recovery Monument 454
Myron T. Herrick 470
James E. Campbell 471
J. W. Yeagle 472
Albert Douglas 473
View of the Encampment and Battle Grounds 525
Battle of Miami or Falling Timbers 539
Grave of George Adams 540
Thomas J. Brown 550
Abraham J. Baughman 551

OHIO
Archaeological and Historical
QUARTERLY.

THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Fifth Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 30-November 1, 1911.

THE "NEW ORLEANS" CENTENNIAL.

Robert Fulton, who had profited by the experiments and experiences of John Fitch and James Rumsey a score or more years before, made a successful trial with the steamboat Clermont on the Hudson River in 1807. The success of the Clermont on the New York river inspired her owners, Fulton, Livingston, and Roosevelt, with the belief that the western rivers, the Ohio and Mississippi, would furnish another field for a similar profitable venture. So they sent the junior partner of the firm, Nicholas J. Roosevelt, to Pittsburgh to investigate the matter. He had just been married and took his bride with him. The young couple had a novel honeymoon, journeying on a house boat to New Orleans. During this voyage Mr. Roosevelt made many observations of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, their currents and difficulties in the way of navigation. He found no encouragement from any person during his entire voyage. Everyone predicted that while a steamboat might navigate the placid waters of the Hudson and might perhaps go down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers at a great risk, yet she would never be able to run back against their swift currents. However, so confident was he of success that on his way to New Orleans he secured several coal mines along the Ohio from which he expected to supply the steamboat he intended to bring along later. Reaching New

Orleans, the couple took ship for New York where, upon hearing his report, his partners, Robert Fulton and Robert R. Livingston, commissioned Mr. Roosevelt to return to Pittsburgh and build a steamboat. This boat was launched on March 17, 1811, near the present site of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad depot in Pittsburgh.

VOYAGE OF ORIGINAL NEW ORLEANS.

On October 20, 1811, the boat, which was called the New Orleans, left Pittsburgh carrying Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt, as passengers. Mrs. Roosevelt's friends besought her not to make

Replica of the "New Orleans."

the voyage because of its alleged great dangers and the disasters which it was generally predicted would overtake the venture, but she gave no heed to these petitions and made the entire voyage to New Orleans. When Louisville was reached it was found that there was not sufficient water for the boat to pass the falls, so she steamed back up the river to Cincinnati. This feat created a great sensation as it proved that the boat could run up the Ohio almost as easily as she could run down. The voyage was replete with sensations. There was a comet visible at the time and when the New Orleans steamed into Louisville near midnight the unwonted noise it made caused the report that the

heavenly visitor had fallen into the Ohio. A little later, while the boat was still on the Ohio occurred the great New Madrid earthquake. When the New Orleans reached the stricken town of New Madrid some of the surviving inhabitants thought she was an evil spirit while others sought to take refuge on her. One day hostile Indians in canoes pursued the New Orleans but were easily distanced. That night Mr. Roosevelt was aroused by cries which he thought portented an attack by the savages but were caused by the discovery that the boat was on fire. The flames were extinguished and the New Orleans finally reached New Orleans in safety, bringing with her a new passenger in the shape of a child born to Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt during the voyage.

The New Orleans never returned to Pittsburgh, being used for a packet boat between Natchez and New Orleans. Once she was sunk and finally damaged but was rasied and rebuilt.

HISTORY OF THE CELEBRATION.

The idea of celebrating the centennial of the beginning of steamboat navigation on the western rivers was introduced by Professor A. B. Hulbert of Marietta College at a meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association at Cincinnati in 1909. Dr. William J. Holland, Director of the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, a member of that Association, and also of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, mentioned the matter to the Secretary of the latter organization, Burd S. Patterson, who at once warmly espoused the idea. As a result a committee of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, with Dr. Holland as Chairman, W. H. Stevenson Vice Chairman, and Mr. Patterson Secretary, was appointed by the late T. L. Rodgers, then President of the Society, to co-operate with the Ohio Valley Historical Association in planning the celebration. At a banquet given by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on February 17, 1910, at the Monongahela House, Pittsburgh, within a stone's throw of where the original New Orleans was launched, Dr. I. J. Cox of Cincinnati, the then President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, spoke earnestly for

Mr. Nicholas J. Roosevelt, Mrs. Lydia Latrobe Roosevelt and J. Montgomery Roosevelt Schuyler, living (1912) grandson of Nicholas Roosevelt.

the proposed celebration as did also Dr. Holland and others, with the result that the Society unanimously endorsed the idea.

The matter was presented to the congress of historical societies held at Indianapolis in December, 1910, by Mr. Patterson and Professor Hulbert and was approved. It was agreed that a committee on the celebration should be formed with Mayor William A. Magee of Pittsburgh, a member of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania as general chairman; that there should be a literary program committee whose chairman should be Professor Archer Butler Hulbert of Marietta College, President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and also a Pittsburgh local executive committee whose chairman should be Wm. H. Stevenson, now the President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania but at that time chairman of its executive committee. At a banquet of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania held March (1911), to celebrate the centennial of the launching of the New Orleans, President Hulbert and others advocated the celebration. One of the speakers at this banquet was Hon. Theodore E. Burton, United States Senator from Ohio and Chairman of the National Internal Waterways Commission.

PITTSBURGH CITY COUNCIL ACTS.

In July, 1911, upon the recommendation of Mayor Magee, and with the strong approval of City Controller Eustace S. Morrow and Mr. A. J. Kelly, Jr., then chairman of the Finance Committee, the Pittsburgh Council appropriated fifteen thousand dollars for the celebration. At the same time council appropriated a similar sum for the entertainment of the National Rivers and Harbors Committee. These two acts showed that Pittsburgh's new council of nine business men was fully alive to the advantages and needs of waterway improvement.

Mayor Magee appointed an Executive Committee to take charge of the celebration. This committee, at the suggestion of Secretary Patterson, approved of the idea of building a replica of the New Orleans and having her repeat the voyage of her prototype. It was originally proposed to have the celebration begin on October 27th, the one hundredth anniversary of the sail-

ing of the original New Orleans from Pittsburgh, but in order to secure the presence of President William H. Taft, the dates for the celebration were changed to October 30th, 31st, and November 1st, 1911.

The New Orleans was assigned the post of honor in the great steamboat parade scheduled as the chief feature of the celebration on the afternoon of October 31st. Following the close of the celebration at Pittsburgh, the New Orleans, on the morning of November 2nd, commenced her voyage.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW BOAT.

The New Orleans is, as nearly as possible, an exact replica of her prototype of one hundred years ago. She is 138 feet long, by 26½ feet wide and 7 feet deep. She draws 2 feet of water; she is a sidewheeler propelled by two 12 x 24 separate reversible engines of 160 combined horse power; she has two flue boilers each 22 feet long by 36 inches in diameter; she has also two masts for sails which the projectors of the original New Orleans felt might be required in an emergency. Her construction was rapid. Her plans were approved on August 1, 1911, and keel laid August 5th, the launching taking place on August 31st. She was christened by Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth on October 31st, in the presence of President William H. Taft and other distinguished men. Mrs. Longworth is a great grand niece of Nicholas J. Roosevelt, one of the owners of the original New Orleans; ex-President Theodore Roosevelt being a grand nephew of the builder of the original boat. Among the guests of the occasion were Mrs. Alice Crary Sutcliffe, a descendant of Robert Fulton, and Rev. C. S. Bullock, a relative of Robert Livingston.

The first session of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held in the Lecture Room, Carnegie Library, Monday afternoon, October 30th, 1911. The Chairman, Prof. Henry B. Temple, of Washington and Jefferson College, being introduced by the President of the Association, Prof. Archer Butler Hulbert of Marietta College.

The first paper "The Influence of the Ohio River in Westward Expansion," by President Edwin Erle Sparks, of Penn-

sylvania State College, excellently fulfilled its purpose of forming a general introduction to the sessions of the three-days meeting.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE OHIO RIVER IN WESTERN EXPANSION.

By Edwin Erle Sparks,
President Pennsylvania State College.

Of the five great continents on the globe, three have been conquered, have been opened and have been civilized within the span of recorded history. It is possible, therefore, to make a comprehensive study of the point of attack and the progress of the march across the continents of North and South America and of Africa. Points of resistance and points of difference are found in making such comparison. Naturally the point of attack is from the coast, and the line of march is inland. But here the similarity ceases; natural and local characteristics begin to show their force in variations. The general line of progress in Africa has been from the North to the South, and a counter movement from the South to the North, with a side line from the west. The main direction in South America has been from the Southeast to the Northwest, and from the East to the West, with a slight progress from the North toward the South; but in either of these continents has there been a general, marked and definite line of advance.

North America, on the contrary, has ever maintained one line of advance, one direction of progress—from the East to the West. "Hold Westward, Pilot" cried the persistent Columbus, and in that confident command he gave the watchword for four hundred years of North American advance. "Westward the course of empire takes its way" said the equally persistent Bishop Berkeley in his missionary vision of christianizing the heathen in the new world. "Westward lies the domain of England" said the ambitious Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, in attempting to establish the claim of his king to the Trans-Alleghenian lands. "Go West, young man," said Horace Greeley, the sage of the New York Tribune, in attempting to find a remedy for crowded conditions and social unrest in the settled Eastern States. "Our manifest destiny is from the Atlantic to the Pacific" said William Henry Seward, in calling up the vision of the Western expansion, which gave to our domain, eventually, both Oregon and Alaska.

Omitting as insignificant the detached settlements of the Spanish and Russians on the Pacific Coast, the conquest of the North American

continent in Canada, the United States and Mexico has been accomplished by a due East to West movement. That of Mexico preceded the others because of the easy conditions of life; that of Canada and the United States progressed with slower, but almost equal pace where climatic conditions were more severe. The progress of the Dominion, hindered for a brief space by the Great Lakes lying directly in the path, kept pace in the latter days with the States, and the two arrived upon the Pacific coast almost simultaneously so far as transportation, cultivation and the spread of civilization are concerned.

In his enthusiasm over the continual advance of the American people, De Toqueville, the French philosopher, declared more than seventy years ago that they seemed to be driven onward by the relentless hand of God. No conquest of a continent was ever made in so brief a period. The American frontier of Daniel Boone, pushed across the Allegheny Mountains to Kentucky, in the decade contemporary with the Revolutionary War; adventurous Americans were pushing the French traders out of the Illinois country during the decade following; the next ten years saw the annexation of the vast trans-Mississippi tract, known as "Louisiana;" the next saw the opening of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to steam navigation; the next witnessed the founding of the City of Chicago; the next the opening of the Santa Fe Trail. During the following decade the territory of Utah was established, and the next brought in the State of California; within the second decade following the Pacific Railway was completed, and ten years later the available public lands had been exhausted, and Indian reservations were being opened to satisfy the demand for homes in the West. The conquest of the continent was now complete.

What caused this rapid advance, this onward march as if toward a definitely determined goal? Many reasons have been advanced, probably all true; but this gathering calls for the consideration of only one. We are met here on this notable occasion, and are devoting almost a week of festivities to a proper celebration of one factor in this national progress—the influence of waterways. To this topic are confined the many worthy addresses, of which this is simply the forecast.

It is most fitting, my friends, that this celebration should take place at Pittsburgh, at the headwaters of the stream which conduced most largely to the westward expansion, which lay directly along the path of progress for many hundreds of miles. Pittsburgh shares with the Cumberland Gap the title of "Gateway to the West." To it turned thousands of hearts, dissatisfied with conditions in the older states, sublime in the courage with which they faced unknown dangers, ideal in the fortitude with which they gave themselves to the task of planting a continent. Welcome to their nostrils was the smell of the freshly upturned virgin soil; soothing to them was the coolness of the primeval

forests' depths; inviting to their turgid muscles was the feel of the axe's handle, or the horns of the plow. The rivers were the ready made highways for these pioneers.

Geographically, the Ohio River holds a place in American History which none can dispute. Its only possible rival as an East and West thoroughfare is the St. Lawrence; but the mouth of the St. Lawrence lies far toward the North; it is blocked by ice during a large part of the year; its course is marked by rapids and cataracts; and in the formative days of American travel it was held by a hostile people. Its head was a series of inland seas, which are now become of inestimable value to commerce in the use of steamships, but which were dangerous and forbidding to the flat-boatmen and the rafter.

The Ohio River, on the contrary, traversed a valley of surpassing beauty. It lay guarded on either hand by an expanse of American territory; its climatic surroundings were ideal during a large part of the year; its drainage basin was covered with timbered tracts which insured a good stage of water. Toward the East its head waters were almost touched by the noble Potomac on the South, or by the broad expanse of Lake Erie on the North; toward the West it found opening in the great artery of the Mississippi, which traversed the body of the continent. Scarcely a mile of its banks was not fertile, and upon either hand, stretching away into the interior, lay thousands upon thousands of square miles of territory inviting to the settler. Numerous tributaries afforded ready access to these lands, whilst waterfalls were sufficiently numerous to supply power for converting grain into flour and forest trees into timber.

Just above the mouth of the Ohio was the mouth of the Missouri, and here transportation found another ready made road penetrating the far Northwest with a tributary which was navigable for flatboats to the heart of the Kansas prairies. Thus, in the providence of God, American expansion found a chain of waterways, extending almost in a straight line, with a few variations, from the Atlantic Ocean to a point midway of the continent. This great chain varies only a few degrees of latitude from beginning to end; it is not paralleled in any continent; and it is approached only in the Nile and Niger of Africa. If the length of the Amazon is considered, climatic conditions must also be taken into account. Here, indeed, was the stage set for the most thrilling drama in the mind of the historian, and scholar—the making of a nation.

The marked growth of the City of Pittsburgh, we are likely to attribute to the coal and iron industry, and to forget the importance of her situation at the vantage point of internal transportation. She was the great factor in working out the question of internal improvements, and plays a consequent part in the larger question of the loose construction of the American Constitution and the adoption of a

paternalistic policy by the national government. These potent matters, extending to the very foundation of our national fabric, are closely connected with the history of the navigation of the Ohio River, and are to form topics for discussion during these sessions.

One hundred years have brought vast changes to this City. It is doubtful to-day whether French workmen would have to be imported for shipyard laborers in this vicinity, or whether it would be necessary to send to Philadelphia for a steam engine and transport it in pieces over the mountains, to be assembled here, in order to propel a vessel, as was done one hundred years ago; nor would the appellation of "*the* steamboat" be sufficient to designate a particular craft at present. A century ago, "*the* steamboat" started for New Orleans; today scores of steamboats depart for various parts. But in the midst of this prosperity let us take time to cast the mind back to primitive days, and to do honor to those brave hearts who had the prophetic vision and the lofty courage to bring things to pass.

I will not dwell upon the specific part played by the Ohio River and by Pittsburg; these will be brought out in succeeding papers. Mine only is the part to give a comprehensive glance at the situation; to indicate, if possible, the significance of this celebration and its relation to the whole of the nation's history. In this sense I must congratulate the local historical societies upon their initiative, energy and foresight in calling attention to the true significance of this occasion, to remind the public that immaterial as well as material factors are important in life, and to call our attention to the fact that a people which does not reverence its past fails in its higher aspects of life no matter how prosperous it may be in its financial interests. I must also congratulate the energy and foresight of the public spirited men of Pittsburgh—the former and the present "Gateway to the West"—for supporting the historical aspects of this celebration and recalling to our minds the glorious past and the stimulating deeds of those unspectacular, unsung, and sometimes unhonored heroes of the past—the frontier pioneers of America.

President Sparks was followed by Prof. Dyess of the University of Pittsburgh.

WASHINGTON, PITTSBURGH AND INLAND NAVIGATION.

By Prof. Dyess.

Washington, Pittsburgh and Inland Navigation! Such is my subject, made up, you may think of diverse parts, with scarcely any relation, the one with the other. It is not so. Washington in a very

true sense is the Father of Pittsburgh and in an equally true sense, is the Father of Inland Navigation and the fortunes of Pittsburgh and Inland Navigation, as illustrated by this anniversary, are inextricably joined together.

Washington is the Father of Pittsburgh. It is the good fortune of Pittsburgh to have many illustrious names associated with the first chapters of her history. For this spot, upon which we stand, Pitt planned, Washington fought, Wolfe fell. No more illustrious three can be found in the long story of our race. But the connection between Washington and Pittsburgh is a more intimate one—a nearer and dearer relation than between Pittsburgh and Wolfe or even that between the city and him, from whom it gets its great name. Pittsburgh was a child, which gave great occasion for expenditure of time and energy; of brain sweat and body sweat, and was dear accordingly. For this place, as the key of the empire, which Washington foresaw, in the West, he endured toil and trouble, suffered hardships, risked life and limb. Around this city his most sanguine hopes for himself and his country clustered. No other city—not New York nor Philadelphia, nor Boston nor the fair capital on the Potomac held such a place in his thoughts and feelings. May we not then, I ask, regard him, who was the father of his country as in some special sense the father of Pittsburgh?

Washington is the father of inland navigation. I might expand that statement and say that he is the father of inland communication. Directly or indirectly, he is associated with every form of transportation to or from Pittsburgh until we reach the automobile. After the most primitive fashion, he followed the trail of the buffalo and the deer, the red savage and the white hunter. Again in 1755, he comes over the rough road, which the skill of Gordon Braddock's engineer has provided. In 1758, because of his knowledge and experience, he is a somewhat protesting but great part of the Forbes expedition. In 1784, he makes that noteworthy expedition to find a possible route for canal or portage between the head waters of the Ohio and Potomac. By his anticipation of the success of "mechanical contrivances" in overcoming the current of great streams, and by the help and encouragement he gave to Rumsey may we not associate his name with the event we commemorate today? The Potomac and James companies largely failed, but their very failure were the first chapters in the history of the National Road from Cumberland to Brownsville; of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal; of the Baltimore and Ohio R. R., and, with the late Prof. Herbert Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, we say that Washington is the father of each of them. All inland communication owes much to Washington. "For fifty years," says Professor Hulbert, with reference to Washington's letter to Governor Harrison in 1784, "until President Jackson vetoed the Maysville Road bill, the

impetus of this appeal, made in 1784, was of vital force in forming our National economic policies." May we not then speak of Washington of the father of inland navigation in this country? But of this I will speak later.

The attitude of the American people toward George Washington during the last 100 years has been two-fold, and may be summed up in the two words—deification and disparagement. The deification arose, partly from the natural tendency of every age and time to magnify its founders and heroes; partly because of the strange sensitiveness of the earlier American historians, which led them to correct whatsoever in Washington they thought unworthy the father of his country. Washington's spelling, grammar, idiomatic language, idiosyncrasies—all suffer charge or are improved off the earth. The result is a wooden image, a lay figure, an Olympian colossus without human weaknesses because without humanity. The worst of this is that it leads by a natural process to the reaction of disparagement. We are told that Washington, because of social position, because of a rich wife, because of the political necessity that commander-in-chief should come from Virginia, was made a general; that he won the contest rather through the strange inaction of British generals than through his own ability; that in the presidency, he ruled through Jefferson's and Hamilton's aid; that he was, in short, a worthy, uninteresting, commonplace sort of person, who had fortune thrust upon him rather than attained it by his own labors of genius. The first view is summed up by Mark Twain. He says that he (Twain) is a greater man than Washington. Washington could not tell a lie; Mark could—but wouldn't. The second is illustrated by the reply of old John Burns, whom Washington is persuading to sell to the U. S.—"Who would you have been if you hadn't married the rich Widow Custis?" The first robs us of the man; of that which makes Washington bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh; of that which makes his character and career both an inspiration and example. The second robs us of the hero, and woe to that nation which is without heroes, without ideals, without achievement and therefore hastening to decay.

I am not here to present a brief for Washington's greatness as a whole. Of the famous or hackneyed saying: "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen," the last part has been untrue for more than fifty years. The service rendered has been a mere lip service, a respectable cant without knowledge and therefore without heart. As to phrase "first in war," the matter is to be decided by the expert. He has pronounced Washington a military genius. Or the matter is to be determined for the mass of men—those who are not experts by the war Washington impresses himself upon our imagination, the mental picture we are compelled to draw of him.. Let me in a few words taken from Professor Trent, of Columbia University,

tell you what that would be if only we had adequate knowledge of this, the first and greatest American. Professor Trent says: "I think rather of the Bereker rashness and daring displayed at Ft. Duquesne and Monmouth and I recall William the Conqueror at Hastings; I see Washington cross the Delaware, I see him at Valley Forge and I recall Hannibal upon the Alps; I see him turn a ragged band of suspicious New Englanders into trained soldiers ready to die for him and I recall no less a man than Caesar; I see him put down the Conway cabal and reduce Congress, to do his bidding, and I recall Marlborough; I see him quell Lee with his fiery eye and biting words and I somehow recall Cromwell; I hear him, later in life, burst forth into grief and imprecation at the failure of St. Clair's expedition and I recall Augustus Caesar; I see him in his tent, brooding over the treason of Arnold and weighing the claims of mercy and justice in the case of Andre and I recall only his own imperial self."

As to the phrase "first in peace," the man who picked the brains of Jefferson and Hamilton—they were worth picking and Washington did it as a master, rejecting what he would—who recognized the unifying force in National life of the American University; who foresaw this great empire in the West as no other man of his day and generation did—not to mention a hundred other things—has a preeminent claim to statesmanship. But it is of another aspect of that phrase "first in peace" that I wish to speak.

It is a truism to say that the larger part of American brains and brawn, energy and enthusiasm has gone into the material expansion and upbuilding of the country. Of necessity it has been so. It is but an application of the great law of supply and demand. There were mountains to level, forests to fell, rivers to clear, canals to dig, steamboats to invent, perfect and build. It is a mark of virility not decadence that the men to do the work were forthcoming. Personally, I would rather the Hamiltons and Websters of this generation had studied law and gone into politics—the greatest of all professions rather than become captains of industry. But let us not disparage the greatness of the man of affairs. If it be great to carry out the primal command "go forth" "subdue" and have "dominion" over the earth's forces—the keynote to a large part of history—then are these men great. If greatness be measured by beneficence; if he be a benefactor who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before, how great are those men, who have opened up continents, joined together oceans and meliorated the lot of countless thousands. It is a greatness which the intelligent twentieth century man associates with the names South Africa, Suez, Panama—the greatness of Cecil Rhodes, Ferdinand de Lesseps and Theodore Roosevelt.

Washington was not only a soldier, and a statesman. He was this and added to this, a man of affairs; for his day a captain of

industry; what Prof. Hulbert calls him "the first Commercial American" and in this at least, he was far more typical than that typical American Abraham Lincoln. Washington's insight into the possibilities of this Western country in its racial, commercial and political aspects is repeated in the insight of Cecil Rhodes with the possibilities of South Central Africa. His dream of a waterway, connecting the Ohio and Potomac prefigures on a smaller scale the two great interoceanic canals of the 19th and 20th centuries — on a smaller scale but one commensurate with his country. If we could only bring home to our consciousness this aspect of Washington's character, it would not only give us a renewed and stimulated sense of his greatness but it would restore to us in a large measure the man instead of the priggish myth which serves as a portrait to so large a portion of his countrymen. There can be no better illustration of this side of Washington's life than his relation to inland navigation.

As early as 1753 and 54 this wonderful boy had paid attention to the obstacles impeding the navigation of Potomac. Was some thought of communication by water between East and West floating in his mind? At any rate by 1759, he is ready to impart privately, to the members of the Virginian Assembly, his thoughts and plans regarding a union of the Potomac with the Ohio. Such ideas were rendered impracticable for the moment by the closing of the Western country to settlement by the proclamation of 1763. In 1768 the treaty of Ft. Stanwix reversed these conditions. In 1770 Washington wrote to Thos. Johnson about the improvement of the Potomac in order that Virginia and Maryland may capture the "valuable trade of a rising empire." In 1774 the matter was brought before the legislatures of both Maryland and Virginia, but the increasing turmoil of the approaching Revolution prevents adequate consideration and action. Scarcely are the storms of war over when the old dominant interest revives. Before peace is declared, he makes his expedition up the Mohawk to "while away the time" he modestly declares, but as his correspondence afterwards shows with a keen eye to the possibilities of a future Erie canal. Very soon after his return to Mt. Vernon to live under his own "vine and fig tree," on September 1, 1784, he sets out on a new western trip, again modestly announcing that its whole purpose is to visit his lands and tenants. The entry in his diary of the 3d of September records and the whole diary proves that the real purpose is "to obtain information of the nearest and best communication between the Eastern and Western waters; and to facilitate as much as in me lay the Inland Navigation of the Potomack." Not only is Washington interested in a route but he is keenly alive to the necessity of improvement in the vessels which shall ply on that route. The diary of the 6th of September records the examination of a model boat, constructed by the "ingenious Mr. Rumsey" for ascending rapid currents by mechanism. Washington

under injunctions of secrecy, witnesses an experimental trial and then and there becomes the patron of Rumsey, giving him soon after high position under the Potomac Co. The importance of this fact in connection with this anniversary is evident from the fact that Rumsey's "mechanism" soon gave way in his own mind to the use of steam. Two years after he propells a boat on the Potomac by steam and in 1792 launches a steamboat on the Thames and is thus one of the fathers of steam navigation. I cannot for want of time follow the expedition further but fortunately its results so far as Washington's mind is concerned, are summed up in the letter to B. Harrison, dated October 10, 1784—a letter sent at once to the legislature, becoming thus a state-paper—a state paper only inferior in its importance to such fundamental acts as the Declaration, the Constitution, the Ordinance of 1787, and the Emancipation Proclamation. The last chapters in the story of its influence have not yet been written.

In this letter Washington enumerates the advantages of a canal connecting the head waters of the Potomac and Ohio to be supplemented by a canal from the Ohio to Lake Erie. He says the tide waters of Virginia are 168 miles nearer Detroit than that of St. Lawrence; 176 miles nearer than that of the Hudson at Albany; states that Pennsylvania is contemplating the opening of a canal from Toby's creek, 95 miles above Ft. Pitt and the west branch of the Susquehanna, with a canal between the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill. The difficulty and expense of this he recognizes, but says in words which are a challenge to the Pittsburgh of to-day "a people, however, who are possessed with the spirit of commerce, who see and who will pursue their advantages, may achieve almost anything." He says—that New York will do the same, "no person, who knows the temper, genius and policy of those people as well as I do, can harbor the smallest doubt." Next Washington speaks of the obstacles, viz: the jealousy of different states and of one part of a state for another; the present heavy taxation; absence of financial resources; that trade advantages are remote; that a sufficient spirit of commerce is not found in Virginia, all of which he seeks to overcome by wise arguments. The political argument I quote in full or nearly so. "I need not remark to you sir that the flanks and rear of the U. S. are possessed by other powers and formidable ones too; nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds, especially that part of it which lies immediately west of us with the Middle States. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people? How entirely unconnected with them shall we be? And what troubles may we not apprehend if the Spaniards on their right and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling blocks in their way as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? What when they get strength, which will be sooner than

most people conceive (from the emigration of foreigners, who will have no particular predilection toward us, as well as from the removal of our own citizens), will be the consequence of their having found close connections with both or either of those, in a commercial way? It needs not in my opinion the gift of Prophecy to foretell. The Western settlers, (I speak now from my own observation), stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way." Again speaking of the proposed canal, he says, "The Western inhabitants would do their part towards its execution." "Weak as they are they would meet us at least half way."

The effect of this letter is almost immediate. The Potomac and James Companies are formed, Washington being chosen President of the former. The State of Virginia in recognition of Washington's service, voted him shares in both companies, which he refused to accept unless for educational purposes. He thus disposed of them in his will. Work was begun in the Potomac and pressed vigorously but Washington is called once more by the larger necessities of the Nation from the work so near his heart. The work was not a failure— it is living to-day and ought to bring Washington close to the hearts of the people of this eastern Mississippi valley. May we not then say that the man to whom this section was a matter of anxious concern from his earliest manhood to his latest years, who dreamed this scheme of inland navigation, who planned the canal yet to be between Lake Erie and Pittsburgh, who built the first grist mill west of the Alleghenies, who first experimented with western Pennsylvania coal, may well be called the Father of Pittsburgh and of inland navigation.

The third paper on the Monday afternoon program was by Miss H. Dora Stecker of the University of Cincinnati.

CONSTRUCTING A NAVIGATION SYSTEM IN THE WEST.

By H. Dora Stecker.

On account of the large scope of the subject, it has seemed preferable to treat only a single incident in the early history of the steamboat in the west, that is, the endeavor of the Fulton and Livingston interests to build up a system of navigation based on exclusive privileges granted by states, similar to those given them by the state of New York, and even this treatment must necessarily be brief and desultory. Indeed, for a proper handling of this one phase, an introduction dealing with the origin of this system of state grants, with our early patent law, and with the legal contests which arose therefrom,

would have been advisable. The controversies over the right to unrestricted navigation were carried to the state legislatures, and to Congress, and were ultimately pronounced upon by the Supreme Court, in the well known case of Gibbons vs. Ogden. The situation in the west was adjusted much earlier than in the east, and in a way was only its reflex.

Aside from constitutional and legal considerations, at the bottom of any discussion of the steamboat should be its economic effects. These probably constitute its prime importance.

Any of these phases of the subject would have more than filled the time allotted to the speaker; hence the writer's limited treatment of so large a topic.

Although the invention of the steamboat had been perfected primarily with a view to the navigation of the Mississippi, the latter river was only one link in a general system which was intended, by the projectors, Messrs. Fulton and Livingston, to embrace the whole country. In April of 1813 Fulton wrote Jefferson: "When peace returns, or in four or five years from this date I shall have a line of steamboats from Quebec to Mexico and to St. Mary's. The route is up the St. Lawrence, over Lake Champlain, down the Hudson to Brunswick, down the Delaware to Philadelphia, by land carriage to Pittsburgh, down the Ohio and Mississippi, to Red River, up it to above Natchitochez, the total land carriage about 500 miles, the other route to St. Mary's, land carriage not more than 200 miles. The most of these boats are now constructing."

In order to insure the permanency of such a system, it was considered advantageous, where possible, to obtain exclusive rights from the different states, of entering their waters by steamboat. This practice took its rise in the system which had prevailed among the individual states, before the adoption of the Constitution, of rewarding inventors or authors by letters patent, but after the formation of the new government this function was considered as having passed into the hands of Congress. However, in 1798, Chancellor Livingston, who later becomes the colleague of the inventor Fulton, had revoked in his favor, by the state of New York, an act of encouragement for the navigation of its waters by steamboat, which had been granted eleven years before to John Fitch, and which was considered inoperative on account of Fitch's failure to produce a steamboat on the waters of New York. Subsequent acts, extending the time for completing a steam vessel and containing penalties against the invasion of the privileges conferred, were passed from time to time in favor of the Chancellor and his associates. This procedure on the part of a state rendered a United States patent of relative minor importance, as the state grant excluded from the

waters of the state concerned all boats driven by fire or steam except those of the men for whose benefit the act had been passed.

Close upon the heels of the success of the Clermont, Fulton found himself opposed on all sides, on the one hand by a group of older inventors who had been working on the problem of the steamboat for twenty years, notably John Stevens and William Thornton, and on the other by a group of men who were anxious to compete with him in a business rivalry on the Hudson and the other waters of New York. To protect himself against the first, Fulton had taken out a United States patent for his invention in February of 1809, although he was here preceded by the Superintendent of the Patent Office himself, Dr. William Thornton, an ardent and disappointed member of the old Fitch company, which had built a steamboat for the Mississippi and had made all preparations for establishing such navigation west of the Alleghenies at the time of the opening of the Northwest territory. Yet the New York grant afforded better security than the patent, as the validity of Fulton's claim to his invention was challenged from the first, and a bitter controversy engendered, due largely to the loose methods then prevailing of issuing patents indiscriminately by the government and of then throwing the onus of the decision upon the courts.

The same privileges conferred by the state of New York were undoubtedly desired from the other states, particularly from those involving the western rivers. Indeed, even before the survey trip of Mr. Roosevelt down the Mississippi in 1809, preliminary to building the *New Orleans*, it was known that an effort would be made to have the legislature of the Territory of Orleans grant exclusive rights for the waters within its jurisdiction, thereby obtaining control of the objective point of all downward commerce—New Orleans; and in October of 1808 Dr. Thornton, the *bete noir* of the Fulton Company, sent in a letter of protest to the Collector of the Port at New Orleans on this subject:

> "I have lately heard," says he, "that Mr. Fulton and Mr. Livingston of New York intend to apply for a Patent [*i. e.* a state grant] to the Assembly of N. O. I have already a Patent in conjunction with some others, from the United States & also the King of Spain for the navigation of the Miss. with steamboats [Thornton was referring to the affairs of the Fitch Co., whose moving spirit he had been], but in consequence of alterations made by the Co., in the apparatus, during my absence, the Scheme was ruined, & I determined to wait until the Patent expired [this in reference to Fitch's United States patent for his invention, conferred in 1791]. I am desirous of establishing Boats to ascend the Miss. I consider it against the laws of the Union for a State to grant a Patent now to any Individual; but in consequence of the Influence of these Gentlemen in the State of New York they have

obtained a Patent there for 25 years, which though in my opinion nugatory & inefficient, will certainly create disputes and tend to lessen the competition so essential to the public good—Lest an attempt be made to monopolize the Miss. also & thereby make adventurers of small fortune afraid to risk an opposition, I am induced to trouble you with a few lines to desire you to make the Subject known immediately and defeat a measure so highly injurious to the public. I beg you to urge a regular Protest against and patent for Steamboats from the legislature of New Orleans. If those gentlemen have invented anything new they can have a Patent from the United States for the same for fourteen, not twenty-five years, but knowing that it is not new they wish to obtain exclusive rights from particular states, which, however, are certainly contrary to the spirit of the Constitution."

Whether Thornton's letter at this particular time had its desired effect is not evident, although the act referred to was not passed until April of 1811; but no doubt the series of protests against granting this type of monopoly which he poured into the various legislatures must have borne fruit.

In regard to steamboat activities in the west, during Mr. Roosevelt's survey of the river it was publicly advertised that two companies would be formed by Messrs. Fulton and Livingston, one for the Ohio, the other for the Mississippi, provided certain "indulgencies" were granted; and during the session of 1809-10 petitions were presented to both the legislatures of Ohio and Kentucky, which, after setting forth the advantages resulting from steam navigation, requested that exclusive rights, after the manner of those conferred by the state of New York, should be bestowed upon the petitioners. In the Ohio house a bill was favorably acted upon, and on the 26th of December, 1809, sent to the Senate for concurrence; but here it was voted down. Thus one state expressed itself as opposed to this principle, however advantageous the steamboat might prove to be. The following month Mr. Breckenridge, in the Kentucky House, gave the report of the committee to whom the question had been referred, going over the situation as follows:

"The petitioners state that they have discovered a certain method of propelling boats by fire or steam; that their plan has been in actual operation upon the waters of the state of New York for more than two years, and their boat performs a voyage of 160 miles in 34 hours. The petitioners represent that the difficulty and expense of this mode of navigation is very great; and although they have obtained from the congress of the United States a patent for their invention [this having been only the February preceding], the time for its enjoyment is too short. They propose they shall, within a given time, erect a boat or

boats, on the Ohio, or Mississippi rivers; that for the first boat so erected, the legislature of this state shall extend to them its protection for twenty years; and for every other boat five years, but in all not to exceed thirty years. That their boat shall perform any given voyage, on the Ohio, or Mississippi rivers, in one-third of the time that such voyage is now usually performed by vessels navigating those waters, and that their charge for freight shall be one third less than the present general price for freight. The petitioners pray, for that for the violation of any of the immunities granted them by this state, the legislature will impose certain penalties and forfeitures."

In regard to the foregoing statements the committee raised the following questions:

1st. Would not the interference on the part of Kentucky in the manner proposed infringe upon the power delegated to congress by the constitution?

2. Would it be politic to grant such exclusive privilege for such a length of time?

"Upon the first question," the report continues, "your committee are clearly of the opinion that the constitution of the United States prohibits the state legislatures upon such subjects and in a manner contemplated by the petitioners. By the constitution of the United States Congress are invested with 'power to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.' * * * * The petitioners have, under the law, applied, and obtained a patent for their invention, and the object of the petition is an extention, for more than double the time, for the enjoyment of the exclusive rights, acquired by their patent. Your committee deems this unjust, and contrary to the laws of the United States.

"Upon the second question your committee have but little hesitation in declaring, that to grant the prayer of the petition would be impolitic.

"At this time the chief part of our surplus produce and manufactures descends the Ohio and Mississippi rivers for a market. The natural course of things would seem to require, that by the same channel we should receive all the importations that are necessary for the consumption of this [western] country. It is believed that this period is not very distant. The importance of this species of commerce, to the western people, is too great and too obvious to require comment. It would therefore be dangerous and impolitic to invest a man or set of men with the sole power of cramping, controlling, or directing the most considerable part of the commerce of the country for so great a period." And so the petition was rejected.

Yet notwithstanding this failure to obtain exclusive control of the Ohio, the Ohio Steamboat Navigation Company was organized, and

preparations made for the construction of the New Orleans. At least the Mississippi, with its vast tributaries, was still an object of prime importance for control, and in August of this year, 1810, we are told by Fulton, himself, petitions for such rights were sent to Governor Claiborne, of Orleans Territory, to the Governor of Mississippi Territory, to the Governor of Upper Louisiana Territory, and to the Governor of Tennessee. This would practically cover the remaining waters. In a letter to Governor Howard, of Upper Louisiana Territory, it was represented that a capital of $200,000 was required to extend navigation on the Mississippi, for which subscriptions could not be raised unless the subscribers were assured of adequate protection in their rights, the patent law being inadequate. Appended to the petition was the act which they desired passed in their favor. This request was laid before the Territorial Legislature, but postponed, the only information extant on the subject being a small marginal notation to this effect on the original petition. Yet notwithstanding these widespread applications, they all ultimately failed of their purpose except that made to the Territory of Orleans, or, as it was later to become, the state of Louisiana. In March, 1810, the inhabitants of this territory had applied for admission to the Union, and in the summer of this year Governor Claiborne found it necessary to proceed to Washington. Here he and the territorial delegate, Julien Poydras, one of the influential men of his district, were approached by friends of the steamboat measure, resulting in a visit by the Governor to the patentees in New York. In consequence the petition was submitted to the legislature of the Territory of Orleans, in the spring of the following year, with the accompanying message:

"Gentlemen of the Legislative Council and of the House of Representatives:

"I now lay before you the petition of Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton, two distinguished citizens of the United States, praying you to 'grant them the exclusive right to navigate the waters of this Territory with boats moved by steam or fire,' on certain conditions. Of the power of the Legislature to conform to the prayers of the petitioners I have no doubt; but as to the expediency of doing so, you, Gentlemen, can best determine. During my journey through the Middle and Northern States, the past summer, I noticed with great pleasure this new and useful mode of improving the navigation of our Rivers; and I feel confident that the introduction of steamboats on the Mississippi and its waters would greatly conduce to the convenience and welfare of the Inhabitants of this Terr." In notifying the patentees of the passage of the act desired, Claiborne assured them of his prompt co-operation in promoting any measure essential to their security and necessary to prevent intrusion upon their rights.

Not looking at the matter from a constitutional standpoint, it

was difficult for this district to let pass so splendid an opportunity for facilitating the carrying trade of the whole west, holding, as it did, its outlet. The attitude taken by Orleans was that this system promised an immediate and adequate means of developing her resources, and her waters were the gateway through which the other western states must come. But the point was not well taken, for the Fulton Company, with all its promise, was not able to put out enough steamboats on the Ohio and Mississippi in order to exclude those men who were willing to enter the field against them; and the effect of the Louisiana act was merely to dwarf the revived commerce arising after the close of the war of 1812. The Hudson at this time did not as yet have the benefit of steam navigation for its freight—the sloop owners had compelled the monopolists to confine themselves to passengers—but on the Mississippi the situation was entirely different; and the attempt to limit commercial intercourse to the five or six boats which were all that had been built by the Fulton Company, at Pittsburgh, could only have been futile.

It was evident that men were willing to try steam navigation in these parts. Independent builders were arising, and groups of men along the river were willing to embark in the venture. In September, 1811, we find the petition of Oliver Evans, a pioneer steam engine manufacturer of Philadelphia, before the legislature of Tennessee, pointing out that with a new mode of construction it was not necessary to build boats of the costliness of the Fulton type. Indeed, Evans began a boat at Pittsburgh, which he was later to run on the Ohio. When Mr. B. H. Latrobe, the successor to Mr. Roosevelt, arrived at Pittsburgh, in the fall of 1813, to take charge of the affairs of the Ohio Steamboat Navigation Company, he had to compete with a rival company which had already begun work. This consisted mainly of Quakers, we are told, centering about Brownsville, and they also had adopted a cheaper type of building. Instead of the large sea vessel, these men were putting out fragile, barge-shaped boats, of very small tonnage, merely an adaptation of the crafts used on the western rivers, which could run the year 'round, and a line, all the way from Brownsville to New Orleans was being established. Beginnings of independent boat building were also arising at other quarters. Subscription papers were passing along the towns on the Ohio; a company, under Dr. Ruble, was being organized at Louisville; Oliver Evans had returned to the field; and by 1816 the Gallatin Steamboat Company was incorporated by the Legislature of Kentucky. In spite of the difficulties of getting a boat together at any point outside of Pittsburgh, since in the west steam machinery was as yet a negligible quantity, the hopes of the various mercantile centers were running ahead of this drawback, and the press was expatiating on the advantages to be derived by direct importation by way of New Orleans, instead of over the mountains.

When, in 1815, the "Enterprize" arrived from below, thereby demonstrating that the river could be steamed as far as the falls of Ohio, schemes burst into full blaze for severing the economic dependence of the West on the merchants of the East, when the first of a series of seizures of independent steamboats took place at New Orleans. After the Battle of New Orleans the "Enterprize," on the eve of her departure up the river, was seized by the representatives of the monopoly on account of entering the waters of Louisiana without operating under their license, and although Captain Shreve had given bail and was allowed to depart with his vessel without waiting for the trial, this procedure aroused great indignation. Efforts had been made to keep these boats out of the Ohio by claims of infringement on the Fulton type of boat, their points of resemblance, being merely the wheel. The men who desired to build steamboats, particularly those constituting the importing and exporting companies which were forming, were intimidated, in addition, by various patent claimants, who, in an attempt to break the power of the New York monopoly, used this means to attack it, and threatened, in common, with the monopolists, to prosecute all who did not operate under their various licenses. Thus the westerners were placed between the fire of adopting any feasible type of vessel, and of daring to enter the waters of Louisiana; and the seizure of the "Enterprize" only added to the embarrassment. The latter vessel, though but a fragile barge, by way of answer to her seizure, made the first ascent of the Mississippi that had up to that time been accomplished. Mass meetings were held at Louisville and other points, and the legislatures of Ohio and Kentucky appealed to for aid. Suggestions were made that the legislatures advance funds for defending some one who would venture a test suit on patent rights, or publicly aid in purchasing these rights from the real proprietors, so that steam navigation should not be retarded. An importing company had been formed at Cincinnati for direct importation from England, and Congress had been asked to establish ports of entry at this point and Louisville. In addition, Kentucky, declaring that its prosperity depended upon exportation and importation by way of the Mississippi, exempted all merchandise so imported from state taxation for five years.

In February, 1816, the legislature of Ohio, in response to an appeal, passed a resolution asking that their senators and representatives in Congress exert their influence in obtaining a settlement of the conflicting claims set up by the various inventors, who had carried their cause to Congress in an effort to prevent the Fulton patent from being renewed. In addition they were requested to institute an inquiry as to whether the legislature of the Territory of Orleans had not exceeded their constitutional powers by enacting the state monopoly.

The situation over the patent rights was ludicrously described in a local paper:

"You purchase of Fulton, Livingston prosecutes you. You purchase of Livingston, Fulton prosecutes you. There you are, after being chained and baited by their lawyers, to be again muzzled and worried by Mr. Evans' standing, legitimate counsellors; and if you escape death, or are not quite torn to pieces—at last my lord Fairfax, by his attorney, Mr. Robinson, unkennels another pack, and should the poor adventurer afterwards have a limb left, or a drop of blood to be sucked, ten to one but Fitch himself would arise from the grave to annihilate him."

Timber for the building of a steamboat, this Cincinnati writer complains, has been lying in the shipyard for months, and but for the patent rights conflict, there would have been a boat plying between Cincinnati, Louisville and Pittsburgh, but the owner was not fond of lawsuits, and since the seizure of the "Enterprize" was waiting on some action from the members in Congress.

In January, 1817, the legislature of Kentucky adopted a resolution against the action of Louisiana which contained something of the old tenor, when the Kentuckians were ready to march down upon the Spaniards and demand by right of force the free navigation of the river:

"Whereas," this resolution held forth, "the citizens of the United States possess the inalienable right of navigating the great waters which communicate with the ocean; and the high destiny to which the author of nature seems to invite the peoples of these states depends upon the security of that right from all violation, and the honor as well as dignity of every state commands her to assert with vigilance the rights of those subject to her sovereignty:

"1st. Be it therefore resolved by the general assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That they have viewed with the deepest concern, the violation of the right guaranteed by the federal constitution and the laws of Congress, to navigate the river Mississippi, in the seizure of the steamboat "Enterprize," under the pretended authority of a law enacted by the legislature of the late territory of Louisiana;

"2d. Resolved, That they will maintain inviolate by all legitimate means the right of her citizens to navigate said river, and its tributary streams;

"3rd. Resolved, That the government of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana and Indiana, be respectfully requested to cooperate with this, to prevent by appropriate means the recurrence of an evil so much to be deprecated;

"4th. Resolved, That our senators and representatives in Congress be requested to exert themselves to procure the adoption of such measure as they may deem best calculated to secure the navigation of the said river."

Yet in Congress it was decided that the matter did not lie within its province, but should be settled by a judicial inquiry.

On account of the outcry raised against the action of the monopoly, a resolution was introduced into the Louisiana legislature to inquire into the expediency of repealing the obnoxious measure. The report of the committee of commerce and manufactures, embodying this inquiry, avoided the larger and more vital issue of the effect of this act on the commerce of the country depending on the Mississippi, and contented itself with recounting the benefits which steam navigation had conferred on the state of Louisiana, particularly in the way of reducing the price of freight between New Orleans and Natchez. "Indeed," it said, "your committee, far from thinking it useful or necessary to repeal the charter of the company, do, on the contrary, think they ought to be encouraged by all possible means." They pointed out that the west would draw its manufacturing products from the Atlantic states exclusively through New Orleans, and that the surest means to attain this end would be to encourage the company which would best secure its success. Governor Claiborne, himself, published an open letter narrating his connection with the whole affair; and as a corollary to their report, the legislature, during the next month incorporated the Atlantic Steam Coasting Company, for the purpose of establishing a steam packet between New York and New Orleans. This company was given the exclusive privilege of entering the Mississippi from sea by steamboat, for a term of twenty years, it holding the right of entering the waters of Louisiana by permission of the Fulton interests, which were, no doubt, concerned in this establishment of a steam connection with New York. Thus Louisiana meant to hold the key to the commerce of the west by both river and sea. Yet could this growing commerce be immediately accommodated by the new mode? "They talk of an outlet for the western produce and the importation of foreign merchandise to annihilate the connection with the Eastern cities," complains a critic of the action of the Louisiana legislature in failing to repeal the monopoly. When? Why, forsooth, when Livingston and Fulton build boats enough in their own good time and pleasure to accommodate the *millions* of subjects who would (if their grant hold good) be dependent on them for the privilege of riding to New Orleans in a steamboat."

Indeed this threat of severing the commercial dependence on the Eastern states seemed valid, since the steamboat made it possible to import by way of sea cheaper than across the mountains, thus obviating the heavy cost of exchange. It was pointed out that the balance of trade would be diverted into one's own section, for with the draining of specie eastward, which had been the practice heretofore, the west considered that as yet it had no merchants in the real sense—"only mere packers of goods and of cash;" yet it was predicted that the

day would come when the scepter of empire would be swayed by western hands. Indeed the utterances of the time indicate that a bitter sectional feeling existed on account of the inability of the westerners to supply themselves with the manufactured products that they needed. They suspected that every internal improvement contemplated for their parts was meant to divert their trade eastward. "It was not until the moment that the steamboat of the Mississippi interfered with the Eastern brethren and the Eastern brethren were alarmed for fear of losing our trade," they said, that the Cumberland road was being finished. Yet in unrestricted steam navigation they thought they saw a solution of this undesirable state of dependence. Indeed, it was predicted, whenever the obstructions at the falls of the Ohio and the imposition of the conflicting claims over patent rights were put an end to, freight by steamboats to Pittsburgh would not exceed 2½ cents from New Orleans.

In the trial of the "Enterprize," which was held in 1816, the preliminary advantage was lost by the members of the monopoly, it being held by the lower court that the territorial legislature had exceeded its authority in granting this privilege, but the case had been appealed. Indeed, one of the fundamental provisions of the enabling act for admitting the territory as a state had been the insertion of an ordinance into the constitution providing for free navigation. In the fall of the year, Captain Shreve, who had been seized with the "Enterprize," determined to fight out his cause, and brought down his new boat, the *Washington;* but this, too, was seized. However, the court granted Shreve the right to sue for damages in case his opponents lost their cause, and with this decree the suit was withdrawn against him, also the appeal which had been made from the decision regarding the "Enterprize." Yet the difficulty was not over. The whole controversy culminated in April of 1817, when a series of trials took place at New Orleans which aroused the highest interest. Suits were brought against the owners of the *Washington*, the *Oliver Evans,* and the *Franklin*, and a forfeiture of the boats and $5,000 damages for each infringement of the state right demanded. The cases were heard in open court, before Judge Hall of the United States District Court, but unfortunately the arguments have failed to come down to us. However, after hearing both sides, Judge Hall handed down the decision that the court had no jurisdiction in the matter and dismissed the petitions of the plaintiffs with costs, practically throwing the victory with the independents, and showing that the courts were out of sympathy with the measure. The same decision was given in all three cases, and this practically solved the question for the time being, although suit was again instituted against the boat *Constitution* (formerly the *Oliver Evans*) in the fall of that year. Although the action against the *Constitution* dragged on for some time, we have no record of the freedom of navigation being interfered

with after the first half of the year 1818, the state grant remaining on the statute book a dead letter, and the whole matter receiving adjudication by the decision of Chief Justice Marshall in 1824, in the well known case of Gibbons vs. Ogden. Even before the trials of April, 1817, boats had been springing up everywhere. By 1819, there were over sixty in western waters, and from this period the west, with the changes wrought by the introduction of the steamboat, may be said to have entered upon her second stage of existence. The day of the licensed company was over—and the period of free competition among steamboats inaugurated. What this meant in hastening internal improvement, in stimulating domestic manufacture, in welding the west into an economic unit, is another chapter in the history of the steamboat.

Monday evening was given over to a Waterways Meeting under the auspices of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, impromptu addresses being delivered by Mayor Magee and Governor Tener. The main address of the evening was by Col. John L. Vance.

OHIO RIVER IMPROVEMENT, AND LAKE ERIE AND OHIO RIVER SHIP CANAL.

By John L. Vance.

Every step in the progress of the improvement of the Ohio River has received the approval of the Congress and the recommendation of the Engineers of the United States Army after careful surveys and examinations of the river from its source to its mouth.

A special Board appointed under direct authority of Congress, followed by the Board of Review,—both boards composed of experienced officers of recognized ability—made reports recommending the improvement of the river by locks and movable dams to provide nine feet of water.

In closing its official report, the Special Board said: "In view of the enormous interests to be benefited by continuous navigation on the Ohio River, and the great development which may be expected from such increased facilities, the Board is of the opinion that the Ohio River should be improved by means of locks and movable dams to provide a depth of nine feet from Pittsburgh to Cairo."

And the Board of Review reported:

* * * "For these reasons the Board is of the opinion that the improvement of the Ohio River by locks and movable dams so as to

secure a depth of nine feet as recommended in the report of the Special Board is worthy of being undertaken by the United States.

"In making this recommendation the Board realizes that it is suggesting a plan for river improvement on a scale not hitherto attempted in this country; but * * * on account of the large commercial development of its shores and its connection with the lower Mississippi, now maintained in a navigable condition, the Ohio River is, in the opinion of the Board, the one river of all others most likely to justify the work."

These reports received the strong endorsement of the Chief of Engineers of the Army and the Secretary of War in transmitting them to Congress.

Fifty-four locks and movable dams are required to provide nine feet of water at all seasons of the year from Pittsburgh to Cairo — nearly 1,000 miles.

Twenty-three of these locks and dams are completed or in process of construction, leaving thirty-one to be provided for by appropriations by Congress.

Sixty per cent of the sites for the 54 locks and dams have been secured; all the sites have been practically fixed; the money has been appropriated to complete the purchase of all, and the Government is moving as rapidly as possible to obtain titles thereto.

In the report accompanying the river and harbor bill presented to the House of Representatives on the 11th of February, 1910, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors stated: "The improvement of the Ohio River is of great importance, and has been specially recommended by the President of the United States. The Committee has thought it proper to provide that this important work should be prosecuted at a rate which will insure its completion within a period of twelve years."

The tremendous importance of the improvement of the Ohio — to which direct expression was given by the Committee — was emphasized by President Taft, in a carefully prepared address delivered at Cincinnati on the 21st of September of last year, in which he uttered these emphatic words: "I earnestly hope that the time may come in the not distant future when the plan for completing this Ohio River improvement shall be changed so as to make the time *six years* for completion instead of twelve."

Those who know something of the importance of the Ohio Valley and that which will follow the completion of the work now in progress for the improvement of the river, will join with our honored Chief Magistrate in the hope he expressed.

How many know the resources of the six states bordering the Ohio and directly tributary to it?

This valley is, to-day, the greatest manufacturing center of the country. From Pittsburgh to Cairo, on either bank and on both banks,

the traveler on one of the many steamers traversing the Ohio finds himself never beyond the sound of the hammer or the forge, nor beyond the sight of the smoke issuing from the monster stacks of immense manufacturing establishments.

At the head of the Ohio is situated this marvelous city of Pittsburgh — to-day the greatest manufacturing center of the world — with a tonnage of 150,000,000 tons last year, greater by far than the combined tonnage produced or originated by Philadelphia and Baltimore and Boston and Greater New York.

For miles above Pittsburgh, along the improved Monongahela, it is one succession of manufacturing plants — the marvel of the whole world in extent, in number of employes, in value of product and capital. And as it is there, so it is along the Ohio, below, and the passenger on an Ohio river steamer is lost in amazement over the stupendous products of the Valley.

In this Valley we have the coal that supplies our own demands and the southern markets and the steamships that leave the ports 2,000 miles below; and the products of her factories reach the entire world.

And more: Our Valley, in advantages and possibilities, is the richest on earth. In climate, in location, in soil, in iron, in salt, in steel, glass, and pottery products; in gas, in timber, in stone, in water-power, and in manufacturing industries in general; in enterprise, education and intelligence, it has no superior.

As an agricultural valley we challenge the United States, as we challenge the world.

It is not alone beyond the Mississippi that agriculture has her seat and her empire. It is not alone in the great Northwest nor the productive Southwest nor the fertile South. The six Ohio River States, where the forge and the mill are never idle, where smoke obscures the sky, and on whose rivers the steamers ply their busy trade — these States challenge all sections of the country in their agricultural products. In one year alone the value of the farm products of these States reached a total of approximately five billion dollars — more than the combined value of any other six or twelve States in the Union.

What, indeed, would the development of these six States be, with the Ohio River open the year 'round and navigable the year 'round, to pour their treasures into the lap of the markets of the world!

But still more: The six Ohio River States pay into the Treasury of the United States more than one full half of the entire internal revenue collected in the whole nation. But we have the wealth, and we have the money, and are not complaining.

The entire wealth of the country is estimated in round numbers at one hundred billion dollars, and it is with genuine pride that the six Ohio River States find themselves credited with 30 billion dollars, or nearly one-third of the total wealth of the whole country, with all

the other states and territories required in the making up of the remaining two-thirds.

But enough of figures, however interesting they may be, as well as conclusive evidence of the supreme importance of the Ohio Valley and the Ohio River.

This river is not the only water way in which the six states of our inland empire are interested. They want to connect the Ohio and Mississippi and the Hudson by a continuous navigable water way. And this may be done by the construction of the Lake Erie and Ohio River Ship canal—a proposed canal of 103 miles in length. Thus would be secured 2,700 miles of unbroken navigable channel, from New Orleans to New York, of which 2,000 miles from New Orleans to Pittsburgh, will be nine feet in depth, and 700 miles, from Pittsburgh to New York, will be 12 feet in depth. This is the shortest route by 300 miles than the only other possible route between the Gulf and the Hudson, and can be realized at an outlay that is imperatively demanded when the existing tonnage to be served and the economy introduced are considered.

The building of the connecting water-link between the Ohio and Lake Erie will give unbroken navigation between 24 states in the Union, and serve directly the territory where now exists the densest tonnage movement in the world, and have the ability to introduce economy in transportation by it in the ratio of not less than 5 to 1 over railway movement.

This project is in control of Pittsburgh, and her progressive business interests will carry it to speedy and successful completion.

* * * * *

The rivers of our continent are the natural arteries through which the trade of the country is intended to pass; and it is the duty of the Government to improve these free public highways in every way possible, because all classes of citizens will thereby be benefited.

The Ohio is preeminently a national water way. As it flows between its banks on its course to the Gulf, it does not tell of Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or West Virginia, or Kentucky, or Indiana, or Illinois. While it adds to the wealth and grandeur of these great commonwealths, above and surpassing all else it tells the story of a nation united; of a country that all of us love, a country with one Constitution and one flag, a country of peace and at peace with all the world, a country with one aim and one destiny, a country united, one and indivisible now and forever.

* * * * *

Those who have labored many years for the permanent improvement of the Ohio were not building alone for the present generation, but for those who come after they are gone. In this work have been

engaged strong and able men at all points along the river. Pittsburgh, ever at the front in enterprise, has contributed her full share.

It is our good fortune to have homes in this Valley, dear to many of us as our birthplace, and to all of us by fond memories and cherished associations. We, who love the Valley and the River, here pay tribute to all who have labored for, and through their labors have advanced, the improvement of the greatest channel of commerce in the world. They have been governed by no selfish purpose, but by a noble, unselfish desire to benefit our homes, to make more prosperous our Valley, to leave to their children and to generations yet unborn a heritage rich in commerce, their valley teeming with intelligence and populous with contented men and women — with more schools, more churches, more of all that makes life desirable and that adds to the sum of human happiness.

Another speaker of the evening was the nearest descendant of Robert Fulton, Rev. C. Seymour Bullock, of Fall River, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman: His Excellency, the Governor, Your Honor, the Mayor; Ladies and Gentlemen: I am happy in bringing to you, unofficially, the greetings of a New England city that has just secured for itself a State appropriation of one million dollars to improve its already magnificent harbor.

More and more are we coming to realize that the future of our country depends upon the conservation of its natural resources and the development and utilization of its waterways as avenues of transportation. The total bankage of the rivers of Europe is but 34,000 miles while the river banks of streams east of the Rocky Mountains, that are 100 miles long and navigable, will total more than 80,000 miles. On our Great Lakes in one year we carried freight with a total tonnage sufficient to tax the carrying capacity of a train of cars of ordinary size that would completely belt the globe. If the engine of that train were to pull out from Boston it would pass thru San Francisco, cover the Chinese Empire and Turkestan and Persia, bridge the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and speed on again almost to Salt Lake City with its train of loaded cars before the caboose left Boston. Mr. Chairman, that is something of a freight train!

With no such system of inland seas the European countries are fast outstripping us in the race for commerce. France and Germany have developed or are developing systems of internal water communication on a basis of one mile of waterway to each twenty-five miles of territory. Already France has 3,021 miles of canals in operation, while Germany, aside from the Kaiser Wilhelm, has 15,011 miles of canals and 1,500 miles of canalized rivers.

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that although I am talking of water, this is a dry subject, but I want to show that we are all interested in what is being done by others. No man can be made to take much interest in any subject until he sees that it concerns his pocketbook. This is especially true of an American.

"France sings the lily, England sings the rose,
Everybody knows where the shamrock grows;
Germans sing the Rhine, with its many-castled hills,
But the Yankees sing in chorus of the "long-green" bills.

When the New Yorker saw that the Erie canal ran through his back yard and into his pantry and set the price on each mouthful of bread, then the New Yorker voted $101,000,000 to deepen and enlarge the canal that brought his flour from the West, for the West had been feeding him since the year 1833 when the first cargo of flour was sent from near Sandusky, Ohio. The Erie canal sets the maximum that the New York Central railroad may charge for transporting the produce of the West. In other words, on account of the Erie Canal the New York Central railroad can charge only so much per bushel or per barrel for carrying wheat or flour if it is to get any to carry and this sets the rate for the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio and the Chesapeake and Ohio so that what we have to pay for bread and what the man in the West has to pay for shoes and cotton goods depends upon what the State of New York sets as a rate for the Erie Canal.

But what has this to do with Pittsburgh? Much every way. There is a place out yonder on the shore of a lake that was built up with money made here in Pittsburgh. The coal dug from these hills was mixed with brain-sweat and brow-sweat and to this was added ores from mines at the north till there ran from the furnaces streams of molten gold. With that gold other furnaces were built nearer to the mines whence came the iron with the result that steel can now be made at Gary for less than it can be made in Pittsburgh and when the barge-canal across New York state is ready, the finished product of the Gary mills can be put down in New York City, or swung on board some ocean-going vessel in New York harbor, for $2.75 or $3.00 a ton less than the steel that is made in Pittsburgh.

We are not going to argue the question as to whether the railroads are charging too much for the transportation of the iron ore from the lake to the furnace. Either one of two things is true—the railroads cannot afford to carry the raw material, or the finished product, for less than they are now charging and therefore should not be expected to do it, or else they do not intend to carry either for less money and it is therefore useless to ask them to do it. In either case the fact remains the same and it still costs $1.25 a ton to get ore from the lake-port to

Pittsburgh and it takes about two tons of iron ore to produce one ton of steel and these conditions will prevail in Gary's favor until by digging a ship-canal from the Ohio-Pittsburgh to the Lake shall be made a seaport with direct communication with all the world.

The same conditions faced Manchester, England, that now faces Pittsburgh. Vacant stores along the highways of trade! Tenantless houses on streets that had throbbed with life! These told the story as the hectic flush on the cheek of a consumptive tells of the havoc being wrought within. Manchester was dying of proximity to Liverpool and then Manchester dug a canal 35½ miles long, with a lift of 60½ feet above the level of the sea, and became a sea-port. It cost $85,000,000 to do it but in a year's time 100,000,000 tons of freight passing through the canal demonstrated the wisdom of that expenditure. Breslau, too, faced similar conditions. For years Breslau, a city on the river Oder, having half a million inhabitants, was the chief city of that region, but in 1895 the State of Prussia opened the canalized Oder to Kosel, with its extensive artificial harbor, and the next year Kosel was shipping 1,300,000 tons of coal while Breslau's tonnage had fallen from 2,150,000 tons to less than 1,000,000 tons. Then Breslau woke up and built new docks with every up-to-date appliance for the handling of freight and soon regained its lost prestige.

Mr. Chairman, I am here tonight participating in the festivities that celebrate a century of steam navigation on the Ohio rivers. The steamboat of to-day is a growth. No great invention ever leaped, Minerva-like, full-fledged from the brow of genius. Devices that have meant much for the world's progress have come first to some one man as an inspiration and have then been hammered into shape and commercial utility on the anvil of intense thought. I regret that my friend Fitch of Greenville is not here tonight that you might look upon a descendant of the man who first successfully propelled a boat by the power of steam. The original steamboat crank hailed from the State that is now my home. It was the waters of the Ohio that most interested John Fitch who wrote in 1788 to Alexander Hamilton to enlist his sympathies for a steamboat line from "Fort Pitt to the shores of Kaintuck". Others came and reaped the benefits of Fitch's radical scheme and I am here as one of the collateral descendants of the man who put the money into the proposition — the poorest one of all the representatives — proud of the achievements of the hundred years, and full of hopes that before the last hour shall be struck for me on the horologue of time, I may come into Pittsburgh from the Great Lakes by a canal that would open a new era for this city and prove a blessing to every hamlet, town and county through which it shall pass.

On Tuesday afternoon the replica of the *New Orleans* was spectacularly christened. This boat was built by the City of Pittsburgh through the agency of the offices of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

While a deafening roar caused by the blowing of hundreds of steam whistles and the hurrahs from more than 50,000 throats reverberated through the valleys surrounding Pittsburgh, Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, standing near President Taft, broke a bottle of domestic wine over the replica of the first steam propelled vessel to plow through the western waters and said: "I christen thee *New Orleans.*" This was the marking of the one-hundredth anniversary of steam navigation on the Ohio. The wine was very lively, and when Mrs. Longworth broke the bottle, the champagne sprayed her from head to foot and all those persons nearby were liberally sprinkled. Mrs. Longworth laughed, although her furs were drenched. The christening of the good-looking craft took place at the Monongahela wharf in view of one of the largest crowds that ever assembled there. Not only was the crowd the largest, but the display of river craft was by far the best ever seen in this section. With their noses pushed against the wharf, 45 steamboats filled the place between the Smithfield street and the Wabash railroad bridges. Each was gayly decorated with flags and hunting and streaming banners. All the buildings along the water front were similarly decorated. The *New Orleans,* which was gayly decorated with the nation's and Pittsburgh's flags, occupied a prominent place. The sight was an inspiring one.

President Taft, in charge of the reception committee, left the Hotel Schenley about 1:40 o'clock and drove over Grant boulevard to the downtown. The ovation tendered him all along the route was warm. In the outlying districts, the crowds were scattered, but upon arriving at Thirty-third street and the boulevard, more than 500 people had assembled. Every person in the crowd held a flag. They waved these banners and cheered lustily.

At Grant school in Grant street, near Seventh avenue, about 500 school children and their teachers filled the fire escapes. All waved flags and sang as the party passed. Mr. Taft recog-

nized the cheering by standing upon his automobile and waving his hat. Grant street, Fifth avenue and Wood street were lined with thousands.

The moment the automobile bearing the President appeared in Water street, it was the signal for the beginning of one of the greatest ovations ever extended a nation's chief executive in this day. Every boat tooted whistles, as did locomotives and factories. The spectators cheered. People on the surrounding hillsides took up the cry. Factory whistles for miles along the rivers were blown.

When Mr. Taft stepped from his automobile to board the *Virginia* the cheering was renewed. Again, when he stepped aboard the *New Orleans,* it was taken up with renewed vigor. The cheering and the blowing of whistles lasted for fully 17 minutes.

As the ovation subsided somewhat, Mrs. Longworth christened the unique vessel and the cheering was again taken up. Finally Mayor William A. Magee walked to the front of the *New Orleans* and introduced Mr. Taft. While only a small portion of the large crowd could hear him, those who could not maintained silence.

President Taft's remarks on the "New Orleans."

We are met to celebrate the opening of steamboat commerce upon the Ohio River; not only that commerce of 100 years past, but also of that greater commerce soon to come in which Pittsburgh is to enjoy the greater part. In order to justify the expenditure of public moneys in river improvement there ought to be enough of traffic to warrant the expenditure. In reference to the improvement of the Ohio there is ample commerce to satisfy this requirement, and the tonnage justifies the appropriations made and forthcoming to make the river more suitable. Congress has designated $63,000,000, and intimated that it will authorize the expenditure at the rate of $12,000,000 a year for that purpose.

But the interest of this great gathering in the improvement and throughout the country suggests to me that it is most fitting that the name of Roosevelt will ever be associated with the beginning of this new commerce as it was connected with the start of the old and figured prominently. It was the broad action of a Roosevelt which made the Panama Canal possible. It is not possible for me to talk and be heard by a square mile of people, and hence I will not detain you in positions

of discomfort longer. I congratulate Pittsburgh on the magnificence of this demonstration and wish her well in gaining the commerce soon to come. Goodbye.

Immediately after the President's address the committeemen accompanied him back to the *Virginia*. He was taken to the pilot house. From that point of vantage he viewed the great throng, declaring it to be the greatest gathering he had seen during his travels through the United States on his present trip.

The *New Orleans* slowly moved from its moorings to midstream amid a renewed roar of whistles and cheers. Turning its prow down the Monongahela river, it began its cruise down the river. The flagship, the *Virginia,* followed closely. Then came scores of other large boats laden with passengers. Immediately behind them came hundreds of smaller craft.

With the *New Orleans* leading the way, a trip down the Monongahela and up the Allegheny river as far as the Sixth street bridge and then down the Ohio to the penitentiary was taken. Arriving at the penitentiary the *Virginia,* which had previously passed the *New Orleans,* turned and started back, thus permitting the other boats to pass in review.

President Taft took up his position in the rear of the pilot house on the third deck. The members of the reception committee and other invited guests were with him. As each boat slowly passed, those on board gave him a rousing reception. All along the river banks thousands cheered as the boat made its way through the water. Employes in the various numerous shops and mills laid down their tools and hurried to the tops of the buildings to cheer.

The *Virginia* returned to the Monongahela wharf at 5:10 o'clock and the President and his party returned over the boulevard to the Hotel Schenley. He rested there until 7 o'clock.

The boats that took part in the pageant, besides the *New Orleans* and the *Virginia,* were the *Exporter, Swan, Coal City, Kanawha, Charles Brown, Sam Clark, Cruiser, Fallie, Tornado, Crescent, Volunteer, Helen White, G. W. Thomas, B. F. Jones, Jr., Clyde Juniata, A. R. Budd, Vulcan, Braddock, Henry Laughlin, Robert Jenkins, Jim Brown, Charlie Clark, T. P. Roberts, Alice, T. J. Wood, Carbon, Clipper, Cadet, Crusader, Diamond,*

Steel Queen, Lee H. Brooks, Slackwater, Frank Tyler, Margaret, Return, Frank Fowler, Troubador, Sunshine and *Emily Jung.*

The fleet was in command of Capt. James A. Henderson. The *New Orleans* was in command of Melville O. Irwin, mate; Thomas Walker, engineer, and T. Orville Noel, steward.

Fortunately for those in attendance at the Fifth Annual Meeting, the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce took the opportunity of President Taft's presence to hold Tuesday evening its annual banquet. The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania generously provided tickets to all members of the Ohio Valley Association present in the city. The banquet was held in the Memorial Hall and the banquet room presented a scene of unusual beauty. The event of the evening was the long-to-be-remembered reply of President Taft to the address of Congressman Littleton who advocated the repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. These addresses have become historic, but as they are foreign to the subject of Western history and the occasion of the "New Orleans" centennial, they are omitted from this report.

Hon. Job E. Hedges followed President Taft; speaking on "The Third Party to the Contract" as follows:

Much of the present day discussion is wide from the mark, so far as helping the solution of problems is concerned, and especially so if the endeavor is made to square it with governmental tradition. I do not believe that the foundation stones of the Republic are crumbling. I do not believe that the life of this great Nation hangs in the balance. I do not believe that vice has a strangle hold on virtue, and that there are only one or two men who can pull vice off. When the adviser on political and social problems becomes so didactic that he is mentally lonely, his diagnosis may be logical and learned, but is useless in administering his own remedy. The impediment, if any, the danger, if any there be, to a republican form of government is its size and the fact that by virtue of its very numbers fewer people have the opportunity to make themselves felt by virtue of the fact that they are limited in their opportunities for discussing the same topic at the same time with others of the same belief, or those whose belief they propose to affect.

So great has governmental influence become, so far-reaching, that the law may be either a scourge or a remedy. It seems to have escaped

popular contemplation that a man has a duty to Government outside of statute law, and outside of the strict phrasing of the Constitution. Under a Government with an unrestricted male franchise such as ours, it is impossible to think of a contract which comes under the provisions of law where the parties thereto do not bear a political relationship to all the rest. In other words, there is always a third party to the contract, and that third party represents the rest of the Nation. In part or in its entirety that contract must be determined if there is anything whatever in the duty of man to government, according to whether after the competitions between the contracting parties have been phrased, the result of that contract would be to the detriment of the people at large.

We are getting away from the moorings of simple things. We are confused by the element of size and numbers. We are disturbed by the terrific power of personal influence, and what can be done with it and money. If we will but admit that men like power, that men like to accumulate, that men like influence, that competitions may be so intense that a man may think the Golden Rule, but be so out of breath he cannot utter it, we have gone far toward solution. We are deceived by proposed self-immolations on the altar of government, by panegyric on behalf of the common people, which is supposed to bring about an uprising. Men devote themselves rhetorically to the interests of others, and shed tears over the sadness of the misfortune when they would not contribute a dollar to the person who is suffering.

There is a day far beyond the Constitution and statutes in this country, and it is a duty which if recognized politically means nothing more nor less than the practical adoption of the Golden Rule. It is well to practice virtue because it is virtue. If we cannot get on as high a plane as that it is better to practice virtue from selfish reasons and reasons of utility rather than not to practice it at all.

Present conditions are the direct results of the failure to observe these two simple platitudes. Until every election results in an expression of opinion which means the actual expression of actual people actually living the part of citizens, law is a guess and its enforcement a gamble, and discussions as to its wisdom more or less academical. Many men before the public today are acting as if they thought they were a special providential dispensation. Others appear to think and to act as if our national existence was to close with the closing of their eyes. The human problem here is not the problem of the poor and the suffering, cost of high living, or the cost of any living. It is the attitude of mind and the conduct of people of intelligence, refinement, wealth and social position in their relationship to the Government and the obligations they will admit as a matter of ordinary selfishness in working out the life of this great nation.

Financiers tell us that capital is timid and business predicated on confidence. Yes, that is true. Business depends, however, more upon

the confidence of the general public in the man who controls the capital, and its belief in his integrity individually than it does in the contribution of a few dollars per capita, which when lost makes up the added capital of the leader of finance. I read the other day that business was at a standstill because of some decision that had been rendered in connection with a law called the Sherman law, and the article went on to say that no business could be done until there was a law passed which stated specifically what could not be done in business, and that nothing should be left to the so-called rule of reason.

It seems to me that nothing is so safe for the people at large as a general proposition. If the highest court says what may not be, and leaves to the lower court the function of determining how the "may not" be avoided, that is about all that law can do. The hazard of business can never be reduced to an absolute certainty for one side of the problem, when the advantages are with it, and have the other side take all the chances. The functions of government are too much relied on by the people and the people rely too much on the penal code to determine what they shall not do, and too little on a sense of obligation of each man toward the public to determine what they should do. The third party to the contract is never absent from its interpretation and never should be.

With increasing numbers of population this duty is to become more and more apparent, and if the final contest is to place upon the statute books a law to give rights to one class or that makes a distinction of rights, the inference is that there is no equality of right; although we know that there is no equality of opportunity, the result will be confusion, and, from that, confusion worse confounded.

The only permanency in public opinion and the only virtue that can come from it, and which is a final and lasting benefit is that kind of an opinion which is formed regardless of publicity, but by virtue of which men of prominence and potential force will refrain from doing what they would not do if they were certain that the entire public understood the entire problem before they attempted to work it out.

The prosperity of the country as such, its uplift and moral growth depend at this moment more upon the people who are decrying the force of law; who have all the advantages of social, financial and intellectual position, and who seem to be afraid to enter into the competitions of life without having every chance in their favor, than they do upon any other class of the community. The man whose earning power is limited to his hands, or who is forced to walk in some of the plain paths of life, however much he may yearn to influence public opinion, and therefore governmental functions, is practically limited to casting a "no" vote on something submitted for his approval or disapproval. The affirmative part of our national life is passing away, and is passing away because men will not stop to think that most every human, bar-

ring a man's relationship to the God who made him and the home over which he presides, has a political significance.

You might as well talk of removing politics from business as to talk of asking the sun to stop shining, as long as a human being votes upon the election of a man who will vote for a law there is always politics, and there always should be politics. Instead of there being too much politics in this country there is too little politics in this country. It is not a question of the volume of political activity so much as it is a question of the quality of it. If we could amend the Constitution and disfranchise the man who did not vote, strike dumb the man who criticises another for doing what he does, and split the tongue of the man who agitates the people for the purpose of selling that agitation at so much per year, some problems would now disappear as the mist before the sun.

Wednesday morning the chairman Harry Brent Mackoy called the meeting to order and introduced Professor Callahan of West Virginia University:

THE PITTSBURGH-WHEELING RIVALRY FOR COMMERCIAL HEADSHIP ON THE OHIO.

By James Morton Callahan,
Professor of History and Politics, W. Va. University.

The Wheeling Bridge Case in the Supreme Court in 1849-52 and 1854-56 is as interesting through its relations to the industrial history of the period as it is from the standpoint of constitutional questions involved. Its study introduces us to the earlier rivalries of coast cities to secure the trade of the West, the systems of internal improvements planned to reach the Ohio, the development of trade and navigation and the extension of improvements and regulations by Congress on the Ohio, and the rivalries of Pittsburgh and Wheeling to obtain the hegemony by lines of trade and travel converging and concentrating at their gates.

Pennsylvania was early interested in plans of internal improvements to connect Philadelphia with Pittsburg and the free navigation of the Ohio. Occupying a central position, resting eastward on the Atlantic, north on the Lakes, and flanking on the Ohio which connected her with the Gulf and the vast region of West and South, she had advantages over other states for both foreign and domestic commerce. These ad-

vantages she cultivated from the earliest period. In 1826, influenced by the improved conditions of steam navigation on the western waters, by the effects of the Cumberland road in diverting to Wheeling much of the westward travel which had formerly passed down the Monongahela to the Ohio at Pittsburg, and by the success of the Erie Canal which also diverted travel and trade from Pittsburg, she began a system of canals to connect the Atlantic and the Lakes which had begun to bring to her western gates the commerce from the Gulf and the Mississippi and at great expense and sacrifice she forced her way westward, from the end of the horse railway at Columbia, up the Juniata to Hollidaysburg. Then, in 1835 by an inclined plane portage railway for thirty-eight miles across the Appalachians at the base of which other enterprises halted, she connected with the western canal from Johnstown to Pittsburg. Over this route she transported both passengers and goods—carrying to eastern markets the rice, cotton and sugar of the South, the bacon and flour of the West, and the furs and minerals of the Northwest. In 1844 her connections with the Ohio were improved by a packet line established between Pittsburg and Cincinnati. By 1850, these improvements, together with her interest, in a slack water navigation from Pittsburg to Brownsville and up the Youghiogheny to West Newton, and the importance of the ship-building industry at Pittsburg, made her watchful of the problems of navigation on the Ohio. At the solicitation of her legislature, and to meet the needs of growing commerce, Congress beginning its policy of improvement of Ohio navigation in 1824, had appropriated large sums (by 1850) to remove obstructions in the river.

In the meantime Wheeling, whose growing importance had received its first stimulus from the completion of the Cumberland Road to the Ohio in 1818, threatened to rival Pittsburg in prosperity, wealth and greatness, and to become the head of navigation on the Ohio as well as the western terminal of the first railway to reach the western waters from the East, and a center of other converging lines from both East and West. After persevering efforts of nearly a quarter century she scored her greatest victory by securing the route of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway whose charter of 1827 had prohibited the termination of the road at any point on the Ohio below the Little Kanawha and whose engineers on reconnaisance and surveys in 1828 had considered several routes terminating on the Ohio between Parkersburg and Pittsburg. Coincidently, after the unsuccessful efforts of over half a century, she secured the first bridge across the Ohio—a structure which she regarded as a logical link and incidental part of the national road, and a fulfillment of the provisions of the act of 1802 by which Ohio had been admitted as a state, but which Pittsburg regarded as an injury to navigation—obstructing it much more effectively than Congress had been able to improve it by her recent expenditures of public money.

The story of the efforts to obtain the bridge is a long one, reflecting the industrial progress and energy of the West and the evolution of national policies, and punctuated with the spice and pepper of rival memorials and resolutions. In 1816 during the construction of the national road from Cumberland to the Ohio, the legislatures of Virginia and Ohio incorporated the Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Company and authorized it to erect a bridge which, however, was to be treated as a public nuisance liable to abatement if not constructed so as to avoid injury to navigation. Unable to raise funds necessary for the work, the Company in 1830 asked for a national subscription to the bridge, and its request received a favorable committee report in the House[1] Two years later citizens of Pennsylvania submitted to the House a memorial against the erection of the bridge.[2]

Under the old charter of 1816 the company in 1836 built a wooden bridge from the west end of Zane's Island to the Ohio shore, leaving the stream east of the island free to navigation. At the same time petitions to Congress backed by resolutions of the Ohio legislature, urged the construction of the bridge over both branches of the stream in order to facilitate trade and travel—and to prevent inconvenience and delay in transporting the mails by ferry, which was frequently obstructed by ice and driftwood and especially so in the great floods of 1832. A congressional committee on roads and canals made a favorable report recommending the completion of the Cumberland road by the erection of the bridge[3]; but the objection was made that the bridge might prove an obstruction to the high chimneys of the steamboats whose convenience Congress did not think should yield to the benefits of the bridge. In 1838, government engineers, after a survey made under the direction of the war department, presented to Congress a plan for a suspension bridge with a movable floor which they claimed would offer no obstruction to the highest steamboat smoke-stacks on the highest floods,[4] but the plan was rejected. In 1840 the postmaster general recommended the construction of the bridge in order to provide for safe and prompt carriage of the mails—which had been detained by ice from seventeen to thirty-two days each year[5]; but his recommendation was buried in the archives.

Early in 1844, Pennsylvania, awakened by the fear of plans to make Wheeling the head of navigation, became more active in her opposition to what seemed an imminent danger to her interests and the interests of Pittsburg. By action of her legislature she opposed the request of Wheeling and the Ohio legislature for national appropriations to con-

---

[1] House Rep. 339 and 349, 21-1, vol. III.
[2] House exec. docs. 188, 22-1, vol. V.
[3] Rep. Com. 672, 24-1, vol. III. Rep. Com. 135, 24-2, vol. I.
[4] H. Docs. 993, 25-1, June, 1838.
[5] Cong. Globe, vol. 25, p. 973. Also see House Docs. 137, 29-1, vol. IV.

struct the bridge, and soon took new steps to secure the construction of a railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburg.[6] The House committee on roads and canals, deciding that the bridge could be constructed without obstructing navigation, reported a bill making an appropriation and submitting a plan of Mr. Ellet for a simple span across the river at an elevation of 90 feet above low water, but those who spoke for Pennsylvania urged the specific objection that 90 feet would not admit the passage of steamboats with tall chimneys, and defeated the bill. In vain did Mr. Stoenrod, the member from Wheeling, propose hinged smokestacks for the few tall chimneyed boats and press every possible argument in favor of the bridge.[7] Opposition increased after 1845 with the increase in the size of the Pittsburg steamboat smokestacks—an improvement by which speed power was increased through increased consumption of fuel.

Baffled in her project to secure the sanction and aid of Congress for a bridge which Pennsylvania regarded as a plan to divert commerce from Pittsburg by making Wheeling the head of navigation, Wheeling next resorted to the legislature of Virginia in which the remonstrating voice of Pennsylvania could not be heard. On March 19, 1847, the Bridge Company obtained from the legislature a charter reviving the earlier one of 1816 and authorizing the erection of a wire suspension bridge — but also providing that the structure might be treated as a common nuisance, subject to abatement, in case it should obstruct the navigation of the Ohio "in the usual manner" by steamboats and other crafts which were accustomed to navigate it. Under this charter the company took early steps to erect the bridge. At the same time, and coincident with the beginning of construction on the Harrisburg and Pittsburg railway at Harrisburg under its charter granted by the Pennsylvania legislature on April 13, 1846, she managed to secure a promise of the western terminal of the Baltimore and Ohio railway — which after a long halt at Cumberland received a new charter from the Virginia legisture[8] and prepared to push construction to the Ohio ahead of the Pennsylvania line.

The possible strategic and economic effects of the Baltimore and Ohio terminal at Wheeling increased the activity of Pittsburg against the bridge, which the engineer of the Pennsylvania and Ohio railway openly declared was designed as a connecting link between the Baltimore and Ohio and the state of Ohio — by which Wheeling was also endeavoring to make

---

[6] House Docs. 95, 27-3, vol. III; ibid 67, 28-1, vol. III. Sen. Doc. 84, 28-1, vol. I.

[7] House Rep. 79, 28-1, vol. I. Also see 42 Ohio Laws, 269; 29 Pa Laws, 487 and 31 Pa. Laws, 591.

[8] See U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 16 Howard, 314-354, A. J. Marshall v. The B. and O. Railroad.

herself the terminal of the Ohio railways which Pittsburg sought to secure.[9]

A determined struggle followed. Before its cables were thrown across the river, the Bridge Company received legal notice of the institution of a suit and an application for an injunction. The bill of of Pennsylvania, filed before the United States supreme court in July, 1849; charged that the Bridge Company under color of an act of the Virginia legislature, but in direct violation of its terms, was preparing to construct a bridge at Wheeling which would obstruct navigation on the Ohio and thereby cut off and divert trade and business from the public works of Pennsylvania, and thus diminish tolls and revenues and render its improvements useless.[10] In spite of the order of Judge Grier (August 1, 1849), the Bridge Company continued its work, and in August 1849, Pennsylvania filed a supplemental bill praying for abatement of the iron cables which were being stretched across the river.[11] The Bridge Company continued to work and completed the bridge. The state treasurer of Pennsylvania reported that it threatened to interfere with the business and enterprise of Pittsburg whose commercial prosperity was so essential to the productiveness of the main line of the Pennsylvania canal. In December 1849, Pennsylvania filed another supplemental bill praying abatement of the bridge as a nuisance, representing that the structure obstructed the passage of steamboats and threatened to injure and destroy the shipbuilding business at Pittsburg. With no appeal to force (such as had recently occurred on the Ohio-Michigan frontier), or blustering enactments of state sovereignty, or threats of secession, she sought a remedy by injunction against a local corporation. In January 1850, the Pennsylvania legislature unanimously passed a resolution approving the prosecution instituted by the attorney-general. At the same time the Bridge Company secured from the Virginia legislature (on January 11, 1850) an amendatory act declaring that the height of the bridge (90 feet at eastern abutment, 93½ feet at the highest point and 62 feet at the western abutment above the low water level of the Ohio) was in conformity with the intent and meaning of the charter.

In the presentation of the case before the supreme court, the attorney-general of Pennsylvania and Edwin M. Stanton were attorneys for Pennsylvania and Alex. H. H. Stuart and Reverdy Johnson for the Bridge Company.

The counsel for Pennsylvania urged that the bridge had been erected especially to the injury of Pittsburg (the rival of Wheeling in commerce and manufactures), whose six largest boats (those most affected

---

[9] Cong. Globe, vol. 25, p. 1049; Pittsburg Gazette and Commercial Journal, June 30, 1849.

[10] U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 9 Howard, 647.

[11] Ib., 11 Howard, 528.

by the bridge) carried between Pittsburg and Cincinnati three-fourths of the trade and travel transported by the Pennsylvania canal. "To the public works of Pennsylvania the injury occasioned by this obstruction is deep and lasting," said Stanton. "The products of the South and West, and of the Pacific coast, are brought in steamboats along the Ohio to the western end of her canals at Pittsburg, thence to be transported through them to Philadelphia, for an eastern and foreign market. Foreign merchandise and eastern manufactures, received at Philadelphia, are transported by the same channel to Pittsburg, thence to be carried south and west, to their destination, in steamboats along the Ohio. If these vessels and their commerce are liable to be stopped within a short distance as they approach the canals, and subject to expense, delay and danger, to reach them, and the same consequence to ensue on their voyage, departing, the value of these works must be destroyed."[12]

The Bridge Company, through its counsel admitting that Pennsylvania had expended large amounts in public improvements terminating at Pittsburg and Beaver, over which there was a large passenger and freight traffic, alleged the exclusive sovereignty of Virginia over the Ohio, submitted the act of the Virginia legislature authorizing the erection of the bridge, denied the corporate capacity of Pennsylvania to institute the suit, and justified the bridge as a connecting link of a great public highway as important as the Ohio, and as a necessity recognized by reports of committees in Congress. It cited the example set by Pennsylvania in bridging the Allegheny, in authorizing a bridge across the Ohio below Pittsburg at thirteen feet less elevation than the Wheeling bridge, and in permitting the bridging and damming of the Monongahela by enterprising citizens of Pittsburg under charters from the state. It declared that the bridge was not an appreciable inconvenience to the average class of boats and would not diminish the Pittsburg trade, and suggested that the chimneys of steamboats should be shortened or put on hinges for convenience in lowering. It also contended that the bridge was necessary for transporting into the interior the passengers and much of the freight which would be diverted from the streams by the greater speed and safety of railroads which would soon concentrate at Wheeling.

The court, accepting jurisdiction, appointed Hon. R. H. Walworth, a jurist of New York, as special commissioner to take testimony and report. The report indicated that the bridge obstruction would divert part of the total traffic (nearly fifty millions annually) from lines of transportation centering at Pittsburg to the northern route through New York or to a more southern route. Of the nine regular packets which passed Wheeling in 1847, five would have been unable to pass under the bridge (for periods differing in length) without lowering or cutting off

[12]U. S. Supreme Court, 13 Howard, 538.

their chimneys. The passage of three of the Pittsburg-Cincinnati packets had been actually stopped or obstructed. One, on November 10, 1849, was detained for hours by the necessity of cutting off the chimneys. Another, the Hibernia, on November 11, 1849, was detained thirty-two hours and was obliged to hire another boat to carry to Pittsburg the passengers except those who preferred to cross the mountains via Cumberland. Later she was twice compelled to abandon a trip—once hiring another boat, and once landing her passengers who proceeded east to Cumberland. Two accidents had also occurred.

The report indicated a preponderance of evidence against the safety of lowering the chimneys, which at any rate was regarded as a very slow and expensive process. Although the commissioner recognized that it would be a great injury to commerce and to the community to destroy fair competition between river and railroad transit by an unnecessary obstruction to either, and recognized the propriety of carrying railroads across the large rivers if it could be done without impairing navigation, he concluded that the Wheeling bridge was an obstruction to free navigation of the Ohio. Of the 230 boats on the river below Wheeling, the 7 boats of the Pittsburg-Cincinnati packet line were most obstructed by the bridge. They conveyed about one-half the goods (in value) and three-fourths of the passengers between the two cities. Since 1844, they had transported nearly a million passengers.

The Wheeling Bridge Company complained that Mr. Walworth had given the company no chance to present its testimony.

The decision of the court was given at the adjourned term in May, 1852. The majority of the court (six members) held that the erection of the bridge, so far as it interfered with the free and unobstructed navigation of the Ohio, was inconsistent with and in violation of acts of Congress, and could not be protected by the legislature of Virginia because the Virginia statute was in conflict with the laws of Congress.

Justice McLean who delivered the opinion of the court held that since the Ohio was a navigable stream subject to the commercial power of Congress, Virginia had no jurisdiction over the interstate commerce upon it, and that the act of the Virginia legislature authorizing the structure of the bridge so as to obstruct navigation could afford no justification of the Bridge Company. However numerous the railroads and however large their traffic, he expected the waterways to remain the great arteries of commerce and favored their protection as such instead of their obstruction and abandonment. The decree stated that unless the navigation was relieved from obstruction by February 1, 1853, the bridge must be abated.

Chief Justice Taney dissented on the ground that since Virginia had exercised sovereignty over the Ohio and Congress had acquiesced in it, the court could not declare the bridge an unlawful obstruction

and the law of Virginia unconstitutional and void. He preferred to leave the regulation of bridges and steamboat chimneys to the legislative department. Justice Daniels, also dissenting, declared that Pennsylvania could not be a party to the suit on the ground stated in the bill (diminuation of profits in canals and other public improvements many miles remote from the Wheeling bridge) and that the court could take no jurisdiction in such cases of imperfect rights, or of merely moral or incidental rights as distinguished from legal or equitable. "And," said he "if the mere rivalry of works of internal improvement in other states, by holding out the temptation of greater dispatch, greater safety, or any other inducement to preference for those works over the Pennsylvania canals, be a wrong and a ground for jurisdiction here, the argument and the rule sought to be deduced therefrom should operate equally. The state of Virginia which is constructing a railroad from the seaboard to the Ohio river at Point Pleasant, much further down that river than either Pittsburg or Wheeling, and at the cost of the longest tunnel in the world, piercing the base of the Blue Ridge Mountains, should have the right by original suit in this court against the canal companies of Pennsylvania or against that state herself, to recover compensation for diverting any portion of the commerce which might seek the ocean by this shortest transit to the mouths of her canals on the Ohio, or to the city of Pittsburg; and on the like principle, the state of Pennsylvania has a just cause of action against the Baltimore and Ohio railroad for intercepting at Wheeling the commerce which might otherwise be constrained to seek the city of Pittsburg."[13]

Justice Daniels, intoxicated with the recent effects of the development of railroads, directed considerable attention to the reigning fallacy which Pennsylvania urged upon the court—that commerce could be prosecuted with advantage to the western country only by the channels of rivers and through the agency of steamboats whose privileges were regarded as paramount. He urged that the historical progress of means of transportation exposed the folly and injustice of all attempts to restrict commerce to particular localities or to particular interests. Against the narrow policy of confining commerce to watercourses whose capacity was limited by the contributions of the clouds, he urged the superiority of railroads for speed, safety, freedom from dependence on wind or depth of water, and unifying power in interfluvial regions.

Plans were proposed by the defendant's counsel to remove the obstructions to navigation at less expense than the elevation or abatement of the bridge, and the court (March 3, 1852) referred the plans to J. McAlpine who made a report on May 8, 1852.

The majority of the court, looking only to desired results and not to methods, then agreed that the former decree would permit the

---

[13] U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 13 Howard, 661.

Bridge Company to remove the obstruction by a two hundred foot draw in the bridge over the western branch of the river. Justice McLean then delivered the opinion of the court in which he stated that the right of navigating the Ohio or any other river does not necessarily conflict with the right of bridging it; but he declared that these rights could only be maintained when they were exercised so as not to be incompatible with each other. If the bridge had been constructed according to the language of the charter, he said, the suit could not have been instituted.

Defeated before the courts, Wheeling took prompt steps to save the bridge by action of Congress. In her efforts she received the cooperation of one hundred and twenty-one members of the Ohio legislature who (in April, 1852) petitioned Congress to protect the bridge by maintaining it as a mail route—and also by resolutions of the Virginia and Indiana legislatures.[14] She even had the sympathy of thirty-six members representing the minority of the Pennsylvania legislature, who presented a petition in favor of protecting the bridge.[15] On July 8, the committee on roads made a favorable report asking Congress to declare both bridges post roads and military roads and to regulate the height and construction of chimneys of steamboats navigating the Ohio.[16] On August 12, an adverse report was made on a resolution of the Pennsylvania legislature. In the debates which followed (from August 13 to August 18)[17] the advocates of the bill included: (1) those who felt that the entire proceeding against the bridge originated in Pittsburg's jealousy of Wheeling, (2) those who felt that the recent decision of the supreme court was a strike against state sovereignty, and (3) those who (favoring the encouragement of better facilities for travel) asserted that within two years one could travel from New York to Cincinnati via Wheeling bridge as quickly as one could now pass from Cincinnati to Wheeling in either of the seven tall chimneyed Pittsburg packet boats, and with no danger of stoppage of transportation alternately by low water and frozen water.

Some of them who opposed the bill regarded the proposed legislation in favor of the bridge as giving a preference to boats bound to Wheeling over those bound to Pittsburg and as a strike at the prosperity of Pittsburg. Others in opposition directed attention to the fact that bridges adapted to railroad purposes could be erected near Wheeling without obstruction to navigation and that the Ohio Central railway and the Baltimore and Ohio, which had recently intended to connect at

[14] H. Misc. Docs. 50, 32-1, vol. I. Sen. Misc. Docs. 103, 32-1, vol. I. H. Misc. Docs. 63, 32-1, vol. I.

[15] Cong. Globe, 32-1, p. 602.

[16] H. Reports 158, 32-1, vol. I.

[17] Cong. Globe, 32-1 vol. 25, pp. 967-968, 972, 974, 1037-1049, 1041, 1044, 1047, 1065 and 1068.

Wheeling, had found a more convenient point four miles south of Bogg's Ferry where a bridge could be constructed at sufficient height to avoid the objection taken by the supreme court to the bridge at Wheeling.[18]

The bill passed the Senate on August 28 by a vote of 33 to 10, and the House on August 30 by a vote of 92 to 42.[19] On August 31, before the time designated for the execution of the decree of May, 1852, it became an act of Congress legalizing in their existing conditions the bridges both of the west and the east branch, abutting on Zane's Island. It declared them to be post roads for the passage of United States mail, at the same time requiring vessels navigating the river to regulate their pipes and chimneys so as not to interfere with the elevation and construction of the bridges.

The Bridge Company relied upon this act as superseding the effect and operation of the decree of May, 1852, but Pennsylvania insisted that the act was unconstitutional. The captain of one of the Pittsburg packets showed his displeasure by unnecessarily going through the form of lowering his chimneys and passing under the bridge with all the forms of detention and oppression.[20]

Meantime the rival railroads had been pushing westward to connect the rival cities of the Ohio with rival cities of the East. The original line of the Pennsylvania whose construction began at Harrisburg in July, 1847, was opened to the junction with the Allegheny Portage railway at Hollidaysburg at the base of the mountains on September 16, 1850.[21] The Baltimore and Ohio, notwithstanding delays incident to the difficulties experienced in securing laborers was opened for business from Cumberland to the foot of the mountains at Piedmont on July 5, 1851. The western division of the Pennsylvania line from the western end of the Portage railroad at Johnstown to Pittsburg was opened on September 22, 1852, and a through train service via the inclined planes of the Portage railway was established on December 10, following.

By the beginning of 1853, Wheeling seemed to have won new advantages over Pittsburg through the strategy of prospective railway lines and new steamer lines which induced the belief that Pennsylvania with her foot on the Ohio was but at the threshold of the promised land. The B. & O. won the race to the Ohio by a single continuous track over which through train service was established from Baltimore to Wheeling in January, 1853. To connect with it at Wheeling the Wheeling and Kanawha packet line was established by the Virginia legisla-

[18] Cong. Globe, 32-1, vol. 25, p. 975.

[19] Ib. 32-1, vol. 24, pp. 2442 and 2479.

[20] Wheeling Intelligencer, Feb. 23, 1853.

[21] H. V. Poor, Manual of Railroads, 1881, p. 258.

ture and the Union line of steamboats was established between Wheeling and Louisville.[22] At the same time steps had been taken to construct several other prospective railways which would naturally converge at Wheeling.[23] These included the Hempfield to connect with Philadelphia, a line from Columbus, a line from Marietta, and also a line from Cleveland which was expected to become an important point in case the proposed treaty of reciprocity with Canada should become a law. While the James River and Kanawha canal and the Covington and Ohio railway still hesitated to find a way westward across the mountains farther south, and before the construction of the Northwestern Virginia railroad from Grafton to Parkersburg, Wheeling especially expected to divert the trade of southern Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee and to center it at Wheeling. Wheeling was also favored by cheaper steamer rates to the west and by the dangers of navigation between Wheeling and Pittsburg at certain periods of the year. Early in 1854, New York merchants shipped western freight via Baltimore and Wheeling. Oysters too, because of the bad condition of the Pennsylvania line of travel were shipped via Wheeling to Cleveland and Chicago.[24]

Pittsburg, however, undaunted by the chagrin of defeat, and with undiminished confidence in her ability to maintain her hegemony of the upper Ohio and the West, prepared to marshal and drill her forces for final victory by efforts to regain ground lost and to forestall the plans of her rival by new strategic movements. She declared that Wheeling was outside the travel line. She stationed an agent at Graves Creek below Wheeling to induce eastward-bound boat passengers to continue their journey to Pittsburg and thence eastward via the Pennsylvania line of travel in order to avoid the tunnels and zigzags, and the various kinds of delay on the B. & O.—to which the Wheeling *Intelligencer* replied by uncomplimentary references to the slowness of travel over the inclined planes and flat rails of the Pennsylvania Central railway.[25] Through her mayor and her newspapers she warned travellers against the danger of accidents on the B. & O.—to which Wheeling replied that the frightful accidents on the Pennsylvania line hurled more people into eternity each month than had ever been injured on the B. and O. She also endeavored to prejudice travelers against the Union line of steamers, complaining of its fares and food, and also of the reckless racing encouraged by its captains who had bantered the boats of other lines for exhibitions of speed.[26] She was also accused of using her influence to secure the location of the route of the Pittsburg branch of the Cleveland road, on the west shore of the Ohio, from Wellsville to

[22] Wheeling Intelligencer, Feb. 12 and 26, 1853.
[23] Ib. Sept 1852.
[24] Wheeling Intelligencer, Jan. 20 and March 2, 1854.
[25] Ib. March 7, 1853.
[26] Ib. April 1, 1853.

Wheeling, causing Brooke and Hancock Counties to threaten secession from Virginia.

As a strategic movement against the proposed Hempfield road, by which Wheeling hoped to get not only direct connection with Philadelphia, but also a connection with the Marietta road, Pittsburg resuscitated a movement in favor of the Steubenville and Pittsburg railway and revived the project of the Connelsville route to Baltimore. She also strained every nerve to open connections with the New York and Erie line via the Allegheny Valley.[27]

The proposed Steubenville and Pittsburg railway, especially, was strongly opposed by Wheeling by whom it was regarded as a project to cripple her by diverting her trade. Largely through her influence, Pittsburg's attempt to secure a charter from the Virginia legislature for the road for which she proposed a bonus on every passenger, was defeated in the lower house by a vote of 70 to 37, and later failed to secure the approval of the house committee.[28] When the promoters of the road tried the new plan of getting a route by securing the land in fee with the idea of rushing the road through in order to get the next Congress to declare it a post road, the Wheeling *Intelligencer* declared that Congress would not dare thus to usurp the sovereignty of Virginia.[29] An injunction against the road was proposed, and in order to prevent the construction of the railway bridge at Steubenville a plan to construct a road from the state line through Holliday's Cove and Wellsburg was considered.[30]

From the consideration of plans to prevent the construction of the Steubenville bridge above her Wheeling turned to grapple with a more immediate danger of ruin which threatened her by a proposed connection of the B. and O. and the Central Ohio railway at Benwood, four miles below her. This she claimed was in violation of the law of 1847 granting a charter to the B. and O.; and, to prevent it, she secured an injunction from Judge George W. Thompson of the Circuit Court—causing the *State Journal* of Columbus to place her in the list with Erie, Pa. (which had recently attempted to interrupt travel between east and west), and to assert that the Benwood track case was similar to the Wheeling Bridge case An attempt was made to secure combination and cooperation of the railroads to erect a union bridge in Wheeling to replace the old structure.[31]

Meantime, transportation facilities improved on the Pennsylvania

---

[27] Wheeling Intelligencer. Dec 15, 1852. and January 1853; also February 8, 1853.

[28] Ib. February 23, 1853 and February 1, 1854.

[29] Ib. May 13, 1853.

[30] Ib. November 9, 1853 and April 3, 1854.

[31] Wheeling Intelligencer, October 1854, January 1855; March 17, June 8 and June 19, 1855.

line after the mountains were conquered by a grade for locomotives. The mountain division of the road, and with it the whole line, was opened on February 15, 1854, and by its cheaper rates soon overcame the advantages which New Orleans had held in attracting the commerce of the West.[32] Pennsylvania promptly passed a bill (1854) authorizing the sale of her unproductive public works, and abandoned her portage railway across the mountains. Three years later (1857), she sold to the Pennsylvania railway the main line of the system of public works undertaken in 1826, including the Philadelphia and Columbia railway.[33]

Coincident with the determination of Pennsylvania to dispose of her unproductive public works, the old Wheeling bridge over the main branch of the stream was blown down by a gale of wind (in May, 1854) and was promptly removed to avoid obstruction. Some regarded the disaster as a just judgment for trespass upon the rights of others by Wheeling in order to make herself the head of navigation. The Pittsburg *Journal,* edited by the ex-mayor of the city, gloated over Wheeling's misfortune.[34] The Pittsburg and Cincinnati packet *Pennsylvania,* in derision, lowered her chimneys at the place recently spanned by the bridge. Her second offense, a few days later, exasperated the indignant crowd on shore and induced the boys to resort to mob spirit and to throw stones resulting in a hasty departure of the vessel; but further trouble was avoided by an apology from the captain and the wise advice of older heads.

Another and a final Wheeling Bridge case before the Supreme Court (arising in 1854 and decided in April, 1856,)[35] resulted from the decision of the company to rebuild the bridge. When the company promptly began the preparations for rebuilding, Pennsylvania, stating that she desired to secure a suspension of expensive work until the force and effect of the act of Congress could be judicially determined, asked the United States Supreme Court for an injunction against the reconstruction of the bridge unless in conformity with the requirements of the previous decree in the case. Without any appearance or formal opposition of the company, the injunction was granted (June 25, 1854,) during vacation of the court, by Justice Grier whom the Wheeling *Intelligencer* called the Pittsburg judge of the Supreme Court. The *Intelligencer* regarded the question as a grave one, involving the sovereign authority of Virginia and a direct law of Congress, and illustrating the aggressions of the Supreme Court, which it feared were becoming daily more alarming. Charles Ellet, the engineer on whom the injunction was served, promptly announced that he expected to have the bridge open for traffic in two weeks, and the bridge company asked Congress to investigate

[32] Star of the Kanawha Valley, January 9, 1856.
[33] H. V. Poor, Manual of Railways, 1881, p. 258.
[34] Wheeling Intelligencer May 20 and 22, 1854.
[35] U. S. Supreme Courts, 18 Howard, 421-459.

charges against Judge Grier to the effect that he had invited bribery.[36] The new suspension bridge was opened as a temporary structure on July 26 at an expense of only $8,000.

The injunction having been disregarded, Pennsylvania asked for attachment and sequestration of the property of the company for contempt resulting from disobedience of the injunction of Justice Grier. At the same time, the company asked the court to dissolve the injunction. Pennsylvania insisted that the act of Congress was unconstitutional and void because it annulled the judgment of the court already rendered and because it was inconsistent with the clause in Article I, Section 9, of the Constitution against preference to the ports of one state over those of another.

Justice Nelson, in delivering the decision of the court on the latter point, said: "It is urged that the interruption of the navigation of the steamboats engaged in commerce and conveyance of passengers upon the Ohio river at Wheeling from the erection of the bridge, and the delay and expense arising therefrom, virtually operate to give a preference to this port over that of Pittsburg; that the vessels to and from Pittsburg navigating the Ohio and Mississippi rivers are not only subjected to this delay and expense in the course of the voyage, but that the obstruction will necessarily have the effect to stop the trade and business at Wheeling, or divert the same in some other direction or channel of commerce. Conceding all this to be true, a majority of the court are of the opinion that the act of Congress is not inconsistent with the clause in the constitution referred to — in other words, that it is not giving a preference to the ports of one state over those of another, within the true meaning of that provision. There are many acts of Congress passed in the exercise of this power to regulate commerce, providing for a special advantage to the port or ports of one state (and which very advantage may incidentally operate to the prejudice of the ports in a neighboring state) which have never been supposed to conflict with this limitation upon its power. The improvement of rivers and harbors, the erection of light-houses, and other facilities of commerce, may be referred to as examples."[37]

The court decided that the decree for alteration or abatement of the bridge could not be carried into execution since the act of Congress regulating the navigation of the river was consistent with the existence and continuance of the bridge — but that the decrees directing the costs to be paid by the bridge company must be executed. The majority of the court (six members), on the grounds that the act of Congress afforded full authority to reconstruct the bridge, directed that the motion for attachments against the president of the bridge company and others for disobedience and contempt should be denied and the injunc-

[36] Wheeling Intelligencer July 1 and July 17, 1854.
[37] U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 18 Howard, 433.

tion dissolved; but Nelson agreed with Wayne, Grier and Curtis in the opinion that an attachment should issue, since there was no power in Congress to interfere with the judgment of the court under pretense of power to legalize the structure or by making it a post road.

Justice McLean dissented, feeling that the principle involved was of the deepest interest to the growing commerce of the West, which might be obstructed by bridges across the rivers. He opposed the idea that making the bridge a post road (under the purpose of the act of July 7, 1838,) could exempt it from the consequences of being a nuisance. He regarded the act of Congress as unconstitutional and void; and, although he admitted the act might excuse previous contempt, he declared that it could afford no excuse for further refusal to perform the decree.

A sequel to the preceding case arose in the same term of court (December, 1855,) on motion of the counsel for the bridge company for leave to file a bill of review of the court's order of the December term of 1851, in regard to the costs. The court had already determined that the decree rendered for costs against the bridge company was unaffected by the act of Congress of August 1, 1852; but the court declining to open the question for examination declared "there must be an end of all litigation."[38].

The later history bearing upon the subject here treated — the later regulation of the construction of bridges across the Ohio under act of Congress, the later opposition which found expression against the construction of bridges such as the railroad bridges of Parkersburg and between Benwood and Bellaire[39] (which were completed in 1871), the decline of old local prejudices and jealousies, and the rise of new problems of transportation resulting from the extension of railways, cannot be considered within the scope and limits of this monograph.

Professor Callahan was followed by Editor Wiley of Elizabeth, Pa.

SHIP AND BRIG BUILDING ON THE OHIO AND ITS TRIBUTARIES.

By Richard T. Wiley.

The coming of the steamboat on the western rivers was soon followed by the end of a movement in the commerce of the region, which seems strange as we compare it with present-day conditions and activities. To think of Pittsburgh and the river towns of the Ohio basin

[38] U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 18 Howard, 460-463.
[39] Wheeling Intelligencer, April 13 and April 20, 1869.

as seaports seems like a wild flight of the imagination, yet that is what they were in effect at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century and for a few years thereafter. Strange as it may seem, sea-going vessels of large tonnage for the time, sailed from various settlements on the Ohio, Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, while these were yet hardly more than frontier outposts, following the rivers to the Gulf of Mexico, and proceeding thence to ports in various parts of the world, in both hemispheres, laden with the products of this region. And the building and equipment of these vessels became an important industry of various river towns. Can it be now that with the deepening of existing waterways and the opening of a deep water connection between the Great Lakes and the Ohio, history is about to repeat itself, and again sea-going vessels be seen in our local waters?

The story of this wonderful development of a few years in the early days has never been adequately told, and can only be touched on in its most conspicuous features in this paper. Much time and effort, search and research, have been given in an effort to trace it back to its very beginning; and while much interesting material has been unearthed, it cannot be said with certainty that the beginning has been reached. The search has been a fascinating one, with rewards by the way, of facts discovered here and there, and the incentive always of hinted facts just beyond. A number of claims have been made in the past, with a positiveness which seemed to be warranted by the information at hand, that this or that ship was the first to sail these western waters, only to be shown by the uncovering of further information to be in error. Of this more anon.

It would seem that this transportation development of the time was an evolution, even though a comparatively rapid one, rather than something which had its genesis suddenly in the building and sailing of some particular vessel. Navigation of these rivers began with the red men and their canoes, which were of two types — the dugout, made by shaping and hollowing out a log into boat form, and the bark canoe, made by carefully peeling the bark in one piece from a large tree trunk, shaping it to pointed prow and stern and pitching the seams to make them impervious to water. A third type of Indian canoe, made by stretching skins of animals over wooden framework, does not seem to have been much, if at all, in use among the Indians of this region.

The first white men who came to the western country followed the models provided by the Indians and made themselves canoes of dugout logs for navigating the streams, but they soon improved on the primitive pattern, and the first advance was the pirogue. With better tools and facilities for shaping it than the Indians could command, the whites employed much larger tree trunks for the making of these craft, and sometimes joined two great logs for the making of one pirogue, forming a boat capable of floating a considerable weight, be it of persons

or of merchandise. The bateau was the next development. It was a freight boat, built of planks, square at each end and widest at the middle. Its ultimate development is seen in the coal and freight barges on our rivers to-day. The flatboat was the usual conveyance of the emigrant down the rivers, in his migration to the west. It also was built of planks, with the seams caulked, was square and flat bottomed, and was roofed over for the protection of the people, their animals and goods. This craft, though unwieldy, was capable of carrying large loads. The modern coalboat is its lineal descendant. The keelboat, which finally came largely into use as the river packet of the day, alone, of all the craft described, followed the established plans of marine architecture, having a ribbed frame, planked over in straight lines and curves, after the manner of shipbuilding. Its name really gives a very good hint of its form and manner of construction, which was much like that of the canal boats of later days, pointed at prow and stern, and having a low cabin.

While paddles, oars, poles and cordelles were used on these various types of craft as the ordinary means of propulsion, they nearly all carried masts and sails for use when these could be employed to advantage. Note the two facts — the development of types into a marine form of construction, with keel and ribs, along with the use of sails — and the step was a short one to ships for plowing the main.

All of the information at hand seems to indicate that the beginning of the building of ships in the Ohio basin was in the last few years of the Eighteenth Century. Some careful writers have been misled by a paragraph in Harris's Directory of Pittsburgh, into giving 1792 as the time of the first ship-building operations at that city, but it will be shown that there was an error in the date quoted by Harris, the operations to which he refers having been begun ten years later than the date given by him. Here is the quotation referred to. (Note particularly the dates and the names of vessels.)

"In the year 1792 a French company of merchants under the firm of Tarascon, Berthoud & Co., came from Philadelphia and commenced a large establishment at this place They brought with them about twenty ship carpenters and joiners, and the first summer built the schooner Amity of 120 tons and the ship Pittsburgh of 250 tons. Having sent out caulkers, riggers, captains, mates and sailors, they were fitted out completely for sea; and the following spring the schooner was sent to St. Thomas and the ship to Philadelphia, both laden with flour. The second summer they built the brig Nanina, of 200, and the ship Louisiana, of 350 tons. The ship was sent direct to Marseilles; the brig was sent out ballasted with stone coal, which was sold at Philadelphia for 37½ cents a bushel. She also had a quantity of staves, heading, hoop-poles, etc. The year after they built the ship Western Trader, of 400 tons. This com-

pany were the first to introduce the navigation of the Ohio with keelboats."

Against this put the following, from "Pittsburgh's Hundred Years, by the careful local historian, George H. Thurston, published in 1888: "The building of sea-going vessels was established at Pittsburgh by a French gentleman, Louis Anastasius Tarascon, who emigrated from France in 1794, and established himself at Philadelphia as a merchant. In 1799 he sent two of his clerks, Charles Brugiere and James Berthoud, to examine the course of the Ohio and Mississippi from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and ascertain the practicability of sending ships, and clearing them ready-rigged, from Pittsburgh to the West Indies and Europe. The two gentlemen reported favorably, and Mr. Tarascon associated them, and his brother, John Anthony, with himself, under the firm of John A. Tarascon Brothers, James Berthoud & Co., and immediately established at Pittsburgh a wholesale and retail warehouse, a ship yard, a rigging and sail loft, an anchor smithshop, a block manufactory and all other things necessary to complete sea-going vessels. The first year, 1801, they built the schooner Amity, of 120 tons, and the ship Pittsburgh, of 250 tons, and sent the former, loaded with flour, to St. Thomas, and the other, also loaded with flour, to Philadelphia, from whence they sent them to Bordeaux, France, and brought back a cargo of wine, brandy and other French goods, part of which they sent in wagons to Pittsburgh, at a carriage of from 6 to 8 cents a pound. In 1802 they built the brig Nanina, 250 tons; in 1803, the ship Louisiana, 300 tons; in 1804, the ship Western Trader, 400 tons."

Original documentary evidence now at hand shows that neither of the writers above quoted was entirely accurate, though the later one was approximately so. Almost complete files exist, for the period under consideration, of the *Gazette* and the *Tree of Liberty*, two weekly newspapers published at Pittsburgh, and are now preserved in the Carnegie Library of that city. One or both of these note the launching of all the vessels above named, in the order there given. But the Amity, instead of having been built in 1792, as Harris says, or in 1801, as given by Thurston, was evidently constructed in 1802, for her launching on the 23d of December of that year is noted in the local news record. The ship Pittsburgh was launched in February, 1803; the brig Nanina, January 4, 1804; the ship Louisiana, April 6, 1804, and the Western Trader, in May, 1804, as noted in the current news record.

It is inconceivable, of course, that the names and practically the tonnage of vessels should be duplicated in the same yard, in a series of five, within ten years, so it is very evident that the date given by Harris as the beginning of operations by this firm was one decade too early. Other things in the record make this indubitable. In the same newspaper files already quoted from, first appears, in the autumn of 1801, advertising of the mercantile house of James Berthoud, while in September,

1802, notice was given the public that "the house of James Berthoud will hereafter be known by the firm of Tarascon Brothers, James Berthoud & Co." Further evidence of the unreliability of the Harris publication is found in the statement that "this company were the first to introduce the navigation of the Ohio with keelboats," for advertising of the period shows that these were being built and offered for sale at Pittsburgh and various places on the Monongahela river from four to six years before the early date erroneously given by Harris as the time of the founding of the Tarascon-Berthoud house.

But this concern was not the first one to build maritime vessels in the Pittsburgh region or on the Ohio, though it is probable theirs was the first establishment in the western country having facilities for their building and complete outfitting. Note is made in the papers already quoted from of the building of the Dean, a vessel of 180 tons, at a point on the Allegheny river, eleven miles above Pittsburgh, in the year 1802. This vessel sailed from Pittsburgh in January, 1803, for Liverpool, England, the intention being to take on a cargo of cotton at the mouth of the Cumberland river. This was more than three months before the sailing of the Amity and Pittsburgh from Pittsburgh.

The claim has long been made that the first sea-going vessel to be built on the western rivers and to pass down these to the sea was the schooner Monongahela Farmer, a vessel of 92 tons' burden, built at Elizabethtown, now Elizabeth, on the Monongahela. It has figured as such in history and story, and the present writer confesses to having, in full belief of its correctness, done somewhat to perpetuate what there is now good reason to believe was an error. This vessel was built in the year 1800, and was launched April 23, 1801, by the Monongahela Company, an organization of farmers of the vicinity. It was loaded with flour and sent to New Orleans, becoming later a packet between that city and the West Indies. The stock of the company was in twenty shares of one hundred dollars each, and was owned by twenty farmers. The owners of the vessel also owned its cargo. It sailed in May of the same year, touching at Pittsburgh on the 13th. It was detained at the Falls of Ohio (Louisville) for more than six months by low water, not reaching New Orleans until the beginning of 1802. Very complete records of this vessel and her voyage were preserved in a printed description of her materials and construction, the letter of commission and instruction to her commander and letters from him on the way. The commander was Capt. John Walker of Elizabeth. For three-quarters of a century boat building operations were carried on by the Walker family at Elizabeth, and representatives of it are still there and at various other places in the country. It has constantly been maintained by these Walkers that their forebear sailed the first ship down the inland waters. He survived until 1856, and his son John died in Colorado

within the past year, so the span of these two lives covered the century and more since the events under consideration.

Did the honor of being the first belong to the Monongahela Farmer? The *Tree of Liberty* has this note in its issue of March 28, 1801: "Now riding at anchor in the Monongahela, opposite this place, the schooner Redstone, 45 feet in keel, built at Chester's ship yard, near Redstone, by Samuel Jackson & Co. — with masts, spars, rigging, &c., of the growth and manufacture of this western country." This was nearly four weeks before the launching of the Monongahela Farmer, and more than six weeks before her sailing. No further record can be found of the schooner Redstone — when she sailed, for what port or the nature of her cargo. Her departure from Pittsburgh may, of course, have been subsequent to that of the Monongahela Farmer. The "Chester ship yard, near Redstone," is doubtless identical with that referred to in an advertisement in the Pittsburgh *Gazette* in its issue of October 7, 1786, which announces that "Joseph Chester, boat builder, opposite the mouth of Little Redstone, nine miles below Big Redstone, makes all kinds of keel and other boats, in the most improved manner, and at shortest notice." The mouth of Little Redstone creek is the site of the present borough of Fayette City, and Allenport, on the opposite side of the Monongahela, was, without doubt, the site of the Chester yard.

The ship which seems to have the best title to priority over the Monongahela Farmer of any which have figured in the records up to this time is the St. Clair, built at Marietta, Ohio. Different authorities assign the years 1798, 1799 and 1800 as the time of her construction. That she was built about the end of the century and sailed for Havana, Cuba, with a cargo of pork and flour, under command of Commodore Abraham Whipple, of Revolutionary fame, is generally agreed, though Thurston speaks of the commander as Commodore Preble. The present writer has been unable to find any documentary evidence, coming down from the time, which fixes the date definitely, as in the cases of vessels already considered. The spring of 1800 is the time which has most favor as that of the sailing of this vessel. Prof. Archer Butler Hulbert, of Marietta, an accepted authority on matters of history of the Ohio Valley, referring to it in his excellent work, "The Ohio River, a Course of Empire," says: "It was in the year 1800, probably, that the first ocean-rigged vessel weighed anchor on the Ohio for the sea," and in the same work he refers to the Monongahela Farmer as "the first [ship] to descend the Ohio of which we have any clear record."*

In the year 1797, when war was threatened between the United States and France, Congress authorized the building of two armed

*Prof. Hulbert quotes as his authority for the time of the St. Clair's sailing, Hildreth's Pioneer History, issued in 1834, and an inscription on the tombstone of Commodore Whipple.

galleys for the defense of the lower Mississippi. These were built and launched at or near Pittsburgh, the President Adams in 1798 and the Senator Ross in 1799. Major Isaac Craig, writing at the time, spoke of the first as "as fine a vessel of her burden and construction as the United States possesses," and the second as "certainly a fine piece of naval architecture, and one which will far exceed anything the Spaniards can show on the Mississippi." But these were never intended to be sea-going craft and probably were never in salt water.

And now to return to the claim long made that the first sea-going vessel built west of the Allegheny mountains sailed from Elizabeth and was commanded by Capt. John Walker. Various county and other histories have accepted the correctness of this claim. Thus Thurston, in "Allegheny County's Hundred Years," published in 1888, says: "Allegheny County is more than historically connected in a general way with the history of steamboat building. Elizabeth is the point where was built, at the close of the Eighteenth Century, the first sea-going vessel to navigate the western waters, and Pittsburgh is the place where the first practical steamboat was constructed." Warner's and other histories of Allegheny County make like claims, basing them on earlier publications. Note has already been made of the fact that the Walker family, in an unbroken line of boat builders for three-quarters of a century, always claimed that John Walker sailed the first ship down the rivers to the sea. Could it be that this was correct and the vessel was an earlier one than the Monongahela Farmer? Some things that have recently come to light indicate a probability of this. The vessel named has long been so well known, because of the very complete record concerning it which has been preserved, that this, coupled with the fact that Capt. Walker commanded it on its maiden voyage, may have brought confusion in the general apprehension concerning it, and made it to stand for something really belonging to another vessel. It is a matter of history that besides taking the Monongahela Farmer to New Orleans in 1801, with a cargo of products of the region, he also sailed the brig Ann Jane, a considerably larger vessel, built and loaded at the same place, to New York about three years later. Evidence is now at hand that he made a water voyage to New York earlier than the first of these two.

John Walker, Jr., son of Capt. John Walker, died at Mt. Morrison, Col., a suburb of Denver, on the 23d of January in the present year, aged 94 years. His son, John Brisben Walker, former editor of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, and well known in various lines of activity, has found among his papers a passport, written in Spanish and issued to the first John Walker, of which a literal translation is given below, furnished me by an interpreter employed in one of the Pittsburgh banks, a Spaniard by birth. The superscription is handsomely engraved and shows that the official issuing it was a veritable poohbah of that

early day, as witness: "The Baron of Carondalet, Chevalier of St. John's Religion, Brigadier of the Royal Army, Gen. Governor, Vice Patron of Louisiana and Occidental Florida, Inspector of its Troops, etc." Then follows the written portion: "I grant free and sure passport to John Walker in order that on the schooner Polly, her captain, Mr. John Bain, he may go to New York, showing his baggage at the office of the Royal Duty. Given in New Orleans on the 17th of July, 1795. (Signed) Baron of Carondalet."

Here was Capt. John Walker on a sailing vessel at New Orleans in 1795, on his way to New York. A passport would be necessary, because Louisiana was then a Spanish possession. He was not in command of the vessel as master, but could not be expected to have the knowledge of seamanship to make him competent to take command of a vessel as master on the sea. Six years later he was commissioned by the owners of the Monongahela Farmer as "master and supercargo," but that vessel, while carrying complete rigging, did not have it erected to make her a sailing vessel on her passage down the rivers, and she was sold, with her cargo, on reaching New Orleans.

The third John Walker informed the writer, in a recent conversation in Denver, that he had never gone into the matter in detail with his father, but had accepted the current tradition that it was on the Monongahela Farmer that his grandfather had made the pioneer voyage down the rivers to the sea. Monongahela Farmer and Polly were both familiar names to him in his early home life, in connection with family traditions of the nautical life of his grandfather, and it was always his understanding that both of them were built at and sailed from Elizabeth. This could easily be, for, from the laying out of the place in 1787, it was a boat building place, and skilled ship carpenters were employed there.

Thaddeus Mason Harris, the traveler and writer, arrived at Elizabethtown April 14, 1803, and makes this note: "At this place much business is done in boat and ship building. The Monongahela Farmer and other vessels of considerable burden were built here and, laden with the produce of the adjacent country, were sent to the West India islands." Local history has long told of the sailing of the Monongahela Farmer in May, 1801, and the brig, Ann Jane, in May, 1804, from Elizabeth, but there is no record of any between them. The Pittsburgh papers of that period seem to have been careful to note the sailing of all ships from the home ports. They recorded the two above named from Elizabeth, but only these two. Harris was there a year before the launching of the Ann Jane, but speaks of "other vessels of considerable burden," sent "laden with the produce of the adjacent country." This is strong evidence that there were other sea-going vessels built there before the Monongahela Farmer, and greatly strengthened the case of the Polly, which was at New Orleans in 1795, with Capt. John Walker on board, bound for New York.

If, as seems probable, the Polly was built in this region, it carries the local ship building activity back at least five years earlier than the records heretofore have seemed to indicate, and seems to give firm basis to the Walker claim of priority. All efforts to trace the subsequent history of this vessel have been unavailing.

While it may not be said with positiveness which was the first sea-going vessel built in these parts, it is evident that the movement had its origin in the last decade of the Eighteenth Century. All the boat yards of the region of which record can be found had their beginnings not earlier than the late eighties of that century, and ship building here seems to have attained its greatest activity in the first decade of the Nineteenth Century. Within that period the records show that vessels of this character were built on the Monongahela at Pittsburgh, at Elizabeth and opposite the mouth of Little Redstone creek (now Allenport); on the Allegheny, at an unnamed point eleven miles from its mouth; on the Ohio, at Freedom, Wheeling, Marietta and Louisville. The *Tree of Liberty,* in its issue of May 30, 1801, in noting ship building operations at the two points last named, said: "The spirit of enterprise which exists now is really worthy of a free and industrious people. Traders need not be confined to one market, but may carry the products of the western country to any port in their own vessels."

It is true that these were only outward-bound vessels, for after sailing away they did not return up the river. Either the vessel was sold at New Orleans or its other destination, or it continued to be sailed by its owners on the ocean between various ports. Possible exceptions to this were small barks which did return up the river, but these probably never saw the high seas, their commercial operations being confined to the rivers. The verb "sail," as employed in this and previous paragraphs, to designate the beginning of the initial voyage, is used in its accommodated sense of denoting a vessel's departure, without reference to the means of its propulsion; for, as a matter of fact, these sea-going vessels, in no case that has been found, sailed down the rivers under the impetus of the wind upon their own canvas. It is true, they were usually provided with the materials for complete rigging — masts, yards, ropes, sails and even anchors — but the rigging was not set up until New Orleans was reached and the vessel was on the eve of beginning its sea voyage. It would be built, loaded, equipped and made all ready for a freshet, and then would be floated on the crest of this down the rivers, when the freshet came, usually in the spring. The boating operations on the rivers for a number of years before the building of ships here had brought an active demand for cordage, and there were a number of ropewalks in the region. Every material entering into the construction, from the various hard and soft woods to the flax and hemp for cordage and sails, was a product of the country, and was put into form right on the ground. There is some evidence that at the

beginning iron was imported into the region, but even it was forged into nails, bolts and anchors right here.

Michaux, the French writer, who visited this region in 1802, says: "What many, perhaps, are ignorant of in Europe is, that they build large vessels on the Ohio and at the town of Pittsburgh. One of the principal ship yards is upon the Monongahela, about 200 fathoms beyond the last house of the town. The timber they make use of is whiteoak, redoak, blackoak, a kind of nut tree [black walnut], the Virginia cherry tree, and a kind of pine which they use for masting, as well as for the sides of the vessels, which require a slighter wood. The cordage is manufactured at Redstone and Lexington, where there are two extensive ropewalks, which also supply ships with rigging that are built at Marietta and Louisville."

The movement that we have been considering did not cover a long period of years, and its decadence set in before the end of the first decade of the Nineteenth Century. This came about from various causes, three chief ones being: First, the difficulties of navigation of this character, under the most favorable conditions, and the infrequency of the times when it was even possible; secondly, the coming of the steamboat which, because of its greater adaptability to the existing conditions, soon relegated the sailing vessel on these waters to the limbo of things that were; thirdly, the passage of the Embargo Act, under the administration of President Jefferson, in December, 1808. Its object was, by cutting off intercourse with France and Great Britain, to compel them to recognize the rights of American neutrality, and by its operation all American vessels were detained in the ports of the United States. It remained in operation but fourteen months, but had its certain effect in checking ship building here, as elsewhere in the country.

The first of the reasons above enumerated is set forth somewhat by some literature of the time. Zadock Cramer's *Navigator*, a Pittsburgh publication of the period, with editions at irregular intervals, in its issue of 1811, says, after giving a list of sailing vessels built in the first years of the century at and near Pittsburgh: "Misfortunes and accidents in getting these vessels down the Ohio, which most probably arose from bad management in the persons entrusted with them, has given a damp to ship building at present." The same issue notes the enterprise of building the first steamboat at Pittsburgh, then under way, and the writer ventures on a remarkable prophecy of what its successful outcome would bring about — remarkable in that at this time it reads like history. Espwick Evans, who made a pedestrian tour through this region in 1818, left a record of what he found, and here is a quotation from it: "Ship and boat building is actively carried on at Pittsburgh, but of late no vessels of large tonnage have been made, on account of the dangers incident to getting them down the Ohio. Very few of the vessels and boats built here ever return up the river as far as this place [Pittsburgh];

and, of course, there is a constant demand for new vessels." Further along, after traversing a portion of the Ohio river, the same author writes: "The boats which float upon the Ohio river are various — from the ship of several hundred tons burden, to the mere skiff. Very few, if any, very large vessels, however, are now built at Pittsburgh and Marietta; but the difficulties incident to getting them to the ocean have rendered such undertakings infrequent. An almost innumerable number of steamboats, barks, keels and arks are yearly set afloat upon the river and its tributary streams. The barks are generally about one hundred tons burden, have two masts, and are rigged as schooners or hermaphrodite brigs. The keels have, frequently, covered decks, and sometimes carry one mast. These and also the barks are sometimes moved up the river by polling, and by drawing them along shore with ropes."

The first steamboat built on western waters, the New Orleans, was constructed at Pittsburgh, in the year 1811, but four years after Fulton's Clermont made its first successful trip on the Hudson. There is record of a steamboat having been built by Capt. John Walker at Elizabeth in 1815, and soon after that there were yards in operation in various towns on the Monongahela and Ohio, turning out the new type of vessels. These soon largely took the place of all other kinds of craft in bearing the commerce of the rivers, and the sea-going vessels made New Orleans their port of arrival and departure. Indeed, so far as a searching investigation has revealed, no ships were built in this region after the construction of the first steamboat. Thus came to an end a notable movement which in its entire activity does not seem to have covered more than a score of years, but which must have done much, in its time, to bring this then obscure region to the notice of the rest of the world.

PITTSBURGH A KEY TO THE WEST DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By James Alton James, M. D.,
Professor of History in Northwestern University.

From the opening of the Revolutionary War, American leaders looked to the conquest of Detroit, the headquarters of the posts and key to the fur trade and control of the Indian tribes to the northwest of the Ohio.[1] Throughout the war this post, in the possession of the British, "continued," as Washington wrote, "to be a source of trouble to the whole western country."[2]

The garrison at Detroit, at the beginning of the year 1776, consisted of 120 soldiers under the command of Capt. Richard Lernoult. The

fort was defended by a "stockade of picquets," about nine feet out of the earth, without "frize or ditch." Three hundred and fifty French and English made up the entire number of men in the town and nearby country, capable of bearing arms.[3] The majority of these men were French militiamen assembled under their own officers. Commanding the fort were two British armed schooners and three sloops manned by thirty "seamen and servants." There was not a single gunner among the crews; they were dissatisfied with the service and incapable of making much resistance.

Three hundred miles away to the southeast was Fort Pitt, the only American fortification (1775) guarding the long frontier stretching from Greenbrier, in Southwestern Virginia, to Kittanning, on the Upper Allegheny.[4] This fort was without a garrison. The inhabitants were dependent on the protection of the militia of the neighboring counties, and large numbers were reported to be in a most defenceless condition.[5]

From these two centers, in council after council, were to be exercised all of the diplomatic finesse of white men in attempts to gain control over the Indians of the Northwest. Assembled at some of these conferences were the chiefs and other representatives of the Delawares of the Muskingum and the Ohio; the Shawnee and Mingo of the Scioto, the Wyandot, Ottawa and Pottawattomi of Lake Michigan, the Chippewa of all the lakes; and, besides these, the Miami, Seneca, Sauk, and numerous other tribes. All told, the Northwestern tribes numbered some 8,000 warriors.[6]

In general, the American policy tended towards securing Indian neutrality, which was clearly stated by the Continental Congress in a speech prepared for the Six Nations early in July, 1775. The war was declared to be a family quarrel between the colonists and Old England, in which the Indians were in no way concerned. It was urged that they should remain at home and not join on either side, but "keep the hatchet buried deep."[7] They were apprehensive of the policy to be pursued by the British. Consequently, three departments of Indian affairs were created, to be under the control of commissioners, whose duties were to treat with the Indians in order to preserve their peace and friendship and prevent them from taking part in the present commotions. They were to superintend also the distribution of arms, ammunition and clothing, such as was essential to the existence of the Indians.[8]

Within a year, however, a resolution was passed that it was expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the united colonies and especially to secure their cooperation in bringing about the reduction of Detroit.[9]

The British early employed the savages to cut off outlying settlements. Under plea that the "rebels" had used Indians in their hostilities on the frontier of Quebec, after the capture of Ticonderoga, and that

they had brought Indians for the attack on Boston, General Gage urged that General Carleton might be privileged to use Canadians and Indians for a counter stroke.[10]

There was necessity for prompt action on the part of the Americans, in order that they might gain the friendship of the tribes beyond the Ohio. In the provisional treaty at Camp Charlotte, Governor Dunmore promised the Indians that he would return in the spring and bring it to completion. By that time, the revolutionary movement had assumed such proportions that he deemed it inadvisable to risk a journey to the frontier. Again, he found a ready agent in Dr. John Connolly,[11] a bold, enterprising, restless character, who had been left in command of the garrison of seventy-five men at Fort Dunmore. In a conference at Williamsburg, in February, Major Connolly was instructed by Lord Dunmore to use his efforts to induce the Indians to espouse the cause of Great Britain. In this he succeeded, in so far as he brought together at Pittsburgh the chiefs of the Delawares and a few Mingo, whom he assured that a general treaty, with presents, was soon to be held with all the Ohio Indians.[12] Disbanding the garrison in July, he returned to find Dunmore a fugitive on board a man-of-war off York. Together they concocted a plan fraught with grave consequences for the back country and for the American cause in general. In a personal interview, Connolly won the assent of General Gage to the plan, and received instructions for its development.[13] It was designed that Connolly should proceed to Detroit, where he was to have placed under his command the garrison from Fort Gage, led by Capt. Hugh Lord. This nucleus of an army, together with the French and Indians of Detroit, was to proceed to Fort Pitt. It was hoped that their force would be enhanced by the Ohio Indians, for whom liberal presents were provided, and by numbers of the militia from Augusta County, who for their loyalty, were to have 300 acres of land confirmed to each of them. Forts Pitt and Fincastle were to be destroyed, should they offer resistance, and the expedition was then to take and fortify Fort Cumberland and capture Alexandria, assisted by troops led by Dunmore and landed under protection of the ships of war.[14] Thus were the Southern colonies to be cut off from the Northern.

Conditions promised well for the success of the enterprise. Connolly had won the favor of the Indians; Fort Pitt, as already noted, was in a condition to offer but little defense; and the backwoodsmen were without the necessary equipment in arms and ammunition to obstruct such an expedition. They were disunited, also, because of the Pennsylvania and Virginia boundary dispute. A letter from Connolly to a supposed friend at Pittsburgh led to his betrayal. Virginia authorities were informed of the intrigue. Runners were sent out from all the Southern provinces into the Indian nations through which he proposed to pass,

with orders for his arrest.[15] With three associates, he was captured near Hagerstown, while on his way to Fort Pitt.[16]

For upwards of two years thereafter the frontiers were free from any general participation in the war. Meantime, immigration to the West continued,[17] and the contest went on between British and American agents for ascendency over the Indians of that region.

Major Connolly had conducted his treaty with the Indians at Pittsburgh in the presence of the committee of correspondence of West Augusta County.[18] The provisions and goods furnished by the committee on that occasion assisted materially in gaining the good-will of the Indians for later negotiations. A petition to Congress from the committee followed at an early date, setting forth their fears of a rupture with the Indians on account of the late conduct of Governor Dunmore, and asking that commissioners from Pennsylvania and Virginia should be appointed to confer with the Indians at Pittsburgh.[19]

On June 24, therefore, six commissioners were appointed by Virginia for the purpose of making a treaty with the Ohio Indians, and a sum of 2,000 pounds was appropriated for that purpose. Capt. James Wood, one of the commissioners, a man well versed in frontier affairs, was delegated to visit the tribes and extend to them an invitation to attend the conference at Pittsburgh. He was likewise to explain the dispute to the Indians, make them sensible of the great unanimity of the colonies, and "assure them of our peaceable intentions towards them and that we did not stand in need of or desire any assistance from them."[20]

The day following, Captain Wood set out from Williamsburg on his hazardous journey of two months, accompanied by Simon Girty, his sole companion, who acted as interpreter. The report made on his return was not wholly promising for the cause he represented. His reception by the Delawares, Shawnee, and other tribes was friendly, for the fear excited by the battle of Point Pleasant was still upon them.[21] He learned, however, that two British emissaries had already presented belts and strings of wampum to seventeen nations, inviting them to unite with the French and English against the Virginians.[22] They were warned that an attack by the "Big Knives" was imminent from two directions, by the Ohio and by the Great Lakes. The Virginians were a distinct people, they were assured, and an attack upon them would in no case be resented by the other colonies. Besides, the invitation to a treaty, which would be extended to them, should under no conditions be accepted; for the representatives who were to meet at Pittsburgh could not be depended upon. Similar advice was given the tribes of the Upper Allegheny river, brought together at Niagara. Many of these Indians, at the instigation of Governor Carleton and Guy Johnson, were induced to go to Albany, and many more to Montreal, to join the British armies.

The Virginia commissioners, together with those appointed by

Congress, assembled at Pittsburgh, September 10. Thus, notwithstanding English opposition,[23] which in a measure had been overcome by traders, chiefs and delegates from the Seneca, Delawares, Wyandot, Mingo, and Shawnee gathered slowly for the conference. Each tribe on arrival was received with "drum and colours and a salute of small arms from the garrison."[24]

During a period of three weeks, the commissioners strove by speech, and through presents of clothing and strings of wampum, to convince the Indians that they should keep the hatchet buried, and use all endeavor to induce the Six Nations and other tribes to remain absolutely neutral. They were assured that the cause of Virginia was the cause of all America. The commissioners say:[25]

> In this dispute your Interest is Involved with ours so far as this, that in Case those People with whom we are Contending should Subdue us, your *Lands*, your *Trade*, your *Liberty* and all that is dear to you must fall with us, for if they would Distroy our flesh and Spill our Blood which is the same with theirs; what can you who are no way related to or Connected with them to expect? * * * we are not Affraid these People will Conquer us, they Can't fight in our Country, and you Know we Can; we fear not them, nor any Power on Earth.

In the event of American success, they declare, with true American assurance, they would be so incensed against those Indians who fought against them, "that they would march an army into their country, destroy them and take their lands from them."[26] To still further convince the Indians of their invincibility, they assert that the Indian tribes at the North were ready to become their allies, and that the people of Canada, with the exception of a few of Governor Carleton's fools, were friendly to the American cause.[27] The natives were invited to send their children to be educated among the white people, without expense to themselves.[28] No little trouble was experienced in leading the Indians to agree to surrender all prisoners and negroes, and deliver up stolen horses. This done, peace "to endure forever" was established.

While the treaty at Pittsburgh has been made, in the language of its text, to last "until the sun shall shine no more, or the waters fail to run in the Ohio," both of these reverses of nature seem to have taken place in the Indian imagination by the following spring. In the meantime, they had been visited by British agents to secure their adherence.[29] The traces to Detroit were well worn by the tribes which assembled there to meet Hamilton, who strove in every way to excite the Indians to take up the hatchet.[30] To this end, British officers were generous with their presents and lavish in their hospitality, partaking with the Indians in the feast of roast ox, and recovering their dead anew with rum.

Congress, early in April, appointed Col. George Morgan Indian agent for the Middle Department. The choice was a wise one. For a number of years he had been a trader in the Illinois country, where he had become noted among the Indians for his generosity and strict honesty. No man of the time better understood the methods necessary in winning the friendship of the Western tribes. He was instructed to forward at once the great belt presented to the Indians at Pittsburgh.[31] The commissioners for the Middle Department were directed to conclude a treaty with the Western tribes at the earliest convenient time. Morgan was, so far as possible, to adjust all differences through arbitration[32]—in the language of the instructions:[33]

> Inspire them with justice and humanity, and dispose them to introduce the arts of civil and social life and to encourage the residence of husbandmen and handicraftsmen among them.

Arriving at Pittsburgh, May 16, 1776, Morgan, in his endeavor to prevent the attendance of the Indians at a council called by Hamilton at Detroit, proceeded at once to the Shawnee towns.[34] William Wilson, a trader who accompanied Morgan, extended the invitation to other tribes to assemble at Pittsburgh, September 10, for the purpose of making a treaty.

At the time, the frontier defense was entrusted to 100 men at Fort Pitt, 100 at Big Kanawha, and 25 at Wheeling, all in the pay of Virginia. These numbers were far too meagre for the purpose, much less were they capable of any offensive warfare.[35] Messengers were dispatched to Congress and to Williamsburg, imploring an augmentation of the numbers in the garrisons and the formation of new posts having proper supplies of ammunition and provisions.[36] The militia of Westmoreland and West Augusta counties were called out.[37] The county-lieutenants of Hampshire, Dunmore, Frederick, and Berkeley were directed to collect provisions and hold their militia in readiness to march to Fort Pitt for immediate service.[38] A company of militia was ordered out as "rangers" for Fincastle County. But notwithstanding the defenseless condition of the frontier, apprehension was so widespread lest the savages should destroy their homes during their absence, that the militia was gotten together only after great delay,[39] many absolutely refusing the draft.[40]

Not until the 644 warriors and chiefs representing the Six Nations, Delawares, Munsee, and Shawnee assembled at Pittsburgh, was it known for what purpose they came. The conference served to dissipate the widespread gloom, for these Indian envoys promised "inviolable peace with the United States and neutrality during the war with Great Britain."[41] Twelve chiefs were induced to visit Philadelphia, where they were introduced to Congress. For a few months after the treaty, all the other Western tribes, with the exception of a few of the Mingo

known as Pluggy's Band, seemed desirous of preserving peaceful relations.[42]

With difficulty, Colonel Morgan persuaded the Virginia authorities that an expedition[43] against these banditti would tend to bring on general hostilities with the tribes already jealous of the slightest encroachment by Americans.[44] He thought it more essential to restrain the frontiersmen and promote good order among them; to pacify leading men among the tribes by liberal donations; and in all respects treat the Indians with "Justice, humanity and hospitality."[45]

Meantime much time was consumed at Pittsburgh in the discussion on the character of aggressive operations to be undertaken. It was counseled that an expedition to Detroit was the only remedy against the incursions of Indians. Others held this plan to be impracticable and unnecessary. No more telling reasons for the probability of a successful attack on Detroit, were formulated during the entire war, than those submitted by Colonel Morgan. He urged:[46] first, that the road was practicable; second, that the Delawares and Shawnees were disposed to remain quiet; third, that there were no powerful tribes near or on the road to Detroit, to oppose such an expedition; fourth, that Detroit was at the time in a defenseless state; fifth, that it was from that post that the offending Western Indians were supplied "in all their wants and paid for all their murders"; and sixth, that its possession would induce all the tribes, through fear and interest, to enter into an American alliance.[47] For the purpose, he advised from 1,200 to 1,500 regular troops and such volunteers as might be secured. He opposed continuously the plan of General McIntosh, who looked toward retaliatory expeditions. Not only were these expeditions failures, but they prevented the possibility of the capture of Detroit. Finding that his advise was unheeded, and confident that the policy then adhered to would produce a general Indian war, Colonel Morgan resigned his office as Indian agent.

At this critical time, when the control of the Western Department was about to pass into the hands of incompetent men; when conditions seemed to warrant the recommendation by the Board of War for the immediate assembling of the Indians for another treaty;[48] and when it seemed probable that the British and their Indian confederates were prepared to overrun the entire frontier, the authorities at Detroit were forced to turn their attention to the advance of George Rogers Clark.[49] With his coming, a new phase of the war in the West was inaugurated.

The brilliant work of this leader in capturing the Illinois posts is a well-known story and the present is not the occasion on which to discuss his plans for holding the conquered territory. His thought turned to the capture of Detroit, and his disappointment was a great one when he learned late in December, 1778, that the expedition which was to have been lead by General McIntosh against that post had been abandoned.

At the close of the campaign against the Shawnee, 1780, Clark was free once more to develop plans for the capture of Detroit. He proceeded to Richmond, and by December 25, full instructions were drawn up under which Clark was to advance with two thousand men into the hostile territory at the earliest practicable moment after the opening of navigation. The ultimate object of the expedition was to be the reduction of Detroit and the acquisition of Lake Erie. Such a movement was intended to place the British on the defensive. If no check were given their advance, militia would ultimately have to be withdrawn, it was feared, from the South to be sent against them. Governor Jefferson had appealed to Washington to furnish powder for the expedition, the burden of which was otherwise to be borne by Virginia. Washington ordered Colonel Brodhead, at Fort Pitt, to give the enterprise every possible assistance by furnishing, upon Clark's order, the supplies asked for and a detachment of Continental troops, including a company of artillery as large as could be spared. But the militia could not be induced to enlist for the expedition, and the artillery company ordered to accompany Clark from Fort Pitt was lacking in the quota of officers and men necessary for that service and the equipment in cannon, shells, shot, and other stores were inadequate.

The accumulation of supplies for the expedition was so much delayed that the time of setting out from Fort Pitt was extended to June. During this period of waiting, Clark learned of the abuses incident to the conduct of public affairs in the West. Instances were cited in which goods belonging to the State were used in carrying on private trade with the Indians. Reports of the subordination of public interests to private gain were not, however, confined to any one section. A proclamation was issued by the Council of Pennsylvania against *forestalling* by which individuals gained control of flour and other necessities on the market and thus enhanced the prices. These lapses in public morals are not wholly surprising when the commanding officer at Fort Pitt makes the following proposal to the Governor of Pennsylvania: "Should our State determine to extend its settlements over the Allegheny river I should be happy to have an early hint of it because it will be in my power to serve several of my friends."[39] But the reply of President Reed came as a well calculated rebuke to all such suggestions of graft. "At present," he wrote, "my Station will prevent my engaging in pursuits of that nature lest it might give offense and give Reason to a censorious world to suppose I had made an improper use of my publick character." On account of numerous accusations against him, the leading one being speculation with public funds, Colonel Brodhead was, within a year, forced to resign his command.

Early in May, Clark suffered his greatest disappointment upon learning that Col. Brodhead had refused to allow the regiment under Colonel John Gibson to accompany him. The surprise and disappoint-

ment were the greater for Brodhead had already given assurance of his complete co-operation.[51] By the middle of March, Brodhead regarded his own condition as desperate He feared an attack from Detroit and Niagara and in that event he believed that large numbers of the inhabitants would aid the enemy.[52] Besides he was confident that the revolt of the Delawares that were not under Moravian influence was about to lead to a general Indian war[53] and three hundred men were sent against them.

That volunteers joined this expedition in order to avoid accompanying Clark cannot be definitely asserted, but it is certain his enlistments were materially affected thereby. Col. Brodhead now sought some argument which would excuse his policy of opposition to Clark. He was desirous of winning laurels for himself and a number of times had appealed to Washington for permission to organize an expedition against Detroit and Natchez and assistance in carrying it forward.[54] Brodhead was convinced that he was well within his instructions in refusing to grant Clark's request for a regiment.

Clark's position was likewise tenable for he had interpreted Jefferson's dispatch to mean that by the consent of Baron Steuben and Washington, he was to be accompanied by Col. Gibson's regiment and Heath's Company.[55]

Both men appealed to Washington. "From your Excellencies letters to Col. Brodhead," Clark wrote, "I conceived him to be at liberty to furnish what men he pleased, * * * If you should approve of the troops in this department joining our forces tho they are few the acquisition may be attended with great & good consequences as two hundred only might turn the scale in our favour." The next day he appealed again for assistance, saying, "For in part it has been the influence of our posts in the Illinoise and Ouabash that have saved the frontiers and in great measure baffled the designs of the Enemy at Detroit. If they get possession of them they then Command three times the number of Valuable warriors they do at present and be fully Enabled to carry any point they aim at Except we should have a formidable force to oppose them."[56]

Clark assumed that his request would be granted. Regular officers and soldiers were desirous of going on the expedition which was supposed to be aimed against the Indians.[57] While awaiting Washington's reply, boats were completed and provisions collected. Notwithstanding the desire of President Reed of Pennsylvania to render all the assistance within his power[58] volunteers were secured only after the use of extreme measures due chiefly to the dispute over the boundary.[59] A general draft was finally resorted to.[60] Enforcement of the order in Monongalia County brought on a riot.[61]

Among other problems demanding Clark's attention besides the suppression of this mob,[62] was the difficulty of securing supplies with a

currency which steadily depreciated in value.[63] Findings of the general court martial were reviewed by him in which such questions were considered as the legality of drafting, punishment of horse-thieves, and embezzlement of public property.[64]

Clark's problems were still more complicated because of a dispatch from Washington by which he was informed that Colonel John Connolly was about to join forces with Sir John Johnson and come by the way of Lake Ontario against Ft. Pitt and other western posts.[65]

In the midst of these preparations, social life at Ft. Pitt was not lacking. "We have heard," wrote Col. Gibson, "that the Gentlemen and Ladies of Stewart's Crossings intend paying us a visit to-morrow, in consequence of which a grand Bower is erected in the Orchard, a Barbecue is preparing for tomorrow and a Ball in the Evening at Col. Gibson's Room."[66] The celebration of the "Anniversary of our Glorious Independence" also received due attention.[67]

While the necessary supplies had been collected by the first of June at a cost approaching two million dollars the weeks wore on with Clark still hoping to secure the requisite number of volunteers.[68] His appeals to Washington, that Col. Gibson's regiment might be permitted to accompany him, failed.[69] Drafts were of slight avail, and finally, early in August, despairing of accomplishing his designs in the face of deep seated opposition on the part of the officials of the western counties of Pennsylvania, he set out for Louisville, with four hundred men.[70] This number was little more than adequate to guard the boats which contained supplies for fully two thousand men. Clark hoped his force would be be reenforced in Kentucky and that he might still accomplish his object or at least make some demonstration against the disaffected Indians.[71] Before setting out, he was forced to draw on his supplies in order to relieve the distressed condition of the garrison at Ft. Pitt.[72] Plans were outlined whereby Colonel Gibson was to lead an attack against the Wyandotte, September 4, and Clark was to march from the Mouth of the Miami upon the Shawnee villages.

Clark's preparations had served as a defense for the frontiers. Efforts were redoubled to put Detroit in condition to withstand an attack.[73] Demands for presents made by the Indians in council at that post increased "amazingly."[74] By the end of May, the fears of the British and their allies were increased by the report that Clark was descending the Ohio with one thousand men and that this number would be increased by a like number from Kentucky.[75] Their confidence was restored through a dispatch from General Haldimand contradicting this rumor and assuring them that Detroit and the Indian country were in no danger. They were ordered to act at once in order to prevent the farther strengthening of the frontier settlements.[76] Such an order meant war on combatant and non-combatant alike and the garrison of militia of Pittsburgh were called upon to assume a full share of the

defense but the events of which could not now be even enumerated for the time allotted to me has already expired.

REFERENCES.

1. *American Archives,* 5th ser., iii, p. 1368; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.,* xxvii, pp. 612 *et seq.*

From this post, a trace led westward by way of the Maumee and across the upper Wabash to Post St. Vincent. In like manner an Indian path extended to Kaskaskia and other posts on the upper Mississippi. Not only was it a great centre for the fur-trade, but in years of good harvests flour and grain were furnished to other posts from Detroit.—Draper MSS., 46J9. The post was of great importance during the French regime. Indians from the Northwest took part, in common with Canadians, in the battle on the Plains of Abraham. June 29, 1759, a courier announced that there were about to arrive 100 French and 150 Indians from Detroit; 600 to 700 Indians with M. Linctot, 100 Indians with M. Rayeul, and the convoy of M. Aubry from Illinois with 600 to 700 Indians. Twelve hundred other Indians from the same region were also reported to be on the way.—*Wis. Hist. Colls.,* xviii, pp. 212, 213.

2. Letter to Daniel Brodhead, Dec. 29, 1780.

3. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, Wis., 1908), pp. 147-151.

Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton arrived Nov. 9, 1775, but Captain Lernoult commanded the troops until the summer of 1776.

The total population in 1773 was about 1,400; 298 of them men.—*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.,* ix, p. 649. The population in 1778 was 2,144; 564 being men.—*ibid.,* p. 469.

4. Fort Blair, near the mouth of the Kanawha, had been evacuated by order of Governor Dunmore, and was burned by some of the Ohio Indians.—*Amer. Archives,* 4th ser., iv, p. 201.

5. George Morgan, Indian agent at Fort Pitt, in a letter of May 16, 1776, reported that there was "scarcely powder west of the Mountains sufficient for every man to prime his gun and only 200 lb. wt. in the Fort here."—Letter to Lewis Morris, *Papers of Continental Congress,* vol. 163, entitled "Generals Clinton, Nicola, et al., pp. 237-239.

6. Delawares and Munsee 600, Shawnee 600, Wyandot 300, Ottawa 600, Chippewa 5,000, Pottawattomi 400, Kickapoo, Vermillion, and other small tribes of the Wabash 800, Miami or Picts 300, Mingo of Pluggy's Town (Scioto River) 60.—Morgan, *Letter Book,* iii, March 27, 1778.

Wyandot 180, Tawa 450, Pottawattomi 450, Chippewa 5,000, Shawnee 300, Delawares or Munsee 600, Miami 300.—Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* iii, pp. 560, 561.

The Sauk, Foxes, and Iowa numbered some 1,400 warriors.

7. July 13, 1775.—*Amer. Archives,* 4th ser., ii, p. 665.

8. July 12, 1775, in *Ibid.,* p. 1879. The three departments were Northern, Middle, and Southern. The Northern Department included the Six Nations and all other Indians north of these tribes. The Southern included the Cherokee and other Southern tribes. The Middle, all Indians between the territory of the two others. There were to be five commissioners for the Southern and three each for the two other departments.

9. *Journals of Continental Congress,* iv., p. 395.

The commissioners were instructed, May 25, 1776, to offer as an inducement £50 of Pennsylvania currency for every prisoner (soldier of the garrison) brought to them. The Indians were to be given the free plunder of the garrison.

Washington was authorized to employ Indians, on June 17, 1776.—*Id.* (new ed.), v, p. 452.

10. June 12, 1775, General Gage to Lord Dartmouth.—*Amer. Archives,* 4th ser., ii, p. 968.

11. *Penna. Colon. Records,* 1760-1776, pp. 477, 484, 485, 637, 682

12. *Rev. on Upper Ohio,* p. 35.

13. The entire plan is given in *Ibid.,* pp. 140-142.

14. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War* (Madison, Wis., 1905) p. 86; *Amer. Archives,* 4th ser., iv, p. 616.

15. *Id.,* iii, p. 1543.

16. A copy of the plan was in their possession. Capture of Connolly, in *Id.,* iv, p. 616.

17. More "cabin improvements" were made in 1776 than in any other year.—Draper MSS., 4C485.

18. *Rev. on Upper Ohio,* pp. 37, 38.

19. *Jour. of Continental Congress* (new ed.), ii, p. 76.

20. *Rev. on Upper Ohio,* p. 35.

21. These two tribes had invited others to unite with them against the English in 1764.—*Wis. Hist. Colls.,* xviii, p. 262.

22. *Amer. Archives,* 4th ser., iii, pp. 76-78.

23. *Ibid.,* pp. 1542, 1543.

24. *Rev. on Upper Ohio,* p. 74.

25. *Ibid.,* p. 95.

26. *Amer. Archives,* 5th ser., ii, p. 518.

27. *Rev. on Upper Ohio,* p. 95.

28. *Amer. Archives,* 4th ser., iii, p. 1542.

29. *Rev. on Upper Ohio,* p. 144.

30. Morgan *Letter Book,* ii, Aug. 31, 1776.

31. *Jour. of Continental Congress,* iv, p. 268.

32. One of the arbitrators was to be selected by the commissioners —or, in their absence, by the Indian agent—and one each by the parties in the dispute.—*Ibid.* p. 268.

33. *Ibid.,* pp. 294, 301.

34. *Amer. Archives,* 5th ser., ii, p. 514.

35. Morgan *Letter Book,* i, Aug. 18, 1776; to committee on Indian affairs.

36. Congress directed that a ton of gunpowder should immediately be sent.—*Jour. Continental Congress,* iv, p. 396.

37. *Rev. on Upper Ohio,* p. 200.

38. Morgan *Letter Book,* ii, Aug. 31, 1776; commissioners to county-lieutenants.

39. *Amer. Archives,* 5th ser., ii, p. 513.

40. *Rev. on Upper Ohio,* pp. 174, 240.

41. Morgan *Letter Book,* i, Nov. 8, 1776: Morgan to John Hancock. *Amer. Archives,* 5th ser., iii, pp. 599, 600.

42. Morgan *Letter Book,* i, Jan. 4, 1777.

43. *Ibid.,* March 12, 1777.

"You are to take command," wrote Patrick Henry to Col. David Shepherd, "of 300 men drawn from the militia of Monongalia, Yohogania and Ohio Counties or either of them and to march with utmost secrecy and expedition to punish the Indians of Pluggy's Town for their late cruelties committed upon the people of this state."

44. They were at the time exercised because of the settlement of lands on the Ohio, below the Kanawha and in Kentucky.

45. Morgan *Letter Book,* i, April 1, 1777.

46. Morgan *Letter Book,* iii, July 17, 1778: submitted to Col. Daniel Brodhead.

47. It was his belief that there were only some 300 hostile Indians in the Western Department. Schoolcraft estimated that of the 7,280 Indians capable of bearing arms, only 390 were in the employ of the British. In this estimate, however, he did not include the numbers enlisted from the Sauk, Fox, and Iowa tribes. These alone were able to summon 1,400 warriors.—Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* iii, pp. 560, 561.

48. June 28, 1778. *Jour. of Continental Congress,* xi, p. 568.

49. Hamilton learned of the capture of Kaskaskia on Aug. 6, 1778.—*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.,* ix, p. 490.

50. *Penna. Archives,* 1779-1781, p. 121.

51. Feb. 24, 1781, Brodhead to Clark, See *post,* p. ———. "You may rely on every supply I am authorized to afford to facilitate your expedition."

52. Col. Brodhead to the President of Congress, May 30, 1781, *Draper Coll., Trip* 1860, vi, p. 120.

March 19, 1781, Brodhead to Clark, see *post* p. ———

"An Indian man has just brought in a letter which was sent by some of the inhabitants to the Enemy at Detroit with information that about one hundred of them were ready to join them so soon as

they could be informed they should be received by the Commanding officer there."

53. March, 1781. Brodhead to Clark. See *post,* p. ———

"I have wrote the County Lieutenants to meet at my quarters on the 15th instant to consult on means to protect our Settlements and annoy the Enemy."

54. *Draper MSS., Brodhead Papers,* I, H 122.

Washington to Brodhead, Jan. 4, 1780. Washington stated that from the estimate he makes of the garrison at Detroit, the men in Garrison at Ft. Pitt together with the militia would not be adequate to make the attempt and that the same was true of Natchez.

55. May 20, 1781, Clark to Washington, See *post,* p. ———

Gibson agreed with Clark in this interpretation.

56. See *post,* p. ———

57. *Draper MSS.,* 51J57.

58. See *post,* p. ———. President Reed wrote Clark, May 15, 1781: "But from common report we learn, that an expedition under your command is destined against Detroit. We are very sensible of its importance to this State as well as Virginia and there is no Gentleman in whose abilities and good conduct we have more Confidence on such an occasion. After this it seems unnecessary to add, that it will give us great Satisfaction if the inhabitants of this State cheerfully concur in it. * * *"

59. *Draper MSS.,* 51J49, 56.

60. *Draper MSS.,* 30J51. June 12, 1781.

61. *Draper MSS.,* 51J58, 59.

62. See *post,* p. ———

"We the subscribers being Accessary to a Riot in Suppressing a draught in this County on the 12th Inst. Being Sensible of our Error and as assurity of our future good conduct do hereby Engage to serve Ten months in the Continental Service in Case we Should be guilty of the like misdeminor."

63. See *post,* p. ——— Colonel Gibson to Clark.

"I am sorry to have to inform you that a set of Rascals have begun to depreciate the Virginia money now in Circulation and some of them have even gone so far as to refuse taking it, in particular Smith the Brewer has refused to take it in payment for Beer, I am much afraid it will reach the Country and of Course retard your proceedings."

64. *Draper MSS.,* 51J73.

James Thompson convicted of horse theft and desertion was forced to run the gauntlet through the Brigade.

65. Connolly, recently exchanged, had proceeded from New York to Quebec. Sparks, *Washington's Writings,* vii, 25.

"I doubt Sir," Clark wrote Jefferson relative to Connolly's expedition, "we shall as usual be obliged to play a desperate game this campaign. If we had the 2,000 men just proposed such intelligence would give me pleasure." See *post,* p. ———

66. Gibson to Clark, June 26, 1781. See *post,* p. ———

67. *Draper MSS.,* 51J65.

68. *Va. State Papers,* ii, 140, June 2, 1781. See *post,* p. ———

Clark in a letter to Jefferson (August 2, 1781), says he had given Col. Harrison £126,581 to enable him to collect stores. £300,000 had already been forwarded to Col. Harrison. Jefferson to Clark, April 20, 1781. *Jefferson's Letter Book,* 1781.

69. *Papers of the Continental Congress,* Reports of the Board of War, 147. Vol. v, pp. 323-325. Washington to the Board of War, June 8, 1781. "As it seemed the public wish, that the expedition of Col. Clarke against Detroit should be supported, I gave orders to Col. Clarke against Detroit should be supported, I gave orders to Col. Brodhead to deliver him a certain quantity of artillery and Stores and to detach Captain Craig with his Company of Artillery, as there were neither officers nor men of the Virginia Militia acquainted with that kind of Service.

"I recommended also a small detachment of Continental Troops from the 8th Pennsylvania and 9th Virginia Regiments, but it was at the discretion of the Commandant and in case they could be safely spared. I mentioned that I did not imagine the command could not exceed that of a Major and perhaps not of a Captain. If therefore Col. Brodhead saw that the post could not be defended if such a detachment of Infantry was made, he was justifyable not sending it."

70. *Va. State Papers,* ii, 345. In a letter to Col. Davis, W. Croghan declared that the reason Clark was unable to get so few men at Ft. Pitt was "owing to the dispute that Subsists here between the Virginians & Pennsylvanians respecting the true bounds of the Latter, and the general being a Virginian was opposed by the most noted men here in the Pennsylvania party. The people here bleam Virginia Very much for making them & their lands (which beyond a shadow of doubt is far out of the true bounds of Pennsylvania) over to Pennsylvania."

Draper MSS., 16S4-59.

The force accompanying Clark was composed of Col. Crockett's regiment of Virginia State Troops and Capt. Craig's company of Artillery, together with volunteers and militia.

Clark was represented by some of the leading men opposed to him as a flour merchant, and again as a trader and land jobber for the State of Virginia. *Draper MSS.,* 51J18.

James Marshall, County Lieutenant of Washington County and County Lieutenants Cook and Davis, were named by Clark as his

main opponents. Clark to President Reed, August 4, 1781, *post,* p. ———. Marshall advised the people to pay no attention to the drafts ordered for Clark and offered protection to those who refused. He had told Clark that while he could do nothing for the expedition as an official that as a private person he would give every assistance within his power. *Penna Archives,* 1781-1783, p. 318.

71. See *post,* p. ———.

72. See *post,* p. ———

73. See *post,* p. ———

74. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll's.,* x, p. 465.

75. Simon Girty to Major De Peyster, *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll's.,* pp. 478, 479. This rumor was started on account of the expedition against the Delawares by Col. Brodhead.

THE FUTURE OF NAVIGATION ON OUR WESTERN RIVERS.

By Hon. Albert Bettinger.

Stretching out between the Allegheny and Rocky Mountain ranges for a distance of 2,000 miles lies the Mississippi Valley, containing three-fifths of the area of the U. S. and more than half our population. The Mississippi River, rising in the northern part of Minnesota and flowing straight on to the Gulf of Mexico, bisects this great valley, and in its course forms the boundary line between ten great states. From the foothills of the Rockies in the northwestern corner of the Valley, after passing through the wheatfields of the Dakotas and Nebraska, and receiving many tributaries great and small, comes the Missouri River, entering the Mississippi a few miles above St. Louis. Further down this great central stream is met by the Red, Arkansas, White and Quachita Rivers, draining the Southwestern portion of the Valley. From the Northeast, running diagonally through the State of Illinois, the Illinois River meets the Mississippi a short distance above St. Louis—and great efforts, now in progress, are soon to convert this river into an effective connection with the Great Lakes System at Chicago.

The valley of the Mississippi is politically and commercially more important than any other valley on the face of the globe. Here, more than anywhere else will be determined the future of the United States, and, indeed, of the whole western world; and the type of civilization reached in this mighty valley, in this vast stretch of country lying between the Alleghenies and the Rockies, the Great Lakes and the Gulf,

will largely fix the type of civilization for the whole western hemisphere.

At the extreme Eastern end of the valley, the Allegheny River, rising in Pennsylvania and flowing North through a portion of New York, thence South, and the Monongahela rising in West Virginia and flowing North, unite here at the City of Pittsburgh, where this celebration is being held, and form the Ohio River which flowing for a distance of 1,000 miles in a general southwesterly direction through the center of the Valley which it drains, after receiving thirteen navigable tributaries, three from the North and ten from the South, joins the Mississippi at Cairo midway between St. Paul and New Orleans, and forming in its course the boundary lines between six states. Fifty-four rivers that are navigable by steamboats and hundreds that are navigable by barges, all contributing their waters to the Mississippi, are providentially so distributed over this enormous territory as to be accessible from all parts of it, complete this great inland system of waterways.

A description of this magnificent river system is found in a memorial presented to Congress by the Ohio Valley States in 1872, that will bear repetition here:

> "To the development of a nation so powerful as this now is, and as its domains and its resources foretell it will become, the brain of the most sagacious rulers could not have desired a more complete and convenient system of artificial internal water communication with the whole interior, than Nature presents for man's perfecting hand; one better designed to favor the interchange of the products of all sections, or to carry those products to the market of the world. In its absence the statesman might sigh in vain for its creation and the people deplore, without relief, its want."

After the young Republic had been fairly established in the East and the Star of Empire started on its Westward course, it was on the shores of these rivers, one after another, that our fathers builded their towns and cities and for three-fourths of a century they constituted the great highways of commerce.

The canoe of the Indian and of the French explorers were succeeded by the sail and keel boats and broadhorns of the American pioneer.

The launching at this city of the "New Orleans," the first steamboat, just 100 years ago, introduced a new epoch, not only in the further development of this valley, but in the progress of the world.

A contemporaneous writer thus gives vent to his enthusiasm over the prospect which this new invention opened up:

"This plan if it succeeds must open to view flattering prospects to an immense country, an interview of not less than two thousand miles of as fine soil and climate as the world can produce and to a people worthy of all the advantages that nature and art can give them. . . . . The immensity of country we have yet to settle, the vast riches of the bowels of the earth, the unexampled advantages of our water courses which wind without interruption for thousands of miles, the numerous sources of trade and wealth opening to the enterprising and industrious citizens, are reflections that must arouse the most dull and stupid. Indeed the very appearance of the placid and unbroken surface of the Ohio invite to trade and enterprise."

The success of this new means of navigation was soon established. Rapidly the steamboats multiplied in number, grew in size, power, comfort, safety and appearance. In the year 1840 there were built at Cincinnati alone 33 steamboats aggregating 5,361 tons at a cost of $600,000. In the same year 4,566 steamboats passed Cairo. In 1841 between 400 and 500 steamboats from 75 to 785 tons were navigating the Western Rivers.

The entire steamboat tonnage employed in the United States in 1842 was 219,994 tons, of which more than half plied on our Western rivers, Eastern ports being second and the Great Lakes third in importance.

The steamboat tonnage employed in the Mississippi Valley at the same time exceeded by 40,000 tons the entire tonnage of the British Empire. Four thousand flatboats were at this time still employed in moving the existing commerce.

Navigation kept even pace with the rapid development of the West until in 1860 our Western rivers were teeming with steamboats and barges. (Produce, machinery and an endless variety of manufactures were carried from the upper Ohio to the South, and cotton, sugar, rice and molasses were brought to the mills and consumers of the North. Iron ore was brought from Missouri to the furnaces of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, and coal was taken back in return. A great barge line carried wheat and corn and flour from St. Louis to New Orleans for distribution through the south and for export. Palatial steamers, luxuriously equipped for travel, carried millions of passengers up and down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The railroads then in operation acted rather as feeders than as competitors to the steamboat lines. Except for intermittent seasons of low water, river transportation seemed adequate for the commercial necessities of the West, supplemented by inland lines of railroad.

But the extent and fertility of our agricultural lands was so great, the resources of our mines so plentiful, the inventive genius

of our people in creating machinery and appliances for the increase of our productions was so active, and the energies of our rapidly multiplying population so persistent that further extension of our transportation facilities became a necessity, and the railroad having proved itself an efficient and reliable carrier, we entered upon an era of railroad building.

In the thirty years from 1870 to 1900 our railroad mileage increased from 52,922 miles to 194,262 miles. With the increase in railroad building came a decline of transportation by river, notwithstanding an enormous increase in the general commerce of the country. The decline was greatest in through traffic, as from St. Louis to New Orleans and from Pittsburgh and Cincinnati to New Orleans, except in coal. There has also been a decline in many packet trades. And all this in spite of the conceded fact that the cost of transportation by water is about one-sixth of that by rail.

What, then, are the causes for this decline in transportation on our Western rivers?

Much has been said and written officially and otherwise upon this subject and many causes have been assigned, some purely local, others far reaching in their effect. These are well summarized in the Preliminary Report of the United States National Waterways Commission, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, which divided the advantages said to be possessed by the railroad over the river into two classes; one it designates as inherent or fundamental, the other as artificial or temporary advantages. Those coming under the first head are briefly stated as follows:

1. The railway has a wider area of distribution, can provide for the receipt and delivery of freight in car load lots at factories and warehouses by means of switches. Can reach all cities or towns alike, whether located on water or not.

2. Railways are provided with facilities at terminals for loading and unloading.

3. The readier transfer of traffic from one line to another, as compared with transfer from water to rail and vice versa, and the practice of through billing and mutual settlement of accounts. The oscillation in river levels renders the installation of adequate unloading machinery more difficult.

Under the head of temporary or artificial advantages, the Commission enumerates as the

First and most important, the right of the railway to charge lower rates between points where its line is in competition with water routes.

Second. The power of a railway to acquire steamboat lines or enter into agreement with them for the purpose of stifling water borne traffic, either by operating the steamboat lines or by discontinuing their use upon competitive routes. In both methods, the Commission states,

that it, in the acquisition and operation of steamboat lines in such manner as not to compete with railways, and in removing them entirely from the field of competition, the railway companies of the country have been very active.

Third. The refusal of the railroads to prorate on through routes where naturally the freight would be carried part by water and part by rail. In many cases, the Commission says, the route which apparently is the natural one, would be by water for three-fourths or more of the distance, yet the charge for the remaining railway haul is so considerable as to render carriage by the longer haul by water unprofitable.

Fifth. The better warehouse terminal and freight handling equipment of the railroads, while no progress has been made on the waterways in the last 50 years in furnishing modern facilities for the storage or handling of freights.

To these causes the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors in its report on the survey of the Ohio River has added another which it considers as the great cause of the failure of waterways, but which it concedes now no longer exists. It is that heretofore the directions of waterways have not generally coincided with commercial routes. That the trend of commerce has been East and West while our river systems generally flow in a southerly direction.

It is now admitted, however, that the commercial development of the west has reached a point from which future growth will be by normal stages while the resources of soil and climate and mineral of the South and Southwest invite development in which our internal river system must play an essential part.

A careful analysis of this assignment of causes, I think will disclose but a single inherent advantage of the railroad over the river, and that is the ability of the railroad to deliver freight in car load lots direct to the warehouse or factory by means of a switch. But even this advantage is limited in the case of each railroad line to the factories and warehouses located on its own line. If situated on another line the delivery must be accomplished by license of that other line, a privilege that can, by proper legislation, be made equally available to the shipper by river. The disadvantage to the river is confined to the necessity and cost of transfer from the boat to the car, but where water transportation is uninterrupted by seasons of low water, then transferring machinery and appliances are or can be employed which so reduce this cost that when added to the lower freight rate by water still leaves the advantage in most cases with the river. Indeed such transferring machinery, where water transportation is reliable, as on the Great Lakes, has been so perfected that railroads themselves employ it to effect transfers from rail to water, thus making the waterway an integral part of the whole transportation system of the country and lending to it the same area of distribution that is pos-

sessed by any one railroad line. The error in ascribing to the railroad a greater area of distribution than to the river route lies in comparing the river route with the railroad systems of the country collectively, instead of limiting such comparison to each railroad line separately. Furthermore in crediting the railroad with ability to deliver in car load lots by switch to factory or warehouse, the ability of the river route to deliver entire barge loads to the factory or warehouse located on its banks, has been overlooked.

Nor is the oscillation in river levels a permanent or fundamental disadvantage. Does not every railroad in its course encounter similar differences in levels which in many instances it must overcome by the employment of extra locomotive power? What matters it whether such difference in levels occurs during or at the end of the journey? The towering loading machinery at Lake Erie ports overcome such differences by hoisting entire railroad cars and dumping their contents into the holds of steamers and at a cost which makes transfer from rail to water profitable and hence desirable.

It is confidently asserted that there are but three conditions necessary to give to commerce the full benefit of the cheaper transportation by water and these are:

1. To provide permanent channels of adequate depth.

2. The co-operation of municipalities by retaining and recovering their public landings and either erecting or affording opportunity to erect suitable machinery and appliances for the cheap handling of merchandise freight to warehouses at the top of the banks, there to be transferred to railroad cars for further transfer and to delivery wagons for local consumption.

3. To provide by legislation for mutual interchange of Bills of Lading between river and rail routes and for prorating of freights.

Let us consider these in their order.

From the beginning railroads have been improving their roadbeds, by eliminating or reducing grades and curves, putting on heavier rails, perfecting their ballasting, increasing the size of cars and motive power and double tracking. They have built feeders in all directions and have succeeded in making the railroad an efficient transportation machine.

On the other hand, the river channel which corresponds to the roadbed of the railroad, has not been effectively improved. The seasons of low water are frequent and of long duration, greatly increasing the cost of transportation, and often suspending navigation altogether. A more or less desultory improvement of rivers has long been in progress, but until recently the efforts were lacking in plan, policy and continuity so that little progress has been made toward the establishment of a coherent reliable river system of transportation and in consequence navigation has continued to be intermittent, uncertain and unreliable.

The situation, however, at the present time is more hopeful. The Mississippi from Cairo to the Gulf with small interruption has a minimum depth of 9 feet. From Cairo to the mouth of the Missouri improvements to a depth of 8 feet are in progress. From the mouth of the Missouri to St. Paul the project is for a depth of 6 feet. The improvement of the Missouri as far up as Kansas City has again been taken up.

But by far the most important tributary of the Mississippi River is the Ohio River, which together with its tributaries forms a considerable river system by itself.

The improvements now in progress on the Ohio River contemplate a complete canalization of the same to a minimum depth of 9 feet by construction of 54 locks and movable dams, about thirty per cent. of which is now completed and if the expressed desires of President Taft are carried out, will be entirely completed in five years hence, but the greater probability is that eight or even ten more years will be required for their completion. Nearly all the tributaries of the Ohio have been canalized or are in process of canalization, but their real usefulness awaits the completion of the Ohio. There will then be in the Ohio Valley alone a river system of 4,400 miles, and dependable water transportation from the Pittsburgh district as far west as Kansas City and from St. Paul to the Gulf. Here at Pittsburgh this great system is to be connected by barge canal with Lake Erie, which, when consummated will establish cheap and easy water transportation between the upper Ohio and the Great Lakes System, and by way of the Erie Canal, now approaching completion, with the Atlantic seaboard. If these channels had been provided as the railroads were being extended and improved, river commerce would not only have been maintained, but would itself have contributed to a still greater commercial development than we have experienced. The intermittent, unreliable and uncertain navigation is the real, and properly considered, the only cause of the decline in water transportation. Other contributing causes are but the result of uncertain seasons of navigation, and with dependable channels would either have disappeared, or would never have arisen at all. Indeed, but for the distinct advantages of cheapness, quick delivery and unlimited capacity of water transportation over that by rail, not a vestige of river traffic would be left. The survival of packet lines on all our Western rivers, and the development of coal transportation lines unique in the cheapness and volume of their deliveries, in spite of long and uncertain seasons of suspension of navigation are positive proof of inherent advantages of river transportation. No railroad line similarly handicapped could survive the competition of its rivals.

Nor is it correct to attribute any portion of the decline to crudeness of the steamboat or to lack of thrift of steamboat men or man-

agers, as is so often done. The steamboat in its type, motive power tackle, equipment and accommodations, has been constantly improved to take full advantage of the intermittently navigable river channels.

Alternating conditions of low and high water, swift currents, floating ice, fogs, faulty disposition of bridge piers and of low bridges and other obstructions have kept alive a spirit of improvement which has produced steamboats thoroughly adapted to present conditions, not only for their safe navigation, but for the handling of freight aboard ship as well as for receiving and discharging. The balance rudder, a clever device for the more effective control of the boat, and the steam capstan now in use all over the world, were first introduced on the Ohio river. The railroads have by no means surpassed the steamboat in the manner of handling merchandise freight. They have not even kept pace with the steamboat. In fact, the greater portion of this class of freight, if not all, is handled by the shipper or receiver himself each in his own way and with the means available to him.

Two citations from reputable trade journals might be quoted in support of this statement. The Engineering News in a recent article (Jan'y 5th, 1911) stated:

> "All admit that our present methods of freight handling are crude; they are no better than they were 50 years ago, while not nearly so cheap."

The Electric World some time since called attention to the same fact as follows:

> "The present system of handling miscellaneous freight at terminal stations is absurdly slow and expensive as compared with the progressive methods in other branches of railroad management."

As to the second essential condition to bring about a revival of river commerce, it should be said that during the period of ascendency of the railroad and the corresponding decadence of river traffic, the railroads have been systematically, especially within municipal limits, encroaching on the river bank and in many instances actually occupying the public landings in such manner as to hinder and handicap their joint use with steamboat transportation—and it is at these points where local deliveries must be cheapened and economical connection between steamboat and railroad must be effected. So thoroughly is the necessity for such co-operation between municipalities and the general government recognized that Congress has in some instances made appropriations for river improvement conditioned thereon. The same reason obtains for such co-operation on the part of municipalities on inland waters as induced the City of New York and other sea ports to provide municipal docks. The City of New Orleans owns its river front

and has constructed extensive wharves and is now engaged in establishing a complete connection between steamboat, steamship and rail lines by the construction of a municipal belt railroad. San Francisco, Portland, Oregon, Seattle, Cleveland and Buffalo have done some excellent work along this line. Who can doubt that municipal ownership and maintenance of public landings and terminals is less appropriate or less beneficial to the public generally than the opening and maintenance of the streets leading to them?

Mr. Herbert Knox Smith, Commissioner of Corporations of the Department of Commerce and Labor, has excited general interest throughout the country in this question by an exhaustive report of three volumes on Transportation by Water, and by his announcement that terminals are as important as channels.

The National Waterways Commission already referred to likewise recommended:

> "That improvement in rivers and harbors be not made unless sufficient assurance is given that proper wharves, terminals and other necessary adjuncts to navigation shall be furnished by municipal or private enterprise, and that the charges for their use shall be reasonable."

This does not apply to bulk freight, such as coal, sand, brick, stone, cement, lumber, timber and specialized traffic which is handled at private wharves, all of which are already equipped with excellent handling machinery for ready transfer between rail and water, and it is safe to say that with dependable channels even these will be more highly improved.

The third condition, that of enforcing mutual interchange of bills of lading and pro-rating of freight charges between rail and water routes, must be provided by amendment of the interstate commerce law. The power to refuse to honor through bills of lading issued by water routes or to issue such bills over water routes and to pro-rate on freights is the strongest weapon in the hands of the railroads to suppress water competition.

There was another weapon very generally and effectively employed by the railroads, namely, the power to reduce rates between competitive points below the actual cost of transportation, and, when the suppression of the water competitor was accomplished, to restore the regular tariff, recouping itself in the meantime by charging a higher rate on the traffic not affected by the water route. To correct such unfair competition, Congress, upon the recommendation of the National Waterways Commission, passed an Act providing that when a railroad reduces its rates in competition with a water route, the same shall not again be raised except by permission of the Interstate Commerce Com-

mission, on good cause shown other than the effort to crush out competition.

The refusal of railroad lines to deal with steamboat lines the same as they do with each other as to through billing and pro-rating must be met with similar legislation, and accordingly all official reports dealing with the subject and the National Rivers and Harbors Congress have recommended to the Congress of the United States the enactment of such a law, and it is believed that Congress will in the near future carry out these recommendations.

This will not be done in hostility to the railroads, but in obedience to a broad economic law that the prosperity of the country is largely measured by the efficiency of its transportation facilities. Nor does the development of our river traffic in the end operate adversely to the welfare of the railroad, for the world is full of examples conclusively showing that railways and waterways operated side by side, each performing the functions best suited to it, conduce to the prosperity of each other and to that of the people at large.

Having considered the causes of the decline of river commerce in the Mississippi Valley and pointed out what may be done for their removal let us take a peep into the future, to see, if we can, what we may fairly expect of our new and permanent channels, and of the establishment of harmonious relations between river and rail traffic and the co-operation of localities. In making this forecast, however, neither the volume nor character of the traffic carried in the halcyon days of steamboating will aid us. Revival of river commerce does not necessarily mean recovery of the kind of commerce lost. We must view the question in the light of the new development. The population of the Mississippi Valley in 1870 was 21,154,291; in 1910 it was 51,196,846. Productive energy has increased in proportion. The Mississippi Valley produces the greater part of the country's food stuffs; two-thirds of our manufacturing interests are located here, and nearly all the country's coal supply is drawn from the Mississippi Valley. The demand for transportation is tremendous. All these things must be transported, not once, but many times and in many forms. In times of ordinary prosperity the railroads are not equal to the task. No matter how well equipped, they have their limitations as to carrying capacity.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has expressed this view in the following statement:

> "It may conservatively be stated that the inadequacy of transportation facilities is little less than alarming; that its continua-

tion may place an arbitrary limit on the future productivity of the land; and that the solution of the difficult financial and physical problems involved is worthy the most earnest thought and effort of all who believe in the full development of our country and the largest opportunity for its people."

Hon. Elihu Root, while Secretary of State, in a public address described the situation thus:

> "We have come to a point where the railroads of the country are unable to perform that function which is necessary to continued progress in the increase of our national wealth. Conditions are such that there is no human possibility that railroads can keep pace with the necessities of our natural production for the transportation of our products, and the one avenue that is open for us to keep up our progress is the avenue of water transportation." (Root, p. 17, N. R. and H. C., 1907.)

One other distinguished authority Mr. James J. Hill, with characteristic forcefulness, and with special reference to our western rivers, in 1908 spoke as follows:

> "What this country now wants of the waterway is assistance in carrying a volume of traffic grown too large, in times of national prosperity, for the railroads to handle with their present trackage and terminals. Heavy freights along main lines can profitably go by water. The traffic of the country will need, as soon as normal conditions are restored, all the assistance that waterways can give. The future of the waterway is assured, not so much as a competitor, but as a helper of the railroad. . . . You cannot find a man eminent in railroading today who is not also an ardent advocate of waterways improvement."

One other distinguished authority on transportation, Prof. Emery R. Johnson, is worth citing. He says:

> "The services that inland waterways are to perform in the future will differ from those they have rendered in the past. Both the railroads and the waterways of the future are destined to be more effective transportation agents than they have been in the past. Although the railroad has reached a higher degree of efficiency and has by no means reached the end of its technical development, the usefulness of inland waterways as a part of the general transportation system of the country will not cease to be important. Indeed, the value of inland waterways will tend to increase with the advance of our country in population and industry. The development of facilities for public carriage has become increasingly important, and our industries will require both

rail and water carriers for the adequate performance of the ever-enlarging work of transportation."

The carrying capacity of the river is unlimited. Wherever freight is to be moved in great quantities, barges are employed, which, with their towboats, constitute the cheapest form of freight carriers. At the appearance of the first rise in September last, within a day or two, 250,000 tons of coal and manufactured iron left the city of Cincinnati and Louisville, and without interference with the regular traffic. To move this quantity of freight by rail would require 5,896 cars of 45 tons each, made up in 196 trains of 30 cars each. No railroad, however well equipped, could have performed this service without interference with its regular traffic inside of sixty days, to say nothing of its inability to assemble such a quantity of traffic at either terminus.

It is not only in carrying capacity, but in quick delivery, that the steamboat outclasses the railroad in most cases—though popular conception is to the contrary. The Interstate Commerce Commission reports the average movement of a freight car per day as 23 miles. The immense body of freight just referred to was delivered at Louisville, a distance of 598 miles, in four or five days.

An ordinary packet boat will average 120 miles per day, including all stops and receiving and discharging of freight. One of the Pittsburgh and Cincinnati Packet Line boats will deliver 800 tons of miscellaneous cargo from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, a distance of 468 miles, in sixty hours, which would not ordinarily be accomplished by any of the railroads running between these points short of six days.

These conditions must attract a vast amount of transportation to the river at all times, and in seasons of great prosperity, when great freight movement is required, will surely avert a recurrence of the congestions of 1906 and 1907. The relief to be afforded at such times by our navigable rivers to immediately contiguous territory will be felt throughout the land.

The gasoline engine has produced a new kind of boat which has recently come into use throughout the whole extent of our river system, which promises to be an important factor in the future of river commerce. This is the gasoline packet and towboat. It measures from 15 to 40 tons, operates in short trades of from 15 to 50 miles. Its original cost and expense of operation are small. It carries the farmer and his products to the nearest market town, often towing one or two small barges. These packets are the trolley lines on the river, and, like their counterparts on land, are destined to perform a distinct and important function in the economy of transportation.

But it is our firm belief that passenger travel on our new channels will be quite as great as the freight movements. Travel on our Western rivers has ever been popular—even at this day every packet boat relies

on its passenger list to preserve the equilibrium of its cash account. A fine line of side-wheel boats has always been maintained between Cincinnati and Louisville; and who has not heard of those magnificent double-deckers, the United States and America, that nightly carried great cabins full of happy travellers between those two cities, until one night a disastrous collision brought a brilliant career to a tragic ending.

But a permanently navigable river which admits of deeper draft than is now permissible will quickly replace the wooden inflammable craft of today by a steel constructed vessel, so comfortably and elegantly appointed, so safe, fleet and smooth of movement, through river scenery of matchless beauty, gratifying every choice of distance and direction, as cannot fail to appeal to our people.

Not that the hurrying commercial traveler will choose this method for making five or six towns a day, but it will be sought by that great body of leisurely travelers, the product of our unparalleled national prosperity, which moves like a solid phalanx on our coast and lake resorts in summer time, and like an army of occupation invades our Southern States in winter; for whose comfort and enjoyment great fleets of luxuriantly equipped greyhounds are speeding from ocean to ocean and from shore to shore.

Another new and potent factor in the future commerce of our Western rivers is the Panama Canal. Through its open gates the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys will have direct water connection with the west coast of South America, our own Pacific Coast, and the harbors of the Orient. The largest share of American-made goods that will seek these markets will come from the workshops and mills of the Mississippi Valley. The greatest beneficiary of this new commercial roadstead will be the Mississippi Valley.

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC.

By Homer B. Hulbert, F. R. G. S.

When the founders of our Republic chose the eagle as the symbol of our national life, they did not have in mind its carnivorous nature nor its predatory habit. They saw in it the only living creature that could see the farthest and that could climb the highest into the blue. There was in this choice some predetermination of Providence; for three hundred years ago when this continent was, like ancient Chaos, without form and void, there appeared on the Atlantic seaboard a little fringe of Anglo-Saxons who never dreamed that they were an empire *in embryo;* but there, already was the eagle's egg.

Nor does the analogy stop here. An egg contains two component parts, the white which develops into a bird, and the yolk which forms its food during the process of incubation. Even so with the national bird; the Anglo-Saxon immigrants were the living embryo while the wide-sweeping plains, the forests and the minerals were the yolk which was to nourish it during the period of gestation.

Slowly, patiently, doggedly the plow and axe bit and furrowed their way westward into this unmeasured wealth of natural resources. No human calculation could have foreseen that the Cyclopean wealth of the continent would ever be exploited in its entirety. It was like a bevy of ants attacking a mountain barrier with a view of its demolition. But here, as with the egg, the living organism grew in size and appetite while the yolk diminished until the relative proportions were reversed.

There were three capital assets of the American people. The first was the mineral resources. These being fixed and measured in extent are necessarily exhaustible without the possibility of renovation or replacement. Second, the agricultural resources. These being perennial are inexhaustible, but, being susceptible of a fixed maximum development, the time was sure to come when agriculture could no longer suffice to absorb the excess of industry which rapidly increasing immigration was destined to bring into the country. The third asset was the indomitable energy, the fiery enthusiasm and the inventive genius of the people. But this third asset did not lie in the yolk of the egg. It was the appetite of the living organism, the white of the egg. It was the heat which made incubation possible. For, though the Anglo-Saxons first came to escape the narrowness and bigotry of Europe, they soon substituted for the negative motto "Get away from it" the more positive and constructive one "Go to it."

I call you to witness that during the first three hundred years of our national incubation this energy and enthusiasm and inventive genius were almost wholly absorbed in the fascinating work of reaping where we had not sown and gathering where we had not strawed. Inestimable wealth lay right on the surface, titanic forests to be hewn, fat plains to be tilled, rock ribs of iron and coal, copper and gold heaving their rich deposits up to the very surface, all to be had for the taking, without money and without price. Not that I would belittle the herculean task that our pioneers performed, nor the swift, persistent indefatigable march across the longitudes which is unparalleled in the history of human achievements; but the rewards which they secured for themselves and for their descendants were all out of proportion even to their suberb devotion and their unfaltering faith. Hardly less, in proportion, is the fledgling, lying in its shell required to pay for the yolk that it consumes than our nation had to pay for this mighty feast to which it came uninvited and unhindered.

At this precise point we discover the genesis of the most characteristic feature of the American people, the thing which differentiates them the most clearly from their Anglo-Saxon forbears. The lust for unearned increment got into the very blood of the nation and was woven into the very fiber of our body politic. It was a recrudescence, if you will, of the old Viking spirit which harried the coasts of Europe in search of unearned wealth; or, if this simile sound too harsh, it was the child-nation drawing forth the gifts with which a kindly Santa Claus had crammed its Christmas stocking.

But the time inevitably came when this riotous exploitation of surface wealth could no longer afford an outlet for the fierce energy that had been generated. The fertile fields were all attached, the forests were all preempted, the mines were all staked out, the buffalo were all killed off, and gradually economic conditions came to assume something of the sane and conservative aspect of European countries. But note the appalling energy that had been developed through the enthusiasm aroused by this easy exploitation of resources. The momentum of that energy was proportioned to the facility with which fortunes had been made. It was a momentum that nothing could stop, and when the material upon which it had expended its titanic power shrunk to normal dimensions, some new outlet had to be found, some new field to conquer.

Already under the spur of increasing wealth and of national demand a beginning had been made in the work of supplying the people with manufactured goods. At first these were crude and bungling and those who could afford it still bought their manufactured goods from Europe. But at last under the spur of necessity, the inventiveness of our people, and incidentally the protective tariff, we forged ahead into active and successful competition with Europe.

And now a new and immensely important development took place. It was the wholesale immigration of European people. It grew by leaps and bounds and the question became a legitimate one: How are we to feed and clothe these millions? It was discovered that though agriculture, lumbering and mining could absorb a part of this surplus energy that part was a mere fraction. The larger portion of it was diverted into manufacturing lines and the terrific momentum of our progress went on not only unhindered but accelerated. In the natural course of events the fact was revealed that our people could no longer absorb the product of our manufactories. In other words the yolk could no longer suffice to feed the bird in the shell. One of two things must happen: either the bird must hatch or else must stifle in its prison-house. When we came to the point where our domestic markets could no longer handle the products of our industry, we had to find new markets or else smother in the plethora of our over production. To change the figure, we were like a mighty locomotive engine sweeping

along the track at sixty miles an hour and nearing the end of the track. One of three things must happen. The momentum must be checked, or the track must be extended, or there must be a catastrophe. To put an efficient check upon that engine which represents the energy and enthusiasm of the nation is impossible. The track cannot be extended except it be beyond our own territory but to escape disaster this is the only thing that remained to be done. To revert to our original figure the bird hatched and America became what she was predestined to become, or as some would prefer to say, foredoomed to become—a world power.

There's many a mother that longs to keep her "little boy" in short pants even after he has shot up beyond her own height. The lad goes about shame-faced and mocked by his companions until the old gentleman sees how things are going, takes the boy down street and fits him out in long pants without consulting the partner of his joys. Well, there are some people in this country who would like to keep their dear little six footer of a nation in short pants, but the head of the house has grasped the situation.

Immigration and foreign markets are necessary complements of each other. If we take in twenty thousand Austro-Hungarians who were accustomed to make matches to sell in India, they ought here to make steel to sell in China or else make some other commodity to sell abroad. In other words, in addition to the fifty dollars that each one has to bring to tide him over the interval until he secures employment, each one should bring with him his economic market. Only thus can we evade an ultimate excess of production and a consequent industrial catastrophe. This needs no argument. It is axiomatic in its simplicity.

But in looking abroad to see where this increased market can be found we see, first, that in Europe there is no possibility of any immediate large increase of selling area. There is a commercial equilibrium that gives no hope of our securing an expanding market sufficient to keep pace with our growing need. Some people say that in South America we can find a sufficient market; but we must note that area alone does not make trade. It takes people; and in all South America there are only a little more than twice the population of Korea, which we so complacently turned over to the Japanese six years ago. There is only one place where we can find a prospective market commensurate with our need. That market is China. Empire still takes its westward way, but now it is industrial empire and not political.

Some ill-informed people have affirmed that China is not a great prospective market; that its people are too poor and too conservative. It is true that their per capita wealth is small but the aggregate is gigantic in its proportions. No one has attempted to estimate the gross wealth of the Chinese people but it may well be doubted whether it falls far below that of the Americans themselves. It is certain that

wealth is more evenly distributed there; for the clan rather than the individual is the repository of wealth. Now a large homogeneous, thrifty population of moderate average means is the best market in the world, the most steady, the most dependable. They must have the necessities of life and they are compelled both by their modest fortunes and their native thrift to buy in the cheapest market. And here is where the argument about conservatism breaks down. There is no superstition, no custom, no tradition, no gilded god in all Asia that would stand for an instant between a Chinaman and a bargain sale. It is a passion with him, and before that passion as before the breath of a typhoon every prejudice is leveled with the dust. Take their old-time notion that China is the center of the universe and that all other nations are but satellites. Why, the Chinese are more widely distributed throughout the world than the Anglo-Saxons are, five times over. There are more Chinamen in India than there are English, more in Mexico than there are Americans, more in eastern Siberia than there are Russians, more in Annam than there are French, more in Java than there are Dutch, more in Singapore than all others combined, more in Europe than there are Europeans in China. They bid fair to become the commercial cosmopolites of the world.

But there are some who think that the Chinese market is pretty well supplied already, that the demand is already met. One might as truthfully say that the resources of Alaska have been exhausted. Only the merest fringe of China has been touched. A thousand miles from the nearest railway and hundreds of miles from navigation patient camels plod across the mountains carrying American goods today to inland points where only the wealthy can afford to buy. There are tens of millions who want those goods but who cannot afford them. The projected railways in China will open up the inland markets with a rapidity and to an extent never before seen in the history of trade. It is safe to say that China will afford the one market commensurable with the demands of American industrial expansion.

This fact gives us a personal and poignant interest in that much discussed but very indefinite phrase *The Mastery of the Pacific*. But before discussing that term I should like to put in a demurrer against the statement that trade follows the flag. My objection to it is a very simple one, namely that it is not true. Trade does not follow the flag; it follows the demand, and the flag follows the trade to protect it. Demand is color-blind and cannot tell one flag from another. The ultimate consumer cares not an iota what flag convoys the goods so long as the goods are good and cheap. It may therefore be confidently believed that the future domination of the Pacific will be a commercial and industrial one.

But there is one all-important question that has still to be decided—the rules of the game. This is a more serious matter than our

people are at all willing to admit. There are several nations vitally interested in the trade of China; they may all be called competitors in the game and unless there be some uniformity in method and in ideals confusion is certain to result. If two football teams were to meet on the gridiron each with its own private set of rules and without a referee the game would probably deteriorate into a free fight. The same thing is true about such a game as that which faces us in the Pacific. The contest is on and yet the rules have not been formulated nor has a referee been chosen. If we as one of the contestants should retire from the field and refuse to play, on the ground that there are no rules, all difficulty might be avoided, but as I have attempted to show we cannot withdraw without doing a cruel injustice to the millions of our industrial workers and the risk of economic ruin. It follows then that if any one of the competing nations is willing to adopt for itself a code of rules which countenance slugging and tripping, all the others must follow suit or else give up the game and retire from the field; or, as a last resort, they must induce the offending party to revise its rules.

I have said that trade does not follow the flag. This rule like all others has its exception. There is one people of whom it can truly be said. That people has nowhere succeeded in commercial competition except where it has first secured a military domination and has obtained control of the governmental agencies which determine trade conditions. Take Manchuria as a case in point (and I do it not for the purpose of criticising any particular people but merely as an illustration of the wide variations in the rules of the game). Six years ago American enterprise was flourishing in Manchuria. In fair competition we held about half of all the foreign trade of that rich territory. Today we have comparatively nothing. Why the difference? The trade is there, the demand is unimpaired, our merchants are as keen as ever. The explanation lies in this one fact that we do not play the game the way our competitors do. During the recent war trade was supended in the affected provinces and when peace was signed we were told that it would take two years to remove the troops and prepare for the reopening of the territory to general trade. But singularly enough this rule was not made to apply to the very party that made it. Their marchants poured into the country by thousands, their goods were carried practically freight free, every seat of trade was preempted and every point of strategic commercial advantage was seized; and when we were blandly told that the door was now open we found that there was not even standing room. We had bought our tickets to the ball game but they were lost in the mail and everything was in the hands of the speculators. When Secretary Knox asked that the game be played according to some recognized rules he was told that there was "nothing doing."

At the time when these things were going on it was my fortune to pass through Manchuria where I conversed for some hours with every American Consul and with British, German and other officials, and I found it to be the fixed opinion of every man I saw that the term "open door" was not applicable to Manchuria, but that even after the nominal opening there were gross acts of favoritism and special privilege towards the merchants of the dominant power. One British official in an important Manchurian port cited to me a case that came within his purview. A Chinese governor was approached by a deputation of Japanese and asked for a certain concession. The magnitude of it startled him and he said he would have to refer the matter to Peking. They demurred at this and insisted that it be granted without that formality, evidently being well aware that if it were referred to Peking it would be certainly refused. The Governor persisted in his determination and at last the visitors drew their weapons on him and fiercely demanded his consent without an hour's delay. He laughed in their faces and dared them to touch him. Of course they gave in. I give this authentic instance to show merely the rule of the game as played by the dominant party. No legitimate competition can overcome such a handicap.

The question that faces us in the Pacific is the same as that which faces the whole civilized world. Shall society advance only so fast as the most backward shall dictate; shall the chain of evolution always be measured by its weakest link. If so then all talk of universal peace and disarmament must be laid aside. The American people hate war with a hatred that is intelligent but without fear. We know there is a better way and that in time the race as a whole will come to that opinion. But the practical man as distinguished from the idealist wants to know how we are to manage until the war-nations have been convinced. In this year of grace 1911 there is no such thing as disarmament. War is not a clash of weapons but a clash of wills, and as society is now constituted if national passions are aroused and vital national interests are endangered men will fight. Sink all the navies and disband all the armies; the only result would be that in the clash of wills that is called war, men would fight with cobblestones and brickbats. There would be no non-combattants and every individual and home and village would be a legitimate object of assault. Civilization has nowhere demonstrated its beneficent character more than in the steady diminution of the area, the duration and the relative mortality of war.

When you have killed the will to decide disputes by force then disarmament has already come, however many dreadnaughts there may be.

I thank God that the American people have no appetite for terri-

torial conquest. Even the little Philippines have almost turned our stomachs, and if it had not been for a stern sense of duty we would long ago have had recourse to an emetic. We have absolutely no will to fight except in possible self-defense, nor would the possession of a thousand dreadnaughts create the appetite for conquest. Unless a man is hungry ten plates of food are no more tempting than one. The fact is that the more efficient our navy is the sooner we will give the people of the Philippines their liberty, for then we shall be better able to ensure their defense from some less scrupulous power; but until the rules of the game have been formulated and all the interested parties have subscribed to them in such fashion that their infringement would call for instant and united penalization, I affirm that the Philippine Islands are worth a million dollars an acre to the American people, and would be so worth were they as barren as the Sahara Desert. Look at a map of the Pacific and you will see that there is a line of islands running southward from Kamtchatka. They are the Kurile Islands, the Japanese Islands, the Liu-chu Islands, Formosa and the Philippines. They are like a veil drawn across the face of China and the possession of them all would enable the possessor to command the seaboard of China and dictate to anyone who wished to approach that seaboard. Every one of these islands is in the possession of a single power, *excepting the Philippines.* They alone are ours. They break the chain and they guarantee entrance to the ports of China so long as the American flag exists.

In saying this I cannot be charged with advocating war excepting insofar as war is thrust upon us in defense of rights that are fairly won and that are not only not a menace to any other people but are of distinct value to all who believe in an open market and fair competition. Might does not make right, but it has its legitimate place and office, namely the defense of the right. And therefore, if America is to give up the principle of defending the right by force when necessary, we must reconstruct our whole scheme of social and economic life. Our social system needs reconstruction in some lines but I affirm that such reconstruction must be evolutionary and not cataclysmic.

What a pity it is that the weapons of offense and of defense are identically the same. How delightful it would be if we could have a gun that would shoot only bad people, burglars, assassins, traitors; but that would be harmless against good people! Today the revolver which you keep under your pillow to defend yourself from burglars is exactly the same as that which the burglar uses in robbing you. Now I am safe in saying that if there were a weapon that could be used only in defense *that is the only kind of weapon the United States Government would buy.* But unfortunately this is not so, and therefore there are some otherwise excellent people who, whenever they see Uncle Sam

go into a store to buy a gun, scream out in terror: "He is going to commit murder!"

Human nature is the same whether in the individual or in the nation at large, and it is just as immoral for Uncle Sam to leave several billion dollars worth of stuff lying about where anyone can steal it as it would be for you to leave your watch and other jewelry out on the front steps when you go to bed. It is not giving your neighbor a square deal.

But then these casuists say that if a man has a gun he may make a mistake and shoot when he does not intend to. Someone comes and raps at your window at night. Being startled out of sleep you draw your gun and shoot to kill, only to find out that it is your neighbor's wife who has come to ask you to get a doctor for her sick husband. But just here comes the difference between Uncle Sam and the ordinary individual. Before the United States starts to shoot a good many things must happen. Mr. Richard Hobson will not be the only person to have his say (although I would remark parenthetically that Mr. Hobson has a good deal more sense than many people give him credit for). The House of Representatives would have to discuss the matter, the Senate would probably get it out of Committee sooner or later, meanwhile the good people of the United States would not be entirely silent; and by the time Uncle Sam was ready to pull the trigger it would be discovered whether it was a neighbor's wife or a house-breaker!

In this connection the opening of the Panama Canal discloses possibilities and releases forces which no one can fully foresee. Only the crudest and most material results have been thought out. We do not know what ambitions it may stimulate, what cupidities it may awaken, what shifting of balances it may cause. The United States by opening up this waterway makes herself responsible for the results. For this reason if for no other it is morally obligatory upon this government so to keep its hand upon the canal that any possible untoward development may be nipped in the bud. Let it be plainly understood by the whole world that this government once and for all removes the possession of that waterway from the field of international cupidity, and an enormous stumbling-block will have been removed from the highway of commerce. It has been objected that the fortification of the Canal will show distrust of other powers. Since when have nations shown themselves so worthy of trust that an object of such surpassing value would prove no temptation to them? To leave the Canal undefended would be about as rational as it would be for a private individual of great wealth to remove the locks from his doors and from his safes.

Another prime necessity in the securing of ample opportunities abroad for the distribution and disposal of our surplus products is a

Merchant Marine. We "protect" everybody in this country except those who go down to the sea in ships. We protect hundreds of occupations which are ludicrously small when compared with this of sea carriage. It is wholly illogical, but the difficulty lies in the fact that the sailor cannot be protected in exactly the same way as the manufacturer. You cannot levy a customs duty on his competitors' wares very easily. A government subsidy is necessary, and when it comes to paying good money out of the Treasury at Washington to a steamship company it causes an immediate outcry. Now I would ask a simple question. Which is better, for the Government to say to the trust, "you can put your hand into the people's pocket and extract the extra money necessary for the protection of your industry against foreign competition," or for the Government to take it out of the people by taxation and hand it to the shipping company for their protection. To my mind the latter way is the better by far; for when the Government does it we know just how much it is getting but when the corporations put their hands into our pockets we do *not* know whether it is getting what it ought to get or whether it is getting three times too much. I believe in giving the consumer the benefit of the doubt! We are told that we could never learn to compete on even terms with the cheap sea service of European countries. So it was said about steel, but the time has now come when that industry has made itself practically independent of any "protection." It would be the same with the shipping industry, if the Government would only encourage a beginning whereby some of this surplus energy of our people could be expended in the carrying trade. The inventive genius of our people would soon make us the greatest carrying nation in the world. In the early days of the Nineteenth Century we had a magnificent carrying trade. We had plenty of sailors and of ships and that, too, at a time when the great Middle West was casting its most seductive lure for the young men of the nation. How then should we not have men enough now when we are congested at every center of population and huge masses of the unemployed are crying out for work?

Such are some of the factors that go to make up this Far Eastern question as related to the water-shed of the Mississippi River, of which this Ohio is the main tributary. The City of Hankow lies 600 miles up the Yangtse River in China. St. Louis lies approximately the same distance up the Mississippi, and it takes no prophet to foresee the time when ocean vessels will load at St. Louis and discharge their cargoes at Hankow. But more than this, far up the Yangtse lies the city of Ichang which will some day be a great inland port, and its logical counterpart is this splendid city of Pittsburgh and it is not beyond the bounds of reason to hope that before the last word is spoken Ichang and Pittsburgh may be exchanging their commodities without breaking cargo. There is a restless energy in this country

that one step most of society that is actually possess. Thus a strong bond to a new national life that contains possibilities of the most tremendous scope. America and China are natural complements to each other. The Yangtze and Mississippi Valleys have more in common than any other two equal parts of country in the world.

The concluding paper of the morning was read by George Cowles Lay of New York. The portion relating to the Ohio Valley reads as follows:

INTERSTATE CONTROVERSIES ARISING FROM INJURIES TO COMMERCE, NAVIGATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

By George Cowles Lay.

By the Federal Constitution the States are prohibited from entering into any treaty, alliance or confederation, or any agreement or contract with another state or with a foreign power without consent of Congress and in any case from engaging in war, unless actually invaded or in imminent danger.

The states are thus debarred, in case of disputes, from the remedies of diplomacy or the resort to arms, while acting under the Constitution.

Alexander Hamilton in the Federalist, with prophetic insight, anticipated "many other sources, besides interfering claims of boundary, from which bickering and animosity may spring up among the members of the Union."*

So the history and development of the country have produced many kinds of controversies, which among foreign states might have resulted in wars and treaties but which have been happily settled by judicial decisions. These disputes have arisen between States as far removed from each other as South Dakota and North Carolina, and as New Hampshire and Louisiana, over liabilities on State bonds, but have chiefly affected adjoining states, whose citizens have been subject to injuries affecting commerce, navigation and public health.

Where the health or material prosperity of inhabitants of a state have been threatened by contamination of its waterways by diversion or unreasonable use of navigable rivers flowing through several states, by embargoes against passengers and freight in times of epidemic, or by obstructions to commerce, the interference of the Supreme Court has been sought in several cases of interest.

The principles governing this class of cases are the same as those regulating the rights and remedies of individuals. The complaining

---

*The Federalist, Vol. LXXX.

State seeks an injunction against unlawful acts threatened or committed and prays for an abatement of the nuisances, or for the redress of grievances.

One of the most important cases and most interesting to people of the Ohio Valley is the controversy over the bridge at Wheeling—about 1850 the State of Pennsylvania brought suit against Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Company in the U. S. Supreme Court.[1]

This so-called "Belmont Bridge" case arose from a conflict between the interests of steamboat navigation and overland transportation. In 1847 the state of Virginia granted a charter to the Wheeling & Belmont Bridge Company authorizing the construction of a wire suspension bridge over the Ohio River at Wheeling and providing that if the bridge should obstruct navigation it should be treated as a public nuisance. Under this authority the Bridge Company proceeded to erect a highway bridge, from Wheeling to Zane's Island, the highest point of which was about 92 feet above low water; this height, however, was maintained only for a space of 100 feet in the middle of the channel and was gradually reduced to about 64 feet at the extremities of the structure.

It was claimed by Pennsylvania in a suit brought in the United States Supreme Court to abate the nuisance, that the bridge was an obstruction to the navigation of the Ohio River, that it interfered with the passage of large and swift packets plying between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, especially when the water was higher than 20 feet over low water line. In the time of spring and fall floods the water rose to a height of 30 to 38 feet and the space for the passage of steamers with chimneys 74 feet high was claimed to be wholly insufficient.

It was shown that by various Acts of Congress the use and navigation of the Ohio was to be at all times free to all citizens of the United States.

The Northwest ordinance of 1787 providing for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio was quoted.

The fourth article of this famous document provides as follows: "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, import or duty whatever."*

---

[1]Pennsylvania vs. The Wheeling & Belmont Bridge Co., 13 How. 518; 18 How. 421.

*It is interesting to note that this language is almost identical with that of a resolution offered by Mr. Grayson of Va. in Congress in May, 1786 (Journal of Congress, 1786, p. 637).

Documents Illustrative of American History (p. 248) by Howard W. Preston, 1893.

It was pointed out that upon the admission of the states bordering upon these waters into the Union similar conditions were imposed and upon the admission of Kentucky as a state in 1789 the navigation of Ohio River was declared to be free and common to the citizens of the United States.

In the argument of Edwin M. Stanton, Counsel for Pennsylvania, the Ohio was described "as the boundary of six states, its waters draining a large territory of four other states, flowing in a southwest direction from the Allegheny mountains to the Mississippi, presenting to the navigator a broad and placid stream, one thousand miles in length, more free from dangers and obstructions than any other navigable river in the world."

Pennsylvania claimed that she had constructed great public works, such as canals and railroads, stretching East from Pittsburgh, whereby the products of the south and west and of the Pacific Coast were transported to Philadelphia for an eastern and foreign market, and foreign merchandise and eastern manufactures were transported by the same channels to Pittsburgh, thence to be carried south and west by steamboats on the Ohio and thence by way of the Mississippi to the Gulf. All this commerce was obstructed by a bridge, which did not admit of the passage of steamboats freely and without delay and expense.

The Bridge Company answered that the bridge was a connecting link of a great public highway as important as the navigation of the Ohio; that the bridge was not an appreciable inconvenience to the average class of boats, and that the tall chimneys upon the largest packets might be supplied with hinges or lowered or dispensed with altogether by the use of blowers for a forced draught. The public highway across the bridge was a continuation of the National Road, used so extensively by the early pioneers.

The Supreme Court referred two questions for determination to Hon. Reuben H. Walworth, former Chancellor of New York, as Special Commissioner:

(1) Whether the bridge was an obstruction to the free navigation of the Ohio and (2) if an obstruction, what alteration should be made to the bridge to facilitate navigation.

The Commissioner reported the bridge to be an obstruction and recommended that the flooring be raised so as to give a level highway at least 30 feet wide and not less than 120 feet above low water.

The Supreme Court held that Pennsylvania had the right to invoke the jurisdiction of the Court, not because its sovereignty was involved but because it had the same interest in protecting its property and redressing its wrongs as an individual, and the only privilege it enjoyed over individuals, due to its dignity as a State, was to bring an original suit in the Supreme Court to abate the nuisance.

The Court then declared that if viaducts for railroads and bridges

must be thrown over the Ohio for the accommodation of the numerous and rising cities upon its banks, they should not be so built as materially to obstruct its commerce, and that the bridge in question was a menace to navigation and should be so altered as to provide for a height of 111 feet above low water for a distance of 300 feet over the channel of the River. The Court passed a decree, directing the abatement of the bridge or an alteration as above stated, or the removal of the obstructions in the western Channel at the option of the Bridge Company, which was given an opportunity to make the changes or improvements suggested.

While the Pennsylvania interests were thus successful in obtaining a decree of the highest court of the land which provided for the removal of the obstructions, Congress interposed and passed an Act in August, 1852, which provided as follows:

That the bridges over the Ohio at Wheeling in the State of Virginia and at Bridgeport in the State of Ohio, abutting on Zane's Island in said River are hereby declared to be lawful structures in their present positions and elevations and shall be so held and taken to be, anything in the law or laws of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding, and further, That the said bridges be declared to be and are established post roads for the passage of the mails of the United States and that the Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Company are authorized to have and maintain their bridges at their present site and elevation, and the officers and crews of all vessels and boats navigating said River are required to regulate the use of their said vessels and of any pipes or chimneys belonging thereto so as not to interfere with the elevation and construction of said bridges.

A sharp conflict between the legislative and judicial Departments of the Government was thus precipitated.

After the Act was passed, the suspension bridge was blown down in a gale of wind and the Company proceeded to reconstruct it, when the State of Pennsylvania applied to the Supreme Court for an injunction, which was granted. The Bridge Company disregarded the injunction and then a motion was made by Pennsylvania for an attachment for contempt, and thus the question of the power of Congress to override a decree of the Supreme Court was presented to that tribunal.[1] The case affords an admirable instance of the good sense of a

---

NOTE: This struggle between the steamboat men and the railroads continued for many years and was renewed upon the erection of other bridges over the Ohio and the Mississippi. Tall chimneys were sought to be protected, until it was discovered by a steamboat captain on the Mississippi, who, in order to test the law, ran his steamer at full speed under one of the bridges and broke his chimney in the middle, that while the draft was increased, the steamer consumed much less coal and by a slight reduction of speed accomplished its voyage with greater economy. He ceased to be an advocate of tall chimneys after this accident.

majority of the court in preserving the proper balance between co-ordinate branches of the government and calmly yielding to the constitutional powers of Congress, when it might have been expected that the Court would not have tolerated any interference with its decrees.

Indeed the Court declared that an Act of Congress could not have the effect to annul a judgment of the court affecting private rights and that had the remedy in the case been an action at law and had a judgment been rendered for money damages the right to these would have passed beyond the power of Congress—such right depending not upon the public right of the free navigation of the river, but upon the judgment of the court. The court very frankly stated that the bridge had been declared to be an obstruction to the free navigation of the river in view of previous acts of Congress, providing that the navigation of the river should be free and common to all citizens, but the subsequent legislation was to be regarded as modifying the former law and although the bridge was still an obstruction in fact it was not so in contemplation of law.

The court therefore held that after the passage of this Act the bridge was no longer an unlawful obstruction as the right of navigation had been modified by competent authority and that the decree for the abatement of the bridge could not be enforced.

This case in its final result is of striking interest in emphasizing the paramount power of Congress in matters committed to it under the constitution and in demonstrating the practical wisdom and admirable self control of the judicial branch of our government in a peculiar exigency, where the temptation to resist an apparent usurpation of Congress was strong and not easily overcome.

That the powers of Congress are adapted to new conditions and new developments of commerce is well stated by the Supreme Court in another case as follows:[1]

"The powers thus granted are not confined to the instrumentalities of commerce or the postal service known or in use when the Constitution was adopted, but they keep pace with the progress of the country and adapt themselves to the new development of time and circumstances. They extend from the horse with its rider to the stage coach, from the sailing vessel to the steamboat, from the coach and the steamboat to the railroad and from the railroad to the telegraph as these new agencies are successively brought into use to meet the demands of increasing population and wealth."

At the Wednesday afternoon session the following three papers were read. The first two, concerning the erection of an

---

NOTE: 18 How. 421.

[1]Pensacola Tel. Co. vs. West. Union Tel. Co. 96 U. S.

historical library building at Pittsburgh, though delivered for the promotion of a purely local enterprise, are so replete with information and suggestion pertinent to historical libraries in general, that we take pleasure in producing them in full.

WHAT AN HISTORICAL LIBRARY BUILDING SHOULD DO FOR PITTSBURGH.

By Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D.

Superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and Lecturer in American History in the University of Wisconsin.

The immigrant from Europe, no matter how unlettered he may be, quite generally brings to our shores a fairly accurate knowledge of the most striking facts in the history of his native land. Its heroes are his heroes, and the ideals they stood for are, in a measure, quite apt to be his also. Especially do we find, if we have occasion to question him, that the newcomer is conversant with at least the outlines of the story of his native city or province. He is proud to claim as fellow citizens those men of past generations whose heads have stood above the throng. He knows something of the partisan struggles that in various generations have in his community set neighborhood against neighborhood, family against family, men against their kin; something of the long-enduring and often devastating commercial and political contests with other cities; something of the fierce battles that through successive generations have been waged beneath the crumbling walls that girt his town.

Sometimes on holidays I have watched groups of these people wandering through a European art gallery or museum—peasants and journeymen, with undoubted evidence of their vocations still clinging to them, yet pausing with awesome although voluble admiration before some great historical canvas that eloquently sets forth a chapter in the story of their country's past; or commenting intelligently upon a skillful grouping of museum articles illustrative of the life, manners, methods in vogue among men and women who trod this municipal stage long generations ago.

When schools are in session, one cannot tarry long at any historic shrine in Europe without encountering a schoolmaster or a schoolmistress having in charge an enthusiastic bevy of boys and girls who, either resident or from a neighboring town, have come to see the house connected with the career of some notable citizen, or to study in much

detail the cathedral, the castle, the municipal building—or whatever other relics of bygone days bring pilgrims to that place. Small wonder is it, with these object lessons and the persistency of this youthful drilling, if the European appreciates that his country has a past, of which he is the logical outcome, and concerning which he must be informed.

He migrates to America. No adult with whom he is liable to be thrown in social contact apparently knows anything whatever about American history, much less does he hear it talked about. His children obtain in the public schools a meagre and often badly-taught smattering of our national annals, but practically nothing whatever of that state or local history in which they should especially be well-grounded. We cannot be surprised if our immigrant comes to think that America has no history worth the telling, at least no state or city heroes worthy of the name; that America never stood for or meant anything, but is a land that "just grew up," like Topsy of old—a land in which there is opportunity to earn dollars.

Can we hope to make American patriots out of men coming to us with such ideas, and finding no reason for changing them? Can a man love his country or his state or city unless he knows that here great deeds have been done, that here high ideals are cherished? How is the foreigner to know these things if we do not teach them to him? Are even our boys and girls being made into the same sort of patriots that they rear abroad?

Possibly the annals of our nation may in time be cared for, in this connection. Certainly, the school texts are fast improving; more and more is it being understood by teachers and public that instruction in American history lies very close to the roots of civic patriotism. Commemorative celebrations like the present have had a marked influence in stimulating popular interest in certain phases of our country's story. The Centennial at Philadelphia, for example, gave a considerable impetus to the study of the causes and conduct of the Revolution. The World's Fair at Chicago brought home to our people a genuine appreciation of the stirring romance of that great period of maritime exploration, brought to a glorious climax by Columbus, when on that fateful October morning he doubled the known area of the world. The Buffalo Exposition renewed and vivified our knowledge of and sympathy with the careers of the Latin American republics. During the St. Louis Exposition tens of thousands of Americans read earnestly and probably for the first time, of the Louisiana Purchase, and gave some heed to what resulted from it. At Portland, our thoughts as a nation were closely connected with the ever-memorable story of Lewis and Clark's triumphant exploration from the Mississippi to the Northwest coast. The Pittsburgh sesquicentennial reawakened popular interest in the history of this locality. Again, during the present week, there is unrolled before us the panorama of early trans-Alleghany settlement, and fresh

concern is being manifested by the nation in the glowing tale of the Ohio River when it was the broad highway to the virgin prairies and primeval woodlands of the West.

But important as are these celebrations, they are necessarily spasmodic. At best, they hold the slender attention of the public for a few weeks or months. We stand in need of permanent instrumentalities for the development, especially, of popular taste for state and local history. Ours is a period remarkable for earnest popular demands for purer and more efficient local government—for the increase and improvement of public parks and play-grounds, for the development of the public library through branches that shall reach out to the citizen upon the farthermost confine of the municipality, for the use of schoolhouses for lectures to the people and as meeting places for neighborhood betterment clubs. The time is propitious for taking advantage of this widespread civic re-awakening, for redeeming our cities from the familiar taunt of the foreigner, that American towns are historically barren.

The study of local history is closely akin in object and method to the study of nature, of which so much account is taken, and justly taken, in our public schools. The child who becomes familiar with the habits and characteristics of animals, birds, flowers, trees, and clouds, finds that the great earth is teeming with interesting neighbors of man, with whom it is worth while becoming intimately acquainted. He walks thereafter in a broader and more inviting land than is known to his untutored fellows who neither see nor hear the sights and sounds that make beautiful this world of ours.

Exactly in the same way and for the same purpose should the child acquire an intimate knowledge of the history of his locality. The career, for instance, of a prairie community may seem at first to afford few incidents of distinction. But surely some incidents there be that may arouse attention. Merely answering the *why* of the town's location often involves much research, and sometimes yields interesting facts. Quite possibly it may lead the inquirer back to the aboriginal village that in our West frequently preceded the white town; and this opens up the field of local Indian archaeology, which is sure to attract a considerable group of students. Perhaps the first white to visit the region was a fur-trader; if so, this fact suggests picturesque possibilities. Worthy of our earnest attention is a study of the first agricultural settler, his origin, and why and how he came; perhaps afoot across country, or in a "prairie schooner," or on a flat-boat.

The story of the gradual growth and development of a town around this nucleus of the first settler is food for the economist and the sociologist as well as the historian. What reason was there for the coming of these people? What induced them to stay, when once they had arrived? What social and civic institutions were first established, and where?—the first schoolhouse, with its teachers and pupils; the first church, its

pastors and its congregation; the first village, town, or city hall, and the first public officials chosen; the creation of clubs, societies, fraternal organizations. Then there is the question of the beginnings of commercial and industrial establishments; the building of plank roads or "gravelled" turnpikes, the construction of bridges, the coming of steamboats or railroads. The smallest and apparently the least interesting or American communities presents abundant problems for the local historian or other student of life and manners.

But particularly fortunate in this regard is Pittsburgh. Here, two pulsing streams combine to form yonder giant river, which long served as the principal pathway to the interior of a great continent. Few American towns have a history like unto this. In the beginning, its traditions throb with the varied incidents of a strenuous aboriginal life—for here at "The Forks", from time immemorial, were held great councils and intertribal markets; from here were controlled the savages of a broad area of wilderness; from here went war parties, hideous in paint and gay in feathers, softly treading the warriors' paths that everywhere streaked this storied land. The Forks played a large part in the protracted drama of French and English rivalry for the mastery of North America, and with this particular scene Washington's name will always closely be associated. About The Forks was waged the continued struggle for territorial possession between Pennsylvania and Virginia—one of its episodes being that fateful colonial war to which has been given the name of Lord Dunmore. During the Revolution, the garrison of Fort Pitt was chiefly concerned in protecting the Kentuckians from Indian raids. Here really began the expedition of George Rogers Clark, that won the Northwest for the United States. From here set forth that little band of Marietta pilgrims who had won their Western lands by fighting under Washington and Lafayette. Here, through many years were built and launched those fleets of picturesque pirogues, flat-boats, keel-boats, "arks," and "broad-horns," that carried teeming cargoes of pioneers and their chattels for the founding of American homes along the banks of the Ohio and its far-stretching tributaries. Here set forth that strange, machine-paddled craft which was soon to revolutionize the West, and which gave occasion for our commemorative exercises today. From that time to this, Pittsburgh has remained an important gateway to the West; her history is in large measure a synopsis of Western history.

The story of Pittsburgh has never quite adequately been told—at least, in such fashion that we can feel the thrill and glamor of this old town's eventful career. But some day it will be told, let us hope as the outcome of this Centennial; and then we shall see that that story is unexcelled in romance and significance by the records of any other city in the world. Blessed will be the Pittsburgh child who shall come to his knowledge of it at his mother's knee; for like the European

youth, he will come to feel that the traditions and annals of the city of his birth are a rich heritage which none may gainsay him. He will become a better citizen by far than the lad to whom the town is an unmeaning checker-board collection of streets, sidewalks, and houses.

The sole excuse for the maintenance of public schools by public taxes is the fact that education makes intelligent voters, without whom the republic cannot long exist. A general knowledge of American history is recognized by every educator as an essential factor in the education of our people. But the history of his state and locality should be considered quite as important an element in the intellectual drill of every child in our common schools, who is being trained to effective citizenship.

"The curriculum is already overcrowded," say the teachers when this suggestion is made. It is the long-familiar reply to every suggestion for reform in educational methods. The trouble chiefly lies, I fear, in the lack of equipment on the part of many of the teachers themselves. Knowing nothing of local history, and having small concern for it, they are readily self-convinced that there is no time for this study in the treadmill of the scholastic day. Another consideration, doubtless, is the dearth of attractive state or local texts, for undoubtedly among the most dreary of books on our library shelves are those of the local annalist. But were school boards to insist that state and local history should be taught alongside of general American history, incentive would thereby be offered to text-book writers possessed of attractive literary style, who at present find but a narrow market for this sort of ware.

But quite apart from class-work in the common schools, there is needed some other agency for the instruction of all the people in the history of the town and region. There is no instrument quite so well adapted or equipped for carrying on this form of popular education as the historical society—city, regional, or state. Such an organization can inspire archæological explorations, accumulate archives, collect reminiscences from pioneers, amass data relative to social and economic history and present conditions, conduct a well-selected historical and ethnological museum that shall be representative of the locality, arrange for popular lectures on these subjects, conduct historical pilgrimages and commemorative celebrations, influence school and library boards, interest and instruct teachers and librarians, furnish the newspapers with accurate historical data, publish pamphlets and books containing reports of their discoveries, and in general awaken within the locality which it seeks to represent an active and enduring historic consciousness.

The legislatures of many of our states in the Mississippi Basin recognize the importance and necessity of this form of educational work. Their interest is manifested by more or less liberal subventions of such societies, and in a few states a somewhat similar duty is performed by official departments of archives and history. But of the several municipal or regional historical societies, that of Buffalo is, I

believe, unique in receiving an annual appropriation ($5,000) from the city government, to aid in its educational propaganda.

In truth, there is no reason whatever why this example should not generally be followed by large American cities. Exactly the same argument used in behalf of the school system can and should be urged for the historical society. But such a society, state or local, can lay slight claim to official aid if it be not popular in its organization and methods. It must perpetually demonstrate its reason for being, by proving its usefulness to the public. Its directors must heartily believe in the enterprise, and be willing to spend freely of their time and effort. Its salaried staff must be headed by some one holding office for the good to be done—an historical expert, yet at the same time possessed of a knowledge of men and a capacity to influence public opinion in a good cause. He must be not a mere dry-as-dust antiquarian, living in the world but not of it, but be imbued with modern ideas and familiar with modern business management—an earnest, practical man, in whom both scholars and men of affairs may sefely repose confidence.

It is gratifying to learn that there is a project for the establishment here in Pittsburgh of an institution such as I have described—a logical fruit of this remarkably successful centennial celebration. Most sincerely do I trust that the enterprise may from the beginning be well assured of its financial future. To many of our municipal societies are weakly and struggling, with means insufficient for virile public service. Either well endow your society and its proposed historical building, or make it an acknowledged part of your general educational system, and place it in keen rivalry with similar institutions elsewhere.

Given such a society, adequately housed, properly supported, and Pittsburgh may in this matter easily take first rank among the cities of America. Her rich dowry of local history will then become the common possession of her people. Every boy and girl within her limits will be proud to have sprung from such historic soil. Every foreigner will rejoice to dwell within the gates of a city whose story, known of all men, can kindle his affection.

WHAT AN HISTORICAL BUILDING SHOULD DO FOR PITTSBURGH.

By Clarence S. Brigham,
Librarian American Antiquarian Society.

"Among the singular advantages which are enjoyed by the people of the United States none is more conspicuous than the facility of tracing the origin and progress of our several plantations. * * With

such advantages in our hands, we are wholly inexcusable if we neglect to preserve authentic monuments of every memorable occurrence." Thus began the "Introductory Address" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, organized in 1791 and the eldest of the great family of historical associations which are now scattered throughout almost every portion of the national domain. Admitting, as these founders did, the responsibility which they considered placed upon them, it is to be regretted that a similar thought had not occurred to a similar body of men a century or so previous. Why did it take 184 years after the settlement at Jamestown before any society was formed with the object of preserving the records of the country?

The founders of these infant colonies and provinces knew that they were making history in the Western World. Often in their writings, we find them emphasizing the importance of political happenings, expressing a curiosity as to the judgment of posterity on certain actions, or, Mother Shipton-wise, prophesying into the distant future. Many of them, like John Winthrop, kept journals which were intended for far more than private view; others, too numerous to mention, wrote historical accounts and entertaining narratives; still others, like Thomas Prince, made collections of valuable material bearing upon the history of the country.

And yet, in spite of all these promising suggestions, nowhere in the colonies was there established an institution destined to serve as a depository of the record of achievement. It is true that there was no central government or all-powerful colony to administer a neutral control of such a depository. The colonists were subjects of England, and if historical records were to be placed anywhere, they would presumably be sent across the water. It is true, moreover, that there were few, if any, prototypes of such record depositories in the country from which the colonists came. The Society of Antiquaries of London, although originated in 1572, was suppressed by James I and was not revived until 1717. The Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland was not founded until 1780. The Bodleian Library was chiefly scholastic in character, and the British Museum was not created until 1753.

We can find sufficient excuse for this apparent lack of foresight on the part of our ancestors, but this does not prevent us from bemoaning the fact that they did not encourage the preservation of the materials of history, and that as a result much of the highest importance has been irretrievably lost.

Since 1791, this year of beginnings, the conditions have changed. The very point noted in the "Introductory Address" above referred to, that of the facility enjoyed by the people of the United States of tracing the origin and progress of the several plantations, has aided in the begetting of a numerous progeny of historical societies scattered the country over. Any sins of omission committed by the fathers have been more

than atoned for by the activity of their descendants. Today there are in the United States nearly 250 historical associations, each collecting materials for the history of their respective localities and inspiring an interest in the study of the past. The addition of another historical society to this group—and here I speak of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania as experiencing a renaissance rather than a new creation—needs no apology, especially when that Society is so well equipped with what is occasionally termed "this world's goods" to carry on its work. I am thoroughly convinced that the good which a Historical Society can do is in direct proportion to the size of its income. An early historical missionary who was pleading nearly one hundred years for the Society which I represent, remarked, "It may be thought superfluous to observe, that a Society of this kind cannot be supported without some permanent funds. Bodies of this cast, however well formed and fashioned their structure, require some inherent stamina, or self renovating power, as the spring of perpetual life and action." The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania will not enter upon its career unprepared. Its success is guaranteed from the start.

What is the peculiar province of a local Historical Society, as distinct from the numerous libraries and museums upon whose territory it must never seek to encroach? Along what lines should it try to acquire material and in what fields should it endeavor to make its activities felt? There are many things which it should *not* do reference to which would seem needless in an elementary treatment of the subject, were it not for the fact that even in these latter days of specialization so many libraries are frequent transgressors. So ambitious a program as that mapped out by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791 "to collect, preserve and communicate materials for a complete history of the country," might be excusable in a day when there was no similar Society elsewhere in America. But today it would be an unwise, if not an impossible proposition. And yet I recently visited a Historical Society where a change of officers had nearly brought about the complete submerging of a remarkable State and local collection into a general collection of Americana, where its value would have been greatly lessened and its light quite dimmed. There are many libraries that I could mention which, through the whim of officers in charge, are journeying into strange and wonderful fields. I knew the custodian of a theological collection who was spending no inconsiderable portion of his library's income in purchasing books on the drama, perhaps because he desired to follow in the steps of the learned author of the "Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain" by writing a modern "Short View of the Profaneness of the Stage." Another gentleman, the unsalaried guardian of a small local collection, was so interested in Egyptian antiquities that he could not refrain from endeavoring to make his library supreme in this

particular field. Such cases seem exaggerated, but it is a fact that unless a code of restrictions limits the ambitions of an occasional blunderer, or unless the policy of the institution is a settled one, a library often finds itself facing the problem of how to make up for the ground which has been lost.

What *not* to do, I suppose, is merely the correlative of the proposition of what *should* be done. The proper scope of a Historical Society has been well portrayed by many writers from Isaiah Thomas to Reuben G. Thwaites. A brief reference to some of these lines of activity, with an occasional excursion into other fields which the allusion may suggest, may not be amiss.

The cardinal principle underlying the collecting of every local historical society should be the preservation of *every* book and pamphlet printed in the territory which the society represents. The more limited the territory, the less unsurmountable is the task. Only in this way can the full history of a particular region—the story of its political, social, economic, educational and scientific achievement—be traced and written.

In such a comprehensive scheme of collecting, nothing is worthless. There has been an outcry from many quarters in late years against the excessive accumulation in libraries of printed literature. It was only a short while ago that President Eliot aroused the comment of the library world by proposing that a fair share of the books in the Harvard University Library should be relegated to a separate collection or cemetery of "dead" books, where the investigator whose researches led him into fields beyond the ordinary academic scope, would be forced to exercise much extra patience and effort in order to catch a glimpse of his material. But who would be the chosen one to consign this "dead" literature to such a limbo? The historian would doubtless be willing to do without a large proportion of scientific books, the scientist without the theological books, the theologian without the "profane" books as they were once called, and the *litterateur* without the historical books. After having been subjected to such a discarding process, there would be scarcely sufficient books remaining to fill a "five-foot shelf."

Charles Francis Adams in an address delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of the new building of the American Antiquarian Society in 1909, said that he in a way heartily endorsed the suggestion once made by Hawthorne who after wearisomely plodding through a great European collection remarked that it would be a most desirable consummation if each generation could cart its rubbish off with it. "The world of scholarship," said Mr. Adams, "would be in no wise appreciably poorer if one-half, and that the larger half, of the printed matter now accumulated in our public libraries could tomorrow be obliterated—swept clean out of existence."

Only within the past month, the London newspaper reports have contained the startling announcement that Edmund Gosse, the well known

author and critic, had declared that the time has come to regulate the accumulation of books by some public system of destroying the worthless. "Why should not a printed book," he is reported to have said, "enjoy its hour, and then disappear?"

Such statements as these, although apparently revolutionary in tone, are justifiable outcries against the appalling increase in the production of printed books. They concern, however, chiefly the general libraries which have to exercise to the last degree the policy of selection, or else be crushed under a pressure that augments with each succeeding year. One solution of the problem is to have a library, state, sectional or local, collect *in toto* all the printed literature of its own territory, thereby dividing the labor of collecting, and relieving the general libraries of their responsibility of preserving everything for posterity. Here most assuredly is one of the most important fields to be covered by the historical society. For many years many of the larger historical libraries have been following this plan and have amassed collections of local material that could not be equalled by a combination of all other existing collections.

Another leading feature of a local collection is a comprehensive showing of works written by local residents. This should comprise, first, all the publications of persons born in the territory covered, the native authors, so to speak; secondly, the publications written by those who have resided for a reasonable length of time in the locality. This later class is open to considerable latitude. The rule at the Rhode Island Historical Society was to preserve everything written by an author during the time of his residence in the State, but the earlier and later writings of the transient visitor only in case his residence was of sufficient length or importance to identify his name closely with that of his adopted home. Such a collection is of prime consequence in the formation of a state or local bibliography. In fact nearly every such bibliography has been based upon the contents of a large State historical collection, and no State has yet produced a good bibliography where such a collection had not been gathered.

It goes without saying that every published work dealing with the territory in which a Historical Society is interested should be acquired. All books referring to the region and its people—the journals of early travelers, the impressions of visiting critics, the histories and statistical accounts which cover a larger area but refer specifically to the smaller locality, the biographies of its residents, and the genealogies of its families—all these would come under this category. So far as concerns printed genealogies, their importance has been often exaggerated in local historical collections. It is true that families become so scattered that a comprehensive family history touches almost every State in the Union. Charles B. Tillinghast, the late librarian of the Massachusetts State Library, once said to me as he pointed to one of the largest genealogical

collections in the country, "There is the best cyclopedia of *Massachusetts* biography existing." Such a voluminous scheme of collecting might not be unwise for a large library where the wealth of books in other classes of history made genealogy really a side-issue, but for a local historical society, it has often proved an ever-increasing burden. Of course every genealogical volume which specifically concerns the locality should be obtained, but those expensive publications which primarily treat of the families of other States can well be left for Societies which make a specialty of this class of literature. I know of a certain local historical library where over half of the work done consists of the search for ancestry in other states, thus losing to sight the chief object for which that particular Society was formed. Genealogical research is not to be scoffed at, for it brings the student into contact with much historical source-material which would otherwise remain untouched, and often incites the curious climber of a family tree to look into historical matters that concern others than those of his particular blood. The tracing of ancestry, *per se,* is of considerable value, but it should not hold an exaggerated place in the work of a Historical Society.

A tedious, yet important, feature in the amassing of a comprehensive local collection is the effort to complete sets of the reports of institutions and societies. Tedious, I say, and yet fascinating, for the true collector rejoices more to obtain the final and long-sought for early report of some struggling Bible Society than to possess the latest one thousand page volume, criticism of which may be filling the reviews. No library ever made a good collection of incunabula or school-books, Indian narratives or temperance reports, by merely preserving. Collecting, not preserving, gives a library reputation. As Dr. Jeremy Belknap wrote Ebenezer Hazard in 1791, in regard to the Massachusetts Historical Society, "We intend to be an active, not a passive, literary body; not to lie waiting, like a bed of oysters, for the tide of communication to flow in upon us, but to seek and find, to preserve and communicate, literary intelligence, especially in the historical way."

The more librarians have of the zeal and enthusiasm of private collectors, the better invariably are the collections of which they have charge. Scarcely anywhere can there be found a more illustrious example of this type of librarian than in the person of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, who more than eighty years ago was chosen to the official position which I now hold. His diary, recently printed, reads as entertainingly as the pages of Stevens' *Recollections of James Lenox.* In one place, he writes, "There is no book so poor that it may not sometime be called for, and no book which is wanted for any purpose, can be regarded as useless. I have adopted a broad rule, and am so impartial I can give no offence. One day I am visited by a collector of ordination sermons: the next, by a collector of 4th of July orations: then comes a collector of geography: another wants religious newspapers:

another wants books printed in New York before 1700. I accommodate myself to all; for I want everything, and collect everything, and I have more zeal than the whole of them: and in this way I am kept very busy. Many things I obtain are of small value, but the course adopted will be most useful to the society."

Again he writes, in referring to his endeavors to acquire files of early newspapers, "I suffer no traveler to visit me, without enlisting him in my cause, and giving him directions how to find (newspapers) and how to send them to me. Though I may fail of getting as many as I wish, I am sure I shall entitle myself to the gratitude of future antiquarians." We can gain a glimpse of his zeal in this record: "The happiest moments of my life are those employed in opening packages of books presented to the library of the Antiquarian Society. It gives me real, unadulterated satisfaction. It is then, that, like Tam O'Shanter, I am, 'O'er all the ills of life victorious.'"

As a last pen-picture of this indefatigable collector, we find recorded in his Diary under date of August 2, 1834, the story of his visit to Boston to examine the Wallcut collection of early Americana, one of the most notable of libraries and one which today would bring a fortune. He says, "I called on Mr. Wallcut this morning, and he went with me to India Street, where the pamphlets, etc., of his uncle were deposited. They were in the fourth story of an oil store, where they had been placed about four months ago. They were put in ancient trunks, bureaus, and chests, baskets, tea chests and old drawers, and presented a very odd appearance. The extent of them was altogether beyond my expectations. I went immediately to work putting them in order for transporting to Worcester. Everything was covered with venerable dust, and as I was under a slated roof and the thermometer at ninety-three, I had a pretty hot time of it. Nothing but a love of such work could inspire any man to labor in such a place. The value of the rarities I found, however, soon made me forget the heat and I have never seen such happy moments. Everything I opened discovered to my eyes some unexpected treasure. Great numbers of the productions of our early authors were turned up at every turn. I could hardly persuade myself that it was not all a dream, and I applied myself with all industry to packing, lest capricious fortune should snatch something from my hands. I worked from eight in the morning until half past two in a heat and dust and stench of oil that would have been intolerable in any other circumstances. When I came out to go to dinner I could but just crawl. Yet at three o'clock, I returned to it again and labored until night."

The brilliant labors of this young librarian were cut short almost at the beginning of his career of usefulness. In 1835, in behalf of the Society, he set out upon a trip to Ohio, to investigate various historical and archæological matters. In traveling from Wheeling to Zanesville,

the stage in which he was riding was suddenly overturned and he was instantly killed. His short, but studious life, so crowded with energy and accomplishment, is an inspiration for all followers of his profession today.

This picture of an old-time librarian I have drawn somewhat at length with the purpose of making a plea for increased collecting on the part of every historical society. To search in every conceivable hiding-place for material desired, to pore through countless book-lists and catalogues, to corner every visitor to induce him to add to your collections, to attract needed treasures away from the shelves and museums of private collectors—these things are what make a historical society strong and build it for the future. The holding of lectures, the issuing of proceedings, the enlisting of popular interest all have an important place, but the basis of continued prosperity rests upon the upkeep of the collections.

The many other lines of acquisition appropriate to the scope of a historical society, can receive but passing mention in a paper of this length. The collecting of early newspapers, always beset with difficulty, becomes doubly so as time goes on. The collectors of a century ago possessed the opportunities in this direction, and today many of the best files of western newspapers are in eastern libraries. Maps of a specified region, although often uncommon if thought of as separate publications, run into large number if considered as pages of atlases and comprehensive works. Engravings, views and portraits are an interesting feature of every local collection. Manuscripts are among the most important of desiderata and a discussion of their acquisition and care could well form the material for a separate discourse. The publishing of transactions, reminiscences, historical documents, biographies and the legion of subjects which go to make up the pages of a historical publication, places upon record valuable facts for all time. The museum of a society, especially if arranged to show the growth and development of aboriginal and colonial life, and not in the haphazard method so common to the old-fashioned exhibition cases, is a feature greatly prized by visitors. The holding of lectures, the marking of historical sites, the arranging of exhibits, the preparation of material for the school children all are part of the historical society's field of activity, and enlarge the sphere of its usefulness.

The work of a historical society can be performed by no other institution which holds the cause of history merely as a side-issue. The founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society realized this in 1791, and in the first paragraph of their constitution, after outlining the purposes of the Society, concluded: "Such a plan can be best executed by a Society whose sole and special care shall be confined to the above objects." The prosperity of a historical society rests upon two things—first, a sufficient supply of funds, and secondly, an interest on the part

of its officers which is confined to matters purely historical I congratulate the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania upon its wonderful opportunities. It has a fertile field of operations, hitherto but little cultivated; it has enlisted an interest in its reorganization which is almost national; it is surely destined to a prosperous and brilliant future.

THE RELATION OF NEW ENGLAND TO THE OHIO VALLEY.

By Carl Russell Fish, Ph. D.,
University of Wisconsin.

A year ago I delivered an address at Indianapolis on the "Decision of the Ohio Valley in 1861," in which I spoke of the New England element as one of the minor factors which contributed to the result. No sooner had I descended from the platform then I was attacked by three local students who denied that New England had part or parcel in the history of the Valley. When, therefore, I was asked to read a paper on New England's influence, at this meeting, which is an embodiment of the feeling of unity and distinctiveness in the Ohio country, I realized that my subject was not a popular one. Moreover, I soon convinced myself that this was no new sentiment. On examining a list of six or seven hundred steamboats plying on the Ohio, between 1829 and 1836, I discovreed only four names calculated to appeal to New England pride: Boston, Bunker Hill, Vermont, and John Hancock. While every other president, and most presidents' wives, received recognition, there was no Adams; and although nearly all other statesmen braved their way through the rapids and the currents, together with Napoleon, Josephine, Science, Jack Downing, and so on, there was no Webster. A somewhat larger proportion of the owners and masters were from the six states; but it was obvious that the names to conjure with, the names and episodes which made history vivid to the mass of the population, were drawn from the South and from the old mountain frontier.

Yet New England contributed no small share to the peopling of this fertile region which began about 1750 to spread its enticements before the inhabitants of the older settlements. First came scattered New England families dissatisfied with the regulated life of the New England towns and beckoned onwards by the greater economic opportunities of what was then the West. Such a family was that of the Lincolns, moving in successive generations from England to Massachusetts, then to New Jersey, on the Pennsylvania, through West Virginia to Kentucky, and finally early in the nineteenth century crossing over to the north bank. Before the Revolution, John Adams wrote: "The colonies south of Pennsylvania have no men to spare, we are told. But we know better; we know that all the colonies have a back country, which is

inhabited by a body of robust people, many of whom are emigrants from New England, and habituated, like multitudes of New England men, to carry their fuzees or rifles upon one shoulder, to defend themselves against the Indians, while they carry their axes, scythes, and hoes upon the other, to till the ground."

The influence of such pioneers was individual. They were too few to impose their customs upon their neighbors, they inter-married with other stocks, and they lost many of their New England characteristics, but generally a core remained. Always they were inclined to look at public questions from a moral point of view, and when a division occurred as to the functions of government, they were apt to favor a broader interpretation of them than their fellows from Virginia and the Carolinas. They blended with the larger streams of emigration from the southern and middle states, but in so doing contributed to them a slight shade of difference from their home communities, which helped establish the distinctiveness of the valley population.

Not influence, but authority, not the tinging of an alien population with their characteristics, but the chance to establish select communities where the "sifted grain" might flourish uncontaminated by the tares of the world, was the desire of the majority of New England emigrants. Such was the plan of those Connecticut pioneers who before the Revolution occupied northern Pennsylvania, and undeterred by the Indian tomahawk and by the scarcely less hostile attitude of the white population, persisted in establishing there a line of New England towns stretching to the sources of the Alleghany, although the courts decided that their claim to the land was fantastic and untenable. Such, too, was the plan of the company which in 1787 secured the Ohio Purchase, and in 1788 began the establishment of the most considerable New England settlement in the valley, about the mouth of the Muskingum, with Marietta as its center. Composed of New Englanders and of those kindred to them in tastes and ideals, they undertook their enterprise only when assured of undisputed land titles and of a stable and satisfactory form of government. "As the twig is bent so the tree is inclined," a child may bend the twig, where a regiment could scarcely incline the tree, and so it chanced, that they, acting while the country was so young, were able in one particular at least to shape its future. While credit for the suggestion belong to Jefferson, and credit for furthering the plan belongs to members of congress from all parts of the country, it can scarcely be denied that the motive impulse for the Ordinance of 1787 belongs to this purposeful body of New England leaders, and the prohibition of slavery which that Ordinance carried was one of the most potent pieces of constructive legislation ever passed by an American legislature. It made the Ohio, to some degree, a boundary instead of a bond of unity, and its influence is felt to this day in the politics and the life of the country.

Early in the nineteenth century a number of similar, organized movements took place to central Ohio. In 1802 a band of settlers from Connecticut established Worthington in Franklin county, and a little later a large number of the people of Granville, Massachusetts, decided to try their fortunes in this new and pleasant county. Before leaving home the emigrants organized their church, with pastor, deacons and members, and they drew up a constitution to guide their life in their new home. For forty-six days they moved westward, and finally halting at what is now Granville, in Licking county, Ohio, they released their oxen, and listened to a sermon from their minister.

All these settlements reproduced in many respects the characteristics of the New England towns from which they had sprung. In all of them education received attention. In 1797 Muskingum academy from which developed Marietta College, was founded, in 1817 Worthington College was established, Athens became, like the city from which it drew its name, an educational center, and from all these radiated an influence which helped color the surrounding population not of New England stock.

After the introduction of the steamboat upon western waters, when it became no longer necessary for prospective pioneers to tramp, like those of Granville, for forty-six days beside their oxen-drawn wagons, immigration began upon a larger scale. Moreover, just at this period New England was more ready than before to supply the materials for a larger movement.

After the close of the War of 1812 that region was in the throes of an industrial revolution similar to that which earlier had driven thousands of Englishmen to America, and that other which later became one of the propelling forces of German immigration. The thirst for adventure, and for freedom from the shackles of a thickly settled community, moreover, which earlier had incited many New Englanders to migrate to New Jersey, New York, and Northern Pennsylvania, began to prick their descendants to fresh movements beyond the mountains. From these two sources came a stream of population which flowed constantly, though now with greater, now with less volume, until after the Civil War. This movement tended to become more and more a flitting of individuals and of families, and less a series of organized exodus such as those to Marietta and to Granville. Yet there remained as a factor a desire to reproduce home conditions, and some tendency for New Englanders to flock together. The main current of this stream went to the filling up of the Lake region, but by no means inconsiderable portions diverged southwards into central and even southern Ohio and Indiana, "Yankees" though unpopular, began to be found everywhere, and to thrive, and certain localities came to have a decidedly marked, even if not dominant New England strain. Such centers were to be found in Wayne, Dearborn, and Switzerland counties, in eastern Indiana,

in Monroe, Morgan and Marion counties in the center, and in Vigo county on the Wabash.

Finally during the same period there was another New England movement, less imposing in numbers, but more potent in influence. It was the period of the New England Renaissance, a period of intellectual and moral stimulation. Men and women felt that they beheld the truth, and if it was not the great encompassing white light of the whole truth, at least their devotion to such bright rays as came within their vision was whole-souled and became in many cases the predominant motive of their lives. A great missionary impulse swept over the population, and sent forth hundreds of preachers, who taught, to be sure, not one simple gospel, but from many angles and by many methods of approach proclaimed the truth as they saw it. The world, but particularly the United States, they felt to be the New-Englander's burden, and vigorously they sought to bear it.

At the same time New England was suffering from a plethora of educated men, or rather of men educated according to a fixed standard, a standard worthy and ennobling, but with so little reference to practical fitting for earning a livelihood, that New England may be said to have possessed then, as Germany does today, a learned proletariat. It was saved from the distress which this might have occasioned by the call for men with such training from other parts of the country, and particularly from the Northwest. As professors in fresh water colleges and academies, as tutors in plantation homes, as school masters in the little red school houses, they spread over the country, inspired with their missionary zeal, and carrying the pure flame of their idolism and the treasures now great now small of their learnings. For a time New England may almost be said to have furnished the schoolmasters for the nation, and nowhere was this more true than in the valley of the Ohio.

Such were the elements from which New England influence in the valley sprang. It remains to assess that influence. It is to be noticed that the New England settlements, and to a very great degree the individual New England settlers, were confined to the North bank. It followed that the New England element gave weight to those influences which were dividing the valley rather than to those which were uniting it. This tendency was increased, moreover, by the fact that politically the north bank was divided into several different units each organically connected with a part of the lake region, where the New England element was so much more powerful. Had the north bank formed one or more states, with a boundary on the watershed between the Ohio and the lakes, the history of the whole country would have differed materially from what it has been, and the influence of New England on the institutions of the valley would have been much less.

It was largely through this alliance between the New England

element in the valley with that in the lake districts, that to the great numbers of educational establishments founded by individual initiative, was added the substratum of a public schools system in each of the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Foreshadowed from the first by the grant of the sixteenth section of each township, and aided by further grants for schools and universities, the laws which put those grants into operation, and which formulated the basic principles upon which American education rests today, were for the most part the work of New England men, and it was they who organized the systems thus provided for, and manned the institutions during their early period of storm and stress.

As the school comes home to everyone, so does local government, and here also New England influence has been marked. The settlers from the South had been accustomed to an all powerful county, those from New England to an all powerful town. Out of this conflict of tradition come the mixed system in which local functions were divided between the county and the town, which has now so long prevailed in Ohio and Indiana. The looser, optional system of Illinois, which allows either method, has resulted in the fact that the river portion of that state, where we have seen that the New England element was very small, has retained, almost entirely, the Southern method.

The omnipresent school and the almost universal township, then, were both largely due to the influence of the New England stock, exerted either directly from within the valley, or indirectly through the presence of New Englanders from the lake regions in the state legislation and constitutional conventions. Other results are to be traced more immediately to the presence of large bodies of New Englanders in particular localities. From year to year, from decade to decade, through good fortune and bad fortune, from the times of Andrew Jackson to those of William Taft the political map of the northwestern states preserves a substantial identity. Of the 271 counties making up the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, 98 have remained Republican in such crucial elections as those of 1856, 1868, 1888 and 1900; 89 have remained constantly Democratic, and only 84 have changed. Almost as great a stability is preserved if we extend the study back into the struggles of the Whigs and Democrats; and it becomes all the more evident if it be pressed beyond the counties into the townships and communities of which they are composed. At first sight these districts seem scattered in hopeless confusion over the maps of the states. There is a permanent Democratic patch in north central Ohio, about Sandusky, and extending south through Pickaway county, another in northwestern Ohio adjoining one in northeastern Indiana about Fort Wayne. There are permanent Republican patches in northwestern and southeastern Ohio, and in the west, adjoining central Indiana, and so on.

An examination shows that some of these persistent evidences of

party loyalty are due to local industries, to conditions of transportation, to the towering influence of great personalities, but perhaps the most generally significant clue is the origin of the population. That the New England population was generally Whig and almost universally Republican is a well-known fact, and a study of New England settlement to a considerable degree explains the strength of these parties in certain portions of the valley. Thus the Marietta district largely accounts for the little group of counties along the Ohio and Muskingum which for many years remained a Whig and Republican island in the midst of a sea of Democrats. Washington, and Athens counties, and Noble after its creation, never waver in their loyalty. In Delaware county, in central Ohio, the same causes produced the same results, a later influx of New England made Knox, which had not been Whig, Republican steadily from the beginning of that party. In Indiana, New Englanders and anti-slavery Quakers from North Carolina kept Wayne county in line from 1838. In the center, Monroe, Marion, and Morgan counties, while not so steady, showed the same influences, while in the south and west, Vanderberg county, with Evansville, and Vigo, with Terre Haute, scarcely ever left the ranks of the Whigs and Republicans, although surrounded by Democratic country. Thus Rufus Putnam and the other New England pioneers left an impress, until now permanent, upon the valley, an impress tangible and definite, which can be weighed at the ballot tax, and which enters into the calculations of politicians.

I have no desire to exaggerate the influence of the New England element. In mentioning certain definite things which they have constituted to the development of this region, I do not leave out of mind, though I am forced to leave out of my paper, certain other definite contributions of other stocks and other elements. Especially in recounting their loyalty to their traditional parties, I wish not to seem to prejudge the question of whether they were right or wrong. The influence of the New Englanders in the valley was somewhat greater than their numbers alone would have assured, in part at least, because of the political union between the valleys of the lakes and of the river. Still in the valley the South was stronger, and the Middle States stronger still, while even before the Civil War the foreign population had become a factor. Yet there remains one function that they performed, and which was perhaps the most important, for it was connected with the peculiar and special place of the Ohio in American history.

From its first appearance this river was a nationalizing influence. In 1748 the keen-scented land speculator began to sniff profits in its fertile bottoms and its navigable waters. Already the French were aware of its strategic commercial and military importance, and the struggle began for its control. Soon blood was shed, and as Voltaire said, "A torch lighted in the forests of America, put all Europen in conflagration." For the first time a sentiment of American nationality was

aroused, and Franklin put forth his famous cartoon of the snake divided into twelve parts, with the motto: "Join or die."

Again under the Confederation, the only thing which saved that futile attempt at government from inanity, and gave the government a national importance, was its acquired ownership and administration of the national domain, which to the man of the day meant the Ohio valley.

It was a matter of vital moment that this territory, won by the whole country and forming a national possession, should have a national population, drawn from no one section, but rather from all, that it might become a place where the different elements could mingle, become conversant with and tolerant of one another's peculiarities and aware of each others virtues. It was just such a mingling which took place, particularly to the north of the river, and its results are apparent in its political history. Its population became in many respects the most American, the least sectional, of that of any part of the country, its common political life became the school which best fitted men for the leadership of the entire country. It is not an accident that Ohio always has a presidential candidate and usually a president. The valley excluding the Tennessee and Cumberland, has furnished five presidents and five important presidential candidates. Three other presidents and one other great candidate have come from states of which the valley is a part and in which the meeting of every legislature is like a congress in petto, because of the representation of the traits, the virtues and the vices, the intelligence and the prejudices of all parts of the country. Half of these men have been of New England stock, which is in itself sufficient evidence of its influence.

It is not, therefore, for itself alone that the New England element is important. It is because it has been one of several elements. It is not because of its solidity and cohesiveness, that it deserves recognition, but because giving, it also has known how to receive. Its final rating in the history of the Valley depends on the fact that its presence enabled the Ohio basin to become truly a melting pot of the nation, to appreciate the sentiments and policies of all its parts, to sympathize with their traditions, and to assume a national point of view. It was characteristic of the valley that at the time of the Civil War it delayed its decision until all hope of reconciling the more isolated, less complex, and therefore more radical sections had passed away. It was characteristic that when that time came its decision was on the side of nationality. When the New England element in its population has become indistinguishable, its influence will still remain as one of the compotent elements in that American population which nature decrees shall live on the banks of that stream which flows between and binds together the sections of this vast and diverse nation.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS EWING.

EDITED BY CLEMENT L. MARTZOLFF.

(Through the courtesy of Thomas Ewing, Jr., of New York City, I am permitted to give to the public for the first time, the entire autobiography of his distinguished grandfather, Thomas Ewing, a pioneer, the first Alumnus of the first college of the "Old Northwest," an eminent lawyer, a profound statesman, an honorable citizen and a Christian gentleman.—C. L. M.)[1]

NOTE:—I wish to express my gratitude to the following persons who gave me valuable assistance in collecting data for my editorial notes:

William C. Ewing, New York City.
Thomas Ewing, Jr., New York City.
Maria Ewing Martin, New Straitsville, Ohio.
Prof. Eli Dunkle, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.
Prof. D. J. Evans, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.
Dr. W. H. Venable, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Hon. Henry Houck, Harrisburg, Pa.
Dr. C. W. Super, Athens, Ohio.
Librarian C. G. Matthews, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.
Miss Carrie Matthews, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.
Librarian Burton E. Stevenson, Chillicothe, Ohio.
Dr. A. E. Winship, Boston, Mass.
John E. Pierce, Lewiston, Me.
Hon. Moses M. Granger, Zanesville, Ohio.

C. L. M.

MY DEAR CHILDREN:[2] Some time ago you united in a request that I would give you when leisure and health permit a narrative of the events of my life from my earliest memory to the present time — Such a narrative though of little interest to any but my descendants, will doubtless be prized by you and your children as a family relick; I therefore give it in compliance with your request.

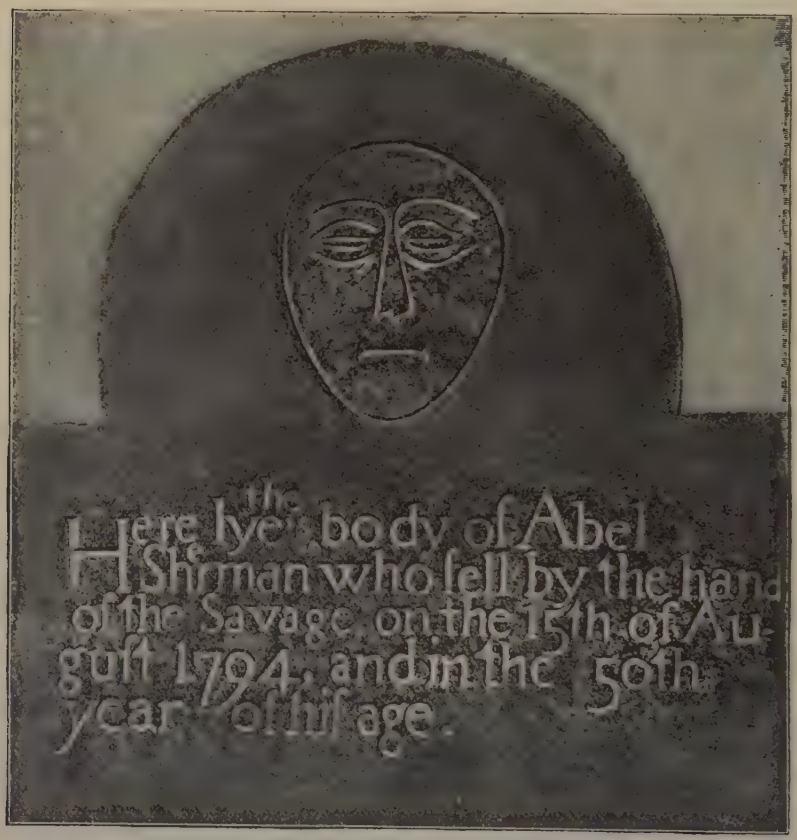
My father, George Ewing[3] held a subaltern commission,[4] in the New Jersey line of the Revolutionary War. He was then a very young man, of good English education, fine literary taste,

and much reading for his age, and the times and country in which his lot was cast. He inherited a moderate patrimony, and on entering the army, he sold all and took bonds for the purchase money. These fell due while continental money was a legal tender. They were promptly paid and nearly all lost, by depreciation.

In 1778 he left the army and married Rachel Harris, my mother, daughter of a neighboring farmer, a woman of good intellect, great energy of character and but slender education though quite a reader and reciter of poetry in all its then popular range, among which were a few fine odes of Anacreon,[5] which had in some way wandered to this strange and distant land.

After the close of the war, my Father finding himself poor among those who had been no more than his equals in fortune, and his business habits being broken by service in the camp and field, left his little family, frugally provided, and came Westward[6] as far as the then condition of the country would permit. He found employment in Western Pennsylvania as a school teacher; where he was joined by his family and a maiden sister. He afterwards removed to West Liberty[7] in Ohio County, Virginia, where he taught school and where his sister was married to Capt. John Morgan, afterwards for many years a member of the Virginia House of Delegates. They were my uncle John and Aunt Sarah Morgan, each of whom did something in shaping the events of my life. I do not dwell upon the family genealogy at large as I am aware that one[8] of you has traced it back several hundred years;[8½] and more especially as I attach little importance to remote ancestry. Go back three hundred years and there are few who may not number two or three hundred ancestors, and among them persons in all ranks and stations of life and of all nations holding intercourse with each other. Men who have pride in their descent do for the most part trace back their genealogy along the male line, forgetting that their ancestors all had mothers who had their full share in forming the physical, moral and mental man. You trace our name back to the Siege of Londonberry[9] and the battle of the Boyne[10] where a Captain Ewing, your Grandfather's Great Grandfather performed an act of valour[11] for which he was praised by King William and honored

with a sword presented by his own hand; but we divide this transmitted honor with thousands whom we do not know, descendants of the valiant captain, and his blood in our veins is mingled with that of a hundred other ancestors of whose names and merits we are ignorant.



Fac Simile of Monument of Abel Sherman.

I was born near West Liberty, Ohio County, Virginia, on the 28th of December, 1789.—So it appears by the record in my Father's hand writing in his family Bible, which, I think, imports absolute verity, though my Mother often told me it was a mistake, and that I was born the day after Christmas—the 26th.

Next to this the earliest evidence of my appearance in the world, which has borne with me very long, and very kindly, is a letter written by my Father to his paternal uncle James Ewing of Trenton, New Jersey, dated July 26th, 1790, in which he says: "I have a young son whom I call Thomas," so by this time I was fairly in the world and a member, though not a very important one, of the very large and highly respectable human family.

The letter I give entire, as much is to be inferred from it of the situation of the country, and its condition and prospects, as understood by its earliest inhabitants. The original is in the possession of James Ewing, Esq., of Trenton, New Jersey, Grandson of my Father's Uncle to whom it was addressed.

HONORED UNCLE:

The bearer Cousin Joshua will inform you of our welfare and affairs in general which I shall omit. I request you, if any interest can be procured on my certificates that you will get and send it by Joshua or put him in the way to obtain it — and as I intend the certificates to purchase land, I request you to assist Joshua with your counsel herein, either to purchase from the public, if an office for that purpose is open, or to purchase Military rights, or in any other way that shall appear most advantageous. Doubtless you are fully acquainted with the resolutions of congress relating to the vacant territory. I shall therefore submit the transacting the business to your prudence in conjunction with Joshua who will inform you where we wish to purchase. If nothing to advantage can at present be done in this business you will send the certificates by him. I could wish to come down myself, but my business will not permit it at present. I would wish to know why the Government permits the English to keep possession of Detroit[12] and the Indians to harass the Southern and Western frontiers — perhaps you can give some political reason. I must inform you that I have a young son whom I call Thomas. He ought to have been called Maskell from his likeness to his cousin of that name.

Remember me to cousin Maskell and accept the love of your nephew

Short Creek[13] GEORGE EWING.
July 26th/90

My Father intended to cross the Ohio and settle in the North Western Territory but there was much to discourage the enterprize. All on the north side of the river were at that time in

garrisons[14] fortified by strong posts well planted in the ground, about eight feet high, inclosing an area in which were all the dwelling houses, and defended by block houses at the several angles. These were generally, when well guarded quite defensible but they were sometimes surprized and taken and all within them massacred. A catastrophe of this kind occurred a few months before my father's removal.

On Christmas day, 1791, a strong garrison at Round Bottom[15] on the Muskingum River was surprised by a body of Indians who entered the open gate of the stockade and murdered all within except two—a friendly Indian who made his escape and carried the news to the neighboring garrisons, and one lad who was adopted by an Indian and carried off captive. It was an exceedingly warm, pleasant Christmas day. No danger was apprehended—the Rangers who kept constant watch discovered no *"Moccasin tracks"* or other Indian signs, and the inhabitants twenty-five in number were taking in the open air a Christmas dinner made up of such luxuries as the forest afforded Bear Meat, Venison and Wild Turkeys then in great abundance and at that season the fattest and best. Seeing the Indians enter they all fled toward their houses, where they had imprudently left their arms, but were shot down in their flight, or pursued by the Indians who entered with them pell mell and stabbed or tomahawked *most* of them without resistance—*but not all*—one woman gained her house—sprang behind the door—seized a broad axe and with it cut down two Indians and wounded a third, when she herself fell by a blow with a tomahawk. Such was the report of the boy prisoner who some year or more afterwards, escaped and came in to the Olive Green Garrison.[16]

The whole frontier was in a state of excitement and alarm. The neighboring settlers all kept close in the Garrisons. Wolf Creek Mill,[17] the only one in that part of the Territory except a floating mill[18] near Marietta, was deserted and suffered to go to ruin, and farmers cultivated their fields and gathered their crops armed with rifles and guarded by scouts. Such was the condition of the country when in April, 1792, my father with his little family and household goods descended the Ohio in a flat boat and landed at Marietta.

MY EARLY RECOLLECTIONS.

Our earliest memories are faint & shadowy and with me it is difficult to determine what I have retained of the impression received at the time or what from subsequent teachings — a mother's or elder sister's account of the very early incidents of my life — A man died with the hydrophobia at my Father's house when I was less than two years old — this I seem to remember, but it was a subject afterwards much spoken of in the family and I presume I have from that repetition a seeming memory of the incident which I was too young even to appreciate much less retain. But one of no import, and merely of self-consciousness, which occurred when I was but two years and four months old, I remember distinctly. The family was in a cabin on the bank of the Ohio in April 1792, making preparations for their removal to the Territory. My father one day took me out to a place a few hundred yards from the hut where he & my brother were digging out a canoe. I remember the odour of the fresh walnut chips, and my manly pride at making the journey home by myself alone. I was reminded of this on reading the memoirs of Marmontel[19] whose earliest recollection was the odour of the pears which were roasting before his Grand Mother's fire. I remember also one incident in descending the river — which was in a flat boat; the canoe I presume being brought with it as a tender. As I was leaning over the side of the boat my hat — my first hat — made of plaited straw fell off and floated astern, out of reach before my cries gave the alarm. The boat after passing a rapid would for a time move faster than the tranquil water into which it passed.

I remember nothing more of the voyage down the Ohio — Nothing at Marietta except that a lad of some fourteen years, in attempting to wade the Muskingum at its mouth, sank in the quicksand and was drowned, and I remember nothing of the voyage up the Muskingum to Waterford,[20] then the frontier garrison on the river.

At Waterford my Father, joined with a few other families, and fortified a garrison, about three miles above near the mouth of Olive Green Creek — erected block houses and cabins for

their families and my Father removed there after a few weeks residence at Waterford. Of this temporary residence I retain but a faint impression — the picket gate was sometimes left open and the children allowed to go out and play — I remember that we were several times much frightened by the tinkling of bells among the hasel thickets which our careful mothers allowed us to believe were *death bells* — doubtless to prevent the little truants wandering too far and encountering actual danger.

I have no remembrance of our removal to the Olive Green Garrison; but there I first remember to have known persons not members of the family. The population of the Garrison was made up of incongruous materials agreeing in little except poverty, courage and energy. I remember some of them distinctly — Abel Sherman a man of fifty with three sons, one of them a young man. Aaron Delong a Pennsylvania Dutchman who had a large & very rough family quite the butt of the more knowing ones, and Ezra Hoyt who had a very pretty little daughter, my first playmate. These families and two others whom I do not so distinctly remember made up the little garrison all drawn to the spot by a donation of one hundred acres of land for every settler capable of bearing arms — the lots had a narrow front on the river & ran back on to the Hills. The men exchanged work & each cleared & planted some land — some working & others guarding them with their guns. There were hunters among the young men who supplied the garrison with wild meat, bears, deer & turkeys. Salt was for a long time an unknown article. A party of soldiers who went up the river in canoes I know not on what errand, left us a very small quantity & I remember the exquisite relish which a little of it gave to our food.[20½]

In August, 1794, a few days after Wayne's Victory, but before we heard of it, a marauding band of Indians was known to be hovering round our little garrison. The cows which ranged at large did not come to the call of their milkers though they came near enough to low to them, and the men dared not go for them lest they should fall into an ambuscade — they went four or five together only to the nearest fields for vegetables and the children, especially, lacked their accustomed food. Old

Mr. Sherman determined to go alone to the Waterford garrison on some pressing errand. My Father, as I have heard him say, endeavored to dissuade him & proposed to send one of the young men; more light of foot, in case of pursuit by Indians. He rejected the counsel at once — said the young men had not prudence & sagacity to avoid danger, and he went. He was fearless even to rashness — hearing the cow-bell (as it was supposed) on his return he turned aside when about half a mile from the Garrison & fell into an ambuscade. He discovered the Indians and fired at one of them, the same instant that the Indian fired at him. Sherman was shot through the heart and the Indian's arm, as we afterwards learned, was broken-— the reports of the rifles were distinctly heard at the Garrison and one of Sherman's sons, who was sitting with his gun in hand exclaimed — "that is the crack of my father's rifle" and sprang to his feet and ran. He was gone but ten or fifteen minutes when he returned —said he had found his father killed & scalped — his dog lying by him, but saw no Indians. A detachment from the Waterford garrison assisted next day to bring in the body. I remember the incident well — he was carried by four men on a litter made of poles, tied together and overlaid with small beech limbs, some of the leaves dabbled with blood — his naked scalped head realized the imagination, with which children were used to be frightened of "raw head & bloody bones". My father had sent by him for some turnip seed, which was found in one of his pockets tied up in a rag. His loss was deeply felt by the little garrison— this was about ten days after Wayne's Victory but before the news had reached us. I saw him buried, on the plain back of the Garrison; and in 1840 I passed the spot, the river had worn away the site of the little garrison & I could recall nothing but the burying ground which was in position & surface as I remembered it. The stone which marked the brave man's last resting place was rudely sculptured *in basso* with a scalped head, and "His name, his years" and the manner of his death spelled, not "by the unlettered muse" but in brief and handsome diction, the product as I doubt not of your Grand Father's pen. He was buried 75 years ago and I am perhaps the only living man who personally remembers him.[21]

While we were together in the garrison one of the "big boys" got a book or pamphlet containing some of the Robin Hood songs and acquired distinction by reciting them. I heard the song celebrating the adventure with the "Old Bishop" (Aymer) — had it at once by rote, and went about, a big headed little wonder, reciting it. The young men gave me the soubriquet of the Bishop — I wore a hunting skirt, which my brother George had outgrown which reached to my ankles and was the Bishop's cloak. I wore the soubriquet though not the cloak, for more than twenty years. In 1796 after we had left the garrison my Mother's Brother,[22] a Presbyterian Clergyman, who came with the New Jersey Militia to Western Pennsylvania as a chaplain visited us. He was a kind genial man, my *"black coated uncle"*. He took me between his knees, patted my big black head, & finding me annoyed with the *"nick name"*, told me not to be ashamed of it — that it was an honorable title, honorably acquired, & that good & wise men were proud to get it — this quite reconciled me and I was never afterwards ashamed of being the "Bishop".

In the fall of 1794 Delong the Dutchman of our Garrison went to Western Pennsylvania and brought with him his Father who was very old and feeble, and had some property. He said, on his return that he would make out well by the trip if his father died in any reasonable time. Being asked for the news, he said "The Beople in Bensylwany taught dere would be a general resurection". This was a subject of amusement on some of the last days of the Olive Green Garrison.

I do not remember the removal of the family to our home on the little farm, which was about half a mile from the garrison. It must have been in the spring of 1795 after the Treaty which followed Wayne's victory had put an end to hostile Indian incursions. In the summer of 1796 my father, and my brother George[23] a lad of 16 who was expert with the gig (an iron trident with which they struck fish in clear water) got the canoe ready for a fishing expedition up the river. I begged to go and my mother put on board a piece of corn bread & a jug of milk as my outfit and I was duly entered for the voyage. We had gone some four or five miles without any success when we

were hailed from a rock projecting into the river then known as the *"big rock"* —by an Indian, who stood with his gun at his side beckoning us to the shore. I was greatly frightened as I understood little of the difference between peace & war and to me Indians were Indians. My father who was guiding the canoe turned her to the shore, the Indian came on board and being hungry my father gave him part of my store of provisions of which he partook very moderately. He could speak a little English and made known by words and signs, that two Chiefs, George White-eyes and George Girty were encamped with their band two or three miles above — that he had killed a fine deer on the hill too heavy for him to carry, and wanted the young man, my brother, to help him bring it to the river. George went & while gone I was full of fears that he would be killed & scalped — however they returned dragging the carcass down the steep hill & soon had it on board of the canoe & we were on our way to the Indian camp. When there we found that the chiefs were not in but were expected soon, and the Indians would not consent to our going until they came. We waited & just at dusk they came dashing in on their ponies. They and my father were soon in council — they smoked the pipe — the only time I ever saw my father smoke—they prepared an impromptu feast, made up of venison & young puppies, the sight of which while cooking spoiled my appetite, and the little white pappoose was sick & could not eat. After feasting they had a talk to which I listened — both the chiefs spoke good English — Girty was a half breed, son of Simon Girty a renegade white man, who knew Crawford in early life, and who was present when he was burnt at Sandusky,[24] & *would* not and probably *dared* not relieve his torture. In the evening talk George Girty[25] said nothing of this, but he gave a graphic account of the battle in which Wayne defeated them — a part of which — his own personal part I most distinctly remember. The Indians were broken by a charge of cavalry, & as they were flying, "I heard (said he) the sound of a horse's hoofs close behind me & felt the hot breath of the horse on my shoulders. I looked up and saw the rider with a long knife raised above his head drawn to strike. I instantly dropped to elude the blow — the horse

leaped over me and I ran into a swamp & hid in the grass and brush where I lay till night". He was a rough, stout savage apparently about thirty or thirty-five. I never heard of him afterwards.

White-eyes[26] was a different style of man — a scholar and a gentleman. He was a half breed. His father, chief of a small tribe, who had been faithful and rendered service in the

Millstone used in Wolf Creek Mills.

revolutionary war. The son was educated at the expense of the U. S. About the time he was prepared to graduate he heard of the death of his Father and immediately cast off his student's gown — dressed himself in his native garb and hastened to join his tribe of which he was hereditary chief. I remember little of him that night at the camp. My Father knew thus much of his history & rated his scholarship highly — said he had with him some of his class books among the rest a copy of Eschylus'

tragedies in the original Greek well thumbed and greased which he took pride in exhibiting and which I suppose he carried as a memento of his collegiate days. He had a young wife — a half breed, not more than fifteen, a brown beauty, but as I remember her very beautiful — dressed in a black silk robe which descended to her knees, fastened and ornamented with silver brooches, and her moccasins were richly wampumed and tied above the ankle. She did not appear at the feast but showed herself in the morning. We were entertained. The chiefs had sent two of their most expert giggers with our canoe to strike some fish for us and they did not return till about ten o'clock — in the meantime the young Indian boys got me out to play with them. We ran & leaped & wrestled — they were neither strong nor active but most expert at climbing. The Indians pointed, laughed & seemed greatly pleased with our sport. My fears were all worn off and I felt quite at home.

The canoe came back, but the fishing had been a failure & the Chiefs sent an expert with us who stood in the bow of the canoe & struck several fine fish. I leaned over the side of the canoe & saw them struck, and wondered that the gig which seemed to be aimed quite below should bend in the water & hit them. No mathematical calculation of the deflection of the rays of light in passing from a dense to a rarer medium could have exceeded the accuracy of this Indian's practised eye & hand.

The band soon left their encampment and I heard nothing more of them until many years after when I was told that White-eyes, completely demoralized by his associations with civilized man, lingered about the frontier settlements, became drunken and troublesome and was at last shot by a boy whom he attempted to frighten.

In the fall and early winter of 1795 my eldest sister, Abigail,[27] taught me to read. I remember nothing of my early lessons except one incident. Her mode of teaching was catechetical. She asked "what does s p a d e spell"—*I don't know.* "What did Dadda cover the potatoes with?" *Dirt.* The larger children spelled at me, "s p a d e dirt" until they made me quite

ashamed and impressed that trifling incident on my memory. The combining of the three consonants in a single sound is quite too much for a child unless led to it by hearing it practised. In many words in our language the combined sounds of the letters do not give the sound of the word though from habit we think they do. But take letters of the Greek alphabet composing almost any word and pronounce them distinctly in their order and according to division of syllables, no one, not a Greek scholar will have any conception of the word from the combined sound of the letters. But I soon mastered the spelling book and spelled & read everything in it — and here I have to note a curious *fact* of memory — whether a mental *caprice* of my own or common to all I know not — what I tried to understand but found unintelligible I remembered verbatim & most distinctly — of all that conveyed a distinct image, I retained the substance — the thought — but not generally, unless in Rhyme or measure, the words. The fable of the country maid and her milk pail, will serve as an illustration. The introductory sentence,

> "When men suffer their imaginations to amuse them, with the prospect of distant and uncertain advantages, they frequently suffer real losses by their inattention to present affairs"

was entirely unintelligible to me — the words were nearly all new or used in a sense in which I had never heard them used — but now at the distance of more than seventy-five years I remember every word just as I found it. The body of the fable presented a distinct image and I retain the substance merely. Before I part with my early friend Thomas Dilworth[28] Esq. I will refer to his definition of Grammar which I did not understand when I read it but which I remember, & think excellent —

> "Grammar is the art of expressing thought, by words, with propriety and dispatch."

There is not a definition in the whole range of science or art that excels this in exactness and brevity.

The stock of books to which I had access was very small and none of them, except the spelling book such as are usually placed in the hands of children. My Father came West in advance of his family and my mother brought with her, the Bible

(King James' translation as I remember the *"Great and Manifold"*[29] in the dedication). She brought also Watts' Psalms and Hymns[30] & a huge volume Flavel's Sermons,[31] Calvinistic I suppose, but unintelligible to me and I did not read them. In the Winter of 1796-7 I read first the New Testament then the Bible thoroughly—even the Chronicles with all their unpronounceable names in hopes of coming across something narrative and intelligible. The four Gospels puzzled me. I took them to be narratives of four different advents, lives and crucifixions of our Savior in which he had passed through the same scenes; and I was greatly disappointed when my Father explained away that crowning miracle. I was most assiduous at my book. My Mother thought too much reading would injure my eyes & therefore limited me to a given number of chapters each day which she carefully marked. I read also that winter Watts' Psalms and Hymns many of which I committed to memory & still retain in whole or in part — passages referring to physical nature most impressed me as

> "On slippery rocks I see them stand
> And fiery billows roll below"

I had seen one of my playmates walking by the margin of Olive Green Creek slide on the slippery rocks & fall into the water. The fire and whirlwind in Isaiah was assimilated in my comprehension to what I had sometimes seen in burning brush in a clearing on a fine evening — rare sport for boys — the little fellows running from one heap to another setting fire to the dry leaves, so that the whole clearing would be at once in a blaze.

In the summer of 1797 having exhausted my stock of reading & being too young to work I became idle and in search of play associated with a neighboring family of boys whom my Mother thought of evil communication, and she forbade me to play with them. One day I was left at home with my sister Rachel[32] about twelve years old who had charge of me. I either made or found cause of quarrel with her — rebelled against her authority & ran off to Mr. Gallant's to play with the prohibited boys. I had a good deal of contrition with little play & returned home soon. On my way through a skirt of woods a

Raven [33] flew across the path just before me. I remembered a verse which I had read the winter before in Ecclesiastes namely "The eye that mocketh at his Father and scorneth to obey his his Mother, the ravens of the valley shall pluck it out & the young eagles shall eat it". I was alarmed with the fear that the Raven had come for me, at least to give me a hint. I hastened home and as a penitent boy should made my peace with Rachel, who I think never told my Mother of my disobedience. At least it was passed over without reproof. Within a range of many miles we had yet no schools. In the early part of the fall of that year 1797 my Father, Mother and Brother took me in a canoe to my aunt Morgan's[33½] near West Liberty to send me to school. She had a son about a year younger than myself (Mason Morgan), a bright boy, and a very fine scholar of his age. There were two spelling classes in the school and Mason a little white headed urchin was head of the first class composed in part of young men 18 or 20 years old — spelling then being a high test of scholarship. I was placed foot of the second class — was soon changed to the first and in a short time took my place beside Mason — next to head in the first class — after a long time Mason missed a word & I got above him — on going home exulting in my victory I was for the first time made to feel that my aunt was not my mother — she did not rejoice with me, but seemed mortified that Mason's supremacy should be contested.

I had had but little association with children of my own age and was totally uninformed as to ghosts & goblins except what I had learned from a couplet which I heard my Father once repeat to the older children:

> "Ghosts and Goblins, Witches and Fairies
> Haunt the head where naught but hair is"

and this gave me no distinct conception of those interesting entities. But there was a Welsh family lived near my Uncles and two of the boys went to school with us. From them I got much information — among other things they told me that ghosts walked every night in the grave yard which we passed on our way to school. I endeavored to persuade them to watch with

us some night, but they would not, so Mason & I on a fine evening lay down in the fence corner watching for ghosts till it began to grow dark when my Uncle appeared to us with switch in hand & broke up our watch, which was never afterwards resumed.

This winter I read my first novel "The Fool of Quality"[34] which is I believe now out of print — it was full of interest to me and though it is more than seventy years since I read it, I remember the substance of the narrative and verbally some passages which struck me favorably.

In the spring of 1798 my uncle took me home to my Father who had removed to what is now Ames Township in Athens county. We descended the Ohio River in a flat boat — were landed at the mouth of Little Hocking[35] and crossed a pine ridge some twelve or fifteen miles to the mouth of Federal Creek[36] where David Daily an old pioneer hunter was encamped with his family. Here we staid all night. We were about ten miles from my father's cabin in the woods and one of Daily's sons had been in sight of it and was able to pilot us, which he did next day. The young savage stayed all the afternoon & night & saw and admired some of the rude implements of civilization which were in use — among the rest, an auger, with which George was making a bench, especially struck his fancy. He expressed the opinion that everything useful to man except a knife, a gun & bullet mould could be made with an axe and an auger.[36½]

My Father's little cabin was about fourteen miles[37] from any inhabitants with whom we had associations and it so remained during the year. I was then eight years old. I had no playmates. George was eleven years older, quite a man about house and farm and with all "a mighty hunter", supplying the family abundantly with game.[37½] I performed some light duties fitted to a boy of my age, and mainly amused myself in strolling over hills & among rocks, with a favorite spaniel, a most faithful friend who always attended me on these excursions. This year the stervice berries[38] were abundant and of great variety. I selected & claimed as my own, five or six very fine trees which I could climb easily & draw in the limbs to pick the berries.

They grew just on the point of the hill above & almost in sight of the house — these I watched waiting for them to get fully ripe, and at the proper time went with one of my sisters to gather the berries, when I found that a bear had been there just before me — broke in the limbs so they laid to the trees like a folded umbrella and stripped them entirely of their fruit. There was still plenty in the woods for bears and boys, but most of the trees were tall & smooth so that like Montesquieu's[39] savages of Louisiana, we felled[40] the trees to get the fruit.

I got but two new books this year; Aesop's Fables most of which I learned by rote and the Vicar of Wakefield[41] which I read to my Mother and Sisters; for next to my Father I was already the scholar of the family — even my oldest sister who but three years before had taught me to read listened to me with much deference and satisfaction.

During this winter our mother entertained us around our evening fires with odes, songs and ballads with which her mind was abundantly stored all selected with great good taste. One ode was political and reflected strongly on the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole.[42]

You who have read English history will remember that England maintained for a long time a fleet on the South American Coast, partly to protect her commerce in those Seas—principally to overawe and intimidate Spain.[43] Admiral Hosier commanded one of these fleets which for a long time blockaded Porto Bello — the unwholesome climate made terrible havoc among his sailors and he himself died of the climate or of grief and was "plunged into the sullen wave" with a large portion of his crew. At last war was declared and Admiral Vernon with a small fleet captured Porto Bello. The ode[44] opens just after the capture — a spirit rises from the sea and thus addresses the victorious Admiral—

"O heed, O heed this shameful story
I am injured Hosier's ghost
So Vernon thou hast purchased glory
At the place where I was lost.

I by twenty sail attended
Did the Spanish town affright
Nothing then their wealth defended
But my orders not to fight;

For resistance I could fear none
But with twenty ships had done
What thou brave and happy Vernon
Hast achieved with six alone—

Thompson[45] in his Summer attributes Hosier's expedition to Vernon. He sings thus:

"You gallant Vernon saw
The Miserable scene; You pitying saw
To infant weakness sunk the Warrior's arm.
The lip, pale quivering & the beamless eye
No more with ardor bright—heard the deep groans
Of agonizing ships from shore to shore
Heard nightly plunged into the sullen wave
The frequent corse.

Hosier's expedition occurred just before the first publication of the "Summer"—Vernon's not till several years after—this passage therefore belongs, not to the original poem but to a subsequent edition.

Of popular poetry nearly contemporary with her early womanhood she recited an ode[46] celebrating the capture of Quebec, which runs thus.

"Our General's breast it felt the ball" etc.

Also a monody[47] representing Brittania "In a mouldering cave where the wretched retreat" mourning over the loss of her Hero—her sorrow being pitied by Jupiter, he sends Mercury down to comfort her

And those were the tidings that come.
Brittania forbear, not a sigh not a tear
For your Wolfe so deservedly loved
Your grief should be changed into triumph of Joy
For your Wolfe is not dead but removed.

The sons of the Earth, the proud Giants of old
Had broken from their darksome abodes
And this was the news as in Heaven 'twas told
They were marching to war with the Gods.

A council was held in the chambers of Jove
And this was the final decree
That Wolfe should be called to the armies above
And the charge was entrusted to me.

So the case being urgent, Mercury used all reasonable dispatch — flew to the plains of Quebec, where he found Wolfe in the heat of battle — could not allow him time to complete and witness his victory, but

"conveyed him away in an urn"

to the Heaven where his services were so much needed.

In Grecian mythology[48] giants are occasionally called in as auxiliaries in the wars of the Gods and in one instance wage war against them on their own account, but mere mortals were never called to aid in these battles — but there is a case in a Sanscrit poem, or play, called Sakuntala[49] or the lost ring, where a prince of valor and conduct is taken up to aid the Gods against evil Genii which are warring with them but he is taken & returned alive to his kingdom.

Fancy and fiction however strange were as good as truth to a group of listening children — and these with some fine odes of Anacreon celebrating Cupid's tricks as a winged boy with bow and quiver, and ballads without number of love and misfortune, constancy and falsehood made up the evening entertainment in our little cabin before a bright fire in the winter of 1798-9. The theater with all its attractions has never given me so much pleasure, "Such a sacred and home-felt delight" as those simple family recitals in my early boyhood.

My Aunt Morgan was also rich in narrative, but delighted most in Scottish Legends some of which would occupy more than an evening in the recital. One[50] of these represents a pair of fugitive lovers driven by a storm to take refuge in the hut of a recluse who tells them his history which opens thus —

Ten winters now have shed their snows
On this my lonely hall
Since gallant Hotspur—so the north
Their youthful lord did call—
Against proud Henry Bolinbroke
Led up his Northern powers
And bravely fighting lost his life
Near proud Selopin's towers.

I incline to think that when songs and stories are read to children though a mother read them, they lose something of the attraction which attended their recital—so that while we gain much, we lose something by universal learning and abundant literature.

During this year I read eagerly everything I could lay my hands on—old newspapers as well as new, indeed with little regard to dates. I remember to have found in a paper, which must have been more than a year old an expression of satisfaction that Gen'l Washington had been *succeeded* by such a sterling patriot as John Adams, & I hastened to my Father to show him that Gen'l Washington was dead. He corrected my mistake and explained to me that the Presidency was not an office for life.

The next year (1799) we had a near neighbor, Capt. Benj. Brown,[51] with a large family, and two others were making arrangements during the summer to remove next spring.

Capt. Brown was a man of little learning but much good sense and intelligence, and a tolerable share of miscellaneous reading—he had some numbers of a periodical, "The Athenean Oracle",[52] which he lent me, but I could not profit by it—it was if I remember it right not unlike the "Notes and queries" of more modern times—it discussed too some questions in philosophy as "why the shadow of a tree reflected on the water will appear just as far distant as the tree itself on the bank?" and another less profound, "why do young men wear long hair?" from all which I derived little entertainment or knowledge. This was but a few years after vaccination had been introduced into the United States, and the captain gave me a very full, and

clear account of the discovery — perfectly intelligible, to a child of my age and capacity — his account was this —

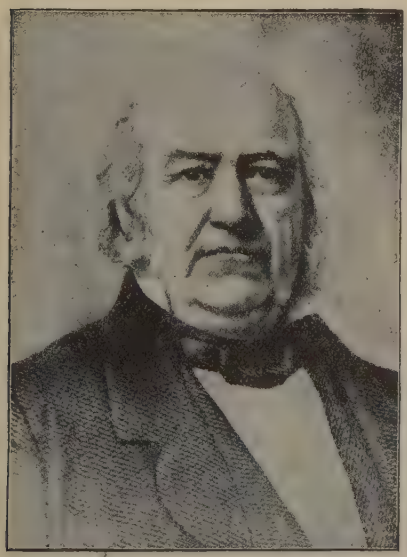
At a time when the smallpox was epidemic and very fatal in London Doctor Jenner observed that men who perform the two-fold fuctions of Hostlers and Milkers were all as a class free from the contagion and might nurse the sick without danger. Having by extended observation found their exemption to be universal, he carefully examined into the cause, and found that all of them shortly after commencing the business broke out with pustules resembling the smallpox, and on experiment he found that those pustules were produced by matter which exudes from the pastern of the horse inoculated into the cow's teat — thereupon he tried it on the human subject and found it effectual.[53]

My Father and one of the new neighbors, Ephraim Cutler,[54] joined in the purchase of Morse's Geography[55] with maps. Mr. Cutler's son could not profit by it so it remained with me. I studied it diligently and acquired quite a competent knowledge of Geography and of the slight historical sketches—which it contained — at the time the book went to press the date of which I do not know the white population of the North Western Territory was set down at 5000 — the most populous county being Knox which included Detroit and the French Settlement on the Raisin. In that year I got possession of a torn copy of the poems of Casimer[56] and read with intense interest the poem celebrating the victory of John Sobieski[57] over the Turks on the banks of the Danube. This poem was entire, and it has considerable merit though it seems to be out of print as I have not seen a copy of it since. It opens by introducing an aged husbandman "Gador the old, the wealthy & the strong" on the bank of the Danube and

> "As he broke up new lands & tired the plough
> In grassy furrows; the torn earth disclosed
> Helmets and shields rich furniture of war
> Sleeping in rust."

In a note to this poem or in the brief historical sketch in the Geography I found it stated that this battle, which was the final check to the advance of the Turks into Europe, was fought on

the *left* bank of the Danube. I asked my Father what was meant by the *left* bank as I understood it to depend on the direction in which the observer faced. He told me that a military man or the historian who recounts military achievements is always supposed to look down stream, whether he be in fact marching up or down, and he added — The Geographer faces to the North — the Astronomer to the south — the Sooth-sayer to the east and the Poet to the west. I have not in my subsequent reading met with confirmation of the last of these, but my Father no doubt had it from what he esteemed good authority.



Thomas Ewing.

This year, in April, I went with George to Wolf Creek Mills, about eighteen miles distant to bring home some meal. We had each a horse and he had his gun, and the little Spaniel was one of the party. On our return as we were about descending the Laurel Hill into Wolf Creek bottom George gave me a rope attached to his horse's bridle and told me to lead him & come on slowly, and he would go forward into the valley & try to kill some game to take home with us — it was a dim narrow path, but I was able to follow it. In a few minutes after he left me I heard the crack of his rifle & the bark of the dog. I hastened on and soon heard a sound of a third crack of the gun, and saw on the right of the path George running with his gun in his hand closely pursued by a very large bear and the dog following snapping & barking at the bear. George leaped behind a tree and loaded his gun and the bear turned, ran a little way pursued and worried by the dog, and climbed a tree, a

small beach broken off about 30 feet high & held on near the top, his head between his forepaws looking down at man & dog below — by this time I had tied my horses and joined George who had his gun loaded and at a moderate distance fired at the bear's head, but missed it, and shot him through one of his fore-paws. The bear fell, and rolled down the hillside towards us, and ran slowly toward the creek which was near — before he got to the water George shot again, but the bear limped on without heeding him and got into the water and lay down — the dog followed and the bear seized him with his sound paw and drew him under water. George took aim at the bear's head and attempted to fire, but his flint flew out and was lost in the grass and sand — he then drew his knife and was about leaping in to save the dog, when I held by his hunting shirt & prevented him — just then the bear let go the dog and went to shore on the other side and lay down in the sand quite exhausted — the dog followed and sat down & barked and the bear replied with a growl. George had no second flint — his gun therefore was useless — he said he could kill the bear disabled as he was with his knife but to this I would not consent — he then said he could tie his knife to a pole, with leatherwood bark, and spear him at a safe distance. I agreed to this, but while he was preparing his lance I got on my hands and knees & searching closely found the flint — he then waded across and shot the bear in the head. All his other shots had taken effect, but none in a vital part. We were about ten miles from home. George climbed a tall slender sapling which stood nearby — bent it down & secured the hind legs of the bear to it — cut off the top above, and with a forked pole on each side raised the huge carcass high enough to be out of the reach of wolves, and we left it till next day when we went with the necessary aid and brought it home. It was very fat[58] — had just left its winter den in the rocks and come down to the creek bottom to feed on young nettles, their earliest spring food.

We had yet no physician in the neighborhood, and some one of the family being sick, my father sent to Waterford about twenty miles for Doctor Baker. He at once made my acquaintance, & told me he had a book which he would lend me if I

would come for it — one he said I would like to read — not long after I got leave of my Father and went, on foot, with the little spaniel, Ring, for company and as a body guard — it was on the same path that was the scene with the bear fight the year before, and still a space of thirteen miles without a house. I made the journey without any adventure, was kindly received by the Doctor and brought home the book — it was a translation of Virgil's Aeneid,[59] I do not know by whom as the title page was torn out, and I have not chanced to meet with it since — it may be known by the opening lines which I remember — they are

> Arms and the man I sing, who first from Troy
> Came to the Italian and Lavinian shores
> Exiled by fate, much tossed by land and sea
> By power Divine and cruel Juno's rage:
> Much too in War he suffered till he reared
> A city and to Latium brought his Gods
> Hence sprung the Latin progeny—the Kings
> Of Alba and the Walls of tow'ring Rome.

I read it with great interest. My Father at that time had several hired men, rough frontiersmen — I read at noon, in the evenings and on Sundays to them and never had a more attentive audience. The passage in the fourth book in which Aeneas recounts to Dido the monitions he had received to depart and seek Italy and build another Troy, excited much discussion especially his statement that a messenger from Jove appeared to him in open day and commanded him to depart. One of the men said he believed it was a made-up story — that he had got tired of Dido and invented it as an excuse for being off — and they all agreed it was a shame after the kindness she had done him. So Virgil's hero lost something of reputation by this reading.

On a hot day in July this year, George, fancying that the heavy coat of hair was an incumbrance to the little Spaniel, Ring, sheared him close all except his head and tail — the children got round him and laughed at his changed appearance. He seemed much ashamed — looked round repeatedly and did not seem to know himself. As soon as he could get away he slunk off among the weeds and we never saw him afterwards. The

fields and woods were searched and Ring hunted for and called everywhere—it seemed like the loss of a member of the family.

In the next year 1800 we had several neighbors within a moderate distance. One large family from Kennebeck in Maine, a wild region, and all of the family wholly uneducated. The old man, Linscot,[60] was a soldier at the taking of Lewistown.[61] He had spent his long life on the northern frontier, and he told me many stories of his early adventures, illustrative of their habits & modes of life — among the rest he gave an account of their moose hunts. When a deep snow was falling, he said, the moose would get together in considerable numbers in a thicket or hemlock or fir & by walking round in a limited space beat the snow down as it fell, and when the top of a deep snow was covered with a hard crust, as was often the case, they were confined within the limits of their beat — a hunter would find a Moose pen, as they called it, and inform his neighbors, who would go with their snow shoes on the top of the snow and surround the pen attacking on every side and as the moose in their flight would rush up against the snow, beat them to death with clubs. Many years after I found in Virgil's 3d Georgic from line 367 to 376 inclusive,[62] the old man's account of the winter — the snow — the crusted surface, the moose pen, and the moose hunt — all true to the life. Virgil had doubtless got his account from some one of Mr. Linscot's Scythian ancestors.

The next winter Moses Everett[63] a graduate of Yale College taught school in our neighborhood — he was of course well educated and I profited much by his tuition. He had become intemperate and fled from temptation, which on our frontier was quite out of his way. He was especially careful to teach me pronunciation and prosody.

In the spring of 1802, as I think, but I cannot certainly fix the year, some ten or fifteen of the neighbors united and raised a fund to buy books for a circulating library.[64] I contributed ten Raccoon skins — being all my hoarded wealth. One of the neighbors, Samuel Brown,[65] was going to Boston & he took charge of the fund. We got some sixty or seventy volumes tolerably well selected — they were brought from Marietta in sacks on horseback and emptied out on the floor at Capt.

Benjamin Brown's where I was present to witness the exhibition. It seemed to me like an almost unbounded intellectual treasure — the library of the Vatican and all other libraries of which I had read were trifles, — playthings — compared with it. It indeed served me well — and with subsequent purchases from year to year, and with my Father's aid in selecting, it furnished me abundant and excellent reading for the seven or eight years that I afterwards remained at home. During all this time I worked industriously on the farm except three winters that I attended school, having for teachers Moses Everett and Charles Cutler[65½] also a graduate of Yale, who also banished himself. I was in the habit of going to a mill near the mouth of Federal Creek, about eight miles. I generally went in the afternoon— got my grist ground at night, and returned with it next morning. There was an educated man whose name was Jones,[66] a native of Rhode Island, evidently an outcast from friends and family who made his home at the miller's. We called him Doctor, and I sometimes purchased of him such drugs as my mother knew how to administer — he spent most of his time hunting and was quite intemperate. He often came in on evenings when I was there, took off his moccasins, lay down with his feet to the fire and had me read to him — generally poetry of which he had several volumes. He always corrected promptly and sternly, errors especially of *prosody,* to which he sacrificed *pronunciation,* where they conflicted — as in Pope's Essay on Man, the line

"Why Jove's satellites are less than Jove"

he made me pronounce satellītes, satel-li-*tes* to fill the poetic measure. He was a man of taste and I profited by the casual association. He and Barrows the miller were fast friends. When Jones was on his deathbed he called Barrows to him — reminded him of an Indian Mound[67] they had sometimes strolled to, on Sundays and asked to be buried there. Barrows complied with his request, and a few years after died and was buried on the mound by the side of his old friend.

The political parties of the time were Federalists and Republican. I first knew something of this in 1798, while I was at my aunt's in West Liberty. My uncle was a Republican and

took newspapers sufficiently abusive of the elder Adams and laudatory of Mr. Jefferson. I remember something of the partizan poetry of the time — not elevated in character or of high poetic merit as for instance a pasquinade[68] against James Ross,[69] when he and McKean[70] were opposing candidates for Governor of Pennsylvania — Ross is represented as meeting an old Republican, when the following dialogue ensued —

> "Says the Federal candidate, As I'm a sinner,
> Old McKean he gets drunk every day at his dinner."

to which the Republican replies—

> "That may be the case, but far worse they do say:
> Ross is drunk at his breakfast and drunk all the day."

This related to persons merely — but the serious contest arose from the supposition, that the Federalists were too much disposed to favor England in her contest with the French Revolutionists. That the Republicans on the contrary were disposed to bully England and truckle to France.

My Father was a stanch Federalist, and when the convention met to form a constitution for Ohio Ephraim Cutler, a neighbor and old personal and political friend was a member of the convention. Shortly after the commencement of the session, my Father read to us a letter from him, characterising the elements of the convention a part of the summing up or grouping of which I remember.

> "Ready to go all lengths about twelve or fourteen.
> Something more moderate, six.
> Federal and rational, ten.
> Moderate and incling to rational principles[71] * * *"
> This number I have forgotten.

The constitution when completed was however quite satisfactory to my Father and his Federal friends — except in the single particular that it left the Executive too feeble.[72]

My strong desire for an education, which my Father encouraged without any possible means to gratify it, seemed almost certainly doomed to disappointment. I had it is true access to a tolerable library, and availed myself of it to the utmost, but

I had no associates of my own age with whom I could communicate and I was becoming too large to stand by the knees of old men and learn wisdom from their narratives of adventure or observations on practical life. I felt this deeply and while thus impressed, I met with an advertisement in the Marietta paper—the American Friend[73]—which was I believe verbatim as follows:

"WANTED—An apprentice to the printing business. A sober lad of from twelve to fourteen years old, who can read well and write a tolerable hand. He will be kindly treated and well instructed. Enquire at this office."

I went with this to my Father and asked him to let me go and offer myself, but he discouraged me, thinking there would be more labor than learning in the vocation.

In our library there was but little poetry and no plays except Goldsmith's. I never met with a copy of Shakespear until I was more than twenty years old. We had a copy of Ossian[74] which I admired much, though not insensible to his occasional violations of good taste, and I by no means yet agree with those who undervalue him. His address to the sun "O thou that rollest over my head" is equal in beauty, fine taste and tender pathos to Milton's "Hail holy light" though inferior perhaps in elevation of sentiment. Ossian's poems were admired by men of the highest order of intellect and first critical taste in Europe. As somewhat opposite examples I may instance Napoleon Bonaparte and Goethe. They acquired a large share of their fame, especially in Scotland, from a belief in their high antiquity, and when that was withdrawn they fell much below their intrinsic merits. McPherson, however, fared better than the poor boy Chatterton[75] who died a victim to his forgery of ancient odes, which when detected as his own production, ought to have immortalized him. One of the finest examples of this kind of innocent imposition on the public is the "Amber Witch"[76] in which the author when he at last claimed it as his own was accused by some learned criticks of attempting to appropriate to himself what was in truth an antique gem.

From 1803 to 1809 I made little mental progress. The necessary aids were wanting. I studied geography very carefully,

became pretty well versed in history, ancient and modern, was a good arithmatician, and read some poetry and several novels. My memory being tenacious I made the most of what I read. I found Gray's Elegy in a magazine which accidentally fell into my hands and committed it to memory in a single summer evening, after coming in from my day's work. A poor sickly old man whose name was Clark, who had been a school-master, settled on a piece of wild land a few miles from my Father's'. His neighbors built him a cabin and one day my Father sent me with a yoke of oxen to haul rails for him & help him enclose his little field. At noon while my oxen were resting he taught me how to find the *leap*-year, the *Epact*,[77] and the age of the moon on any day in the year — quite a treasure of knowledge which my Father had omitted to teach me.

In 1809 having raised a good summer crop and put the farm in order, I asked my Father to let me go for a few months in search of adventure. He consented and I set out immediately — made my way to the Ohio River and got on board of a keel boat, bound for Kenhawa Salt works.[78] I remained there three months as a laborer, and became satisfied that I could in a few years earn money enough to educate me for a profession. On returning home I found several new books in the Library which I read in the course of the winter. In the spring having put the farm in order for a summer crop I returned to Kenhawa. This year (1810) I saved some money, paid a debt of my Father which annoyed him, and went to the College at Athens[79] to try my success as a scholar. The estimate formed of me there in this short term was sufficiently flattering — considerably above my actual capacity — for example I mastered English Grammar in ten days — never having previously studied it. But I was familiar with the best English authors, and spoke and wrote as correctly before as after. So that in studying grammar I had only to learn the names of the tools with which the grammarian works, and commit some rules to memory. I acquired credit too by a composition which I wrote this winter and which as I recollect it had some merit. On the whole I was encouraged to persevere in my efforts.

I returned to Kenhaway & spent the greater part of the

years 1811 & 12 there. For about a month in the summer of 1811 I was up and about my work from midnight till after sunrise, and I noticed during all that time that a gentle breeze from the east passed over and rippled the surface of the river just before early dawn on each fair morning — a single breath and no more. I associated it with the panting of the steeds that draw the chariot of the sun. I saw too on one of these nights the comet of 1811 and spoke of it several days before it was noticed in the papers.[80]

I returned home in November 1812 quite exhausted by hard and long continued physical labor and brought with me a little over $600 in money. I descended the Kenhawa[81] in a keel boat in which were also as passengers the family of a son of Daniel Boone, the celebrated pioneer. He had with him a daughter — Harriet[82] — a handsome, educated young lady, who had somehow got the impression that I was a scholar and enticed me on the voyage to read novels and recite poetry with her. She was engaged in reading the Wild Irish Girl,[83] an extravagant specimen of unrestrained imagination, with which she was quite enchanted. Without sharing in her enthusiasm, her attention & courtesy pleased me & she made the otherwise monotonous voyage pleasant. But my hands were chapped and black with toil — soap and water having no effect on them — so that I hardly dared to offer them to help her out of the boat, and I took due care to hide them in her presence. We landed at Point Pleasant in the evening, where I left the boat and lodged at a Tavern. In the morning I woke with a fever and headache, but little able to travel. I crossed the Ohio and tried to hire man & horse to take me on my way but a Battalion of recruits[84] had just crossed on their way to the frontier, and pressed & taken off all the horses they could find — the Farmers to save them had taken many to the woods and hid them in thickets. I moved forward on foot slowly and painfully and having gone about four miles discovered that I had left my watch — after some hesitation I returned for it, and again resumed my toilsome journey. Having walked about sixteen miles, just at dusk I had the good fortune to meet with a man who had come in from the woods with two horses and I hired him, without diffi-

culty to take me some ten miles further to the house of a Mr. Stedman a farmer whom I knew and where I was well taken care of. After a few days rest and nursing I got home on horseback, but still feeble and exhausted. After remaining at home a few days I made my way to the Library where I found Don Quixote who proved one of the best physicians that I ever called in. I did not follow the prescription of Doctor Pedro Positive, but read and laughed myself well in a short time.

I had in the two years then last past paid off a residue of my Father's debts, and put his little farm in order. My Brother George lived near him, and was always at hand to aid whenever he required assistance — both Father and Mother were in good health so with the approbation of both and with cheering encouragement from my Father, I left them, determined with my slender means to qualify myself for one of the learned professions or some other of the important vocations of life. The world was all before me, but I entered it without a guide, and had, under Providence to choose for myself the path which I should pursue; and I had small knowledge of the affairs of life and the ways of men except what I had learned from and among the sons of toil with whom my lot had been cast. I had but once seen a Judge on the bench, a jury in the box, and a lawyer speaking at the Bar. I entered, however, on my new career with undoubting confidence.

While attempting to test my own capacity and form a just opinion of my mental powers, I studied what I was sure would be useful to me in any event, — Latin & Rhetoric to give me command of my own language, and skill in its use; astronomy-Geometry speculative and practical, including surveying and navigation, and with them the higher branches of mathematics. To these last I was partly directed by strong inclination, and marked facility in their acquirement and partly by what I esteemed a probability that they might be directly useful to me in future life. I had no special facility in acquiring languages except what arose from a good knowledge of my own and a readiness in tracing derived words back and finding their meaning in the original, from my knowledge of them in the derived, and a tenacious and ready memory, which enabled me to commit &

retain easily and permanently the rules which rest at the foundation of language. For instance the 76 rules in Adams' Latin Grammar[85] I committed to memory in a single day, still it required many days to study the notes & find the rules always at hand and ready of application. I also had considerable advantage over younger students in a general knowledge of the subjects of which authors treat; to some extent acquiring a knowledge of language through my knowledge of things.

During my first year I devoted a good deal of attention to composition, both prose and poetry, and acquired some facility in numbers and versification. After testing my capacity I fancied I could write *tolerable poetry,* but this Horace, in whom I had confidence assured me neither men nor Gods could endure. I therefore indulged in poetic composition no further than I thought it might aid me in the choice and use of language. I give from memory a fragment of college exercise in rhyme and one in blank verse, which will serve as samples. Of the first, in rhyme, I remember but a few couplets written immediately after the battle of Queenstown.[86] The Federal party to which my Father belonged and whose opinions I had imbibed, were opposed to the invasion of the enemy's territory but held that we should confine our military operations to the defence of our own. This opinion is distinctly presented in the fragment which I quote —

"Liberty, guardian Goddes of our land
In thy defense let every Freeman stand
But not, while in thy sacred cause he fights
Trample on others or invade their rights.
E'en late on Queenstown's heights thy sons have bled
Her cold clods pillow many a youthful head
Who proud in arms, with courage all elate
Scarce left thy fostering soil when whelmed by fate."

A few brief years however changed my opinion as to offensive, and defensive war. The English and their Indian allies invaded us — captured Detroit and attacked Fort Meigs.[87] Troops were called for and I with four or five other students turned out as mounted volunteers, intent not only on driving the enemy from our border but on the capture of Malden[88]

which we looked upon as the robbers' den. I was cornet of a company and carried the flag which the ladies presented us. I had a heavy plough horse which I borrowed of a neighboring farmer, and a huge sword which an adventurer who purposed to join Iturbide[89] lent me. We galloped through town, colours flying. "Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campun",[90] but neither horses or riders were very well trained and our old President[91] who was an accomplished jockey looked at us quizically as we passed; but when we set out he prayed fervently for *us;* and for the souls of the unfortunate Englishmen and Indians whom we were going to slaughter. After two days journey we were disbanded and returned home and so ended my military career.

The second specimen, which I give below, in blank verse, is an address to the Sun, a fragment, the concluding lines of a composition, descriptive of "Early Morning". The subject is trite, but managed with something of originality. The address is so far connected that to make it intelligible I have to give it in full. I give this also from memory.

Fire inexhaustible who bright returnst
Radiant with glory and with beams renewed
From their hesternal waste, say hast thou washed
Thy golden disc in occidental waves
And is the Eastern gulf thy couch of rest
Whence, on thy chariot, bright, with joyous train
Led by Aurora, and the laughing Hours,
All fresh thy race begins? Thus sang the muse
Ere science yet, her mind enlightening rays
Had shed on man and taught him what thou art
Where setst or seemst to set and whence arise
How when Earth's shadow casts its solemn gloom
Of darkness round us, and night's dusky cone,
Through which near its high apex,* oft the moon
Labors in dim eclipse, clasps with its base
One half of the convex globe; freedom's wild home;
The land of Montesuma and Peru,
And Chili to Magellan and the Horn;
The Atlantic Ocean with its mighty isles

*Not strictly accurate—the path of the moon is nearer the base than the apex of the cone.

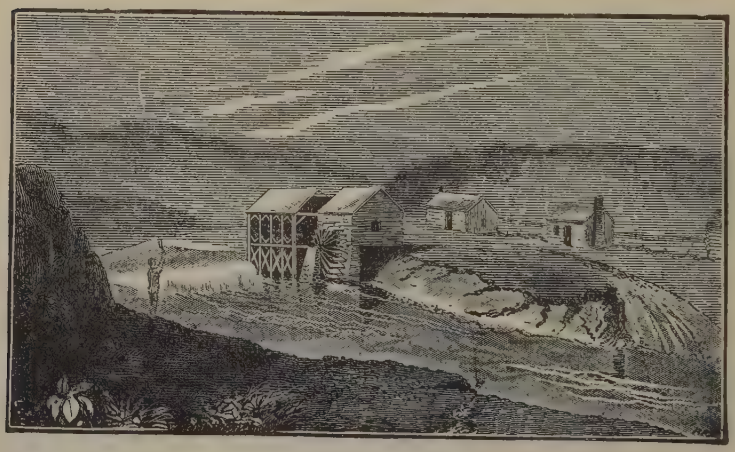
Europe and Asia to the utmost bounds
Of Araby and Iran and the seas
Caspian and Aral, and the continent
Of Lybia to Mozambique all in night;
How there still shinest in glory—there the streams
Of India own thy presence and the Priest
Of holy Brama kneeling on the banks
Of sacred Ganges pours his hymn of praise
To thee his rising God. Thy setting rays
Gild that wild mountain the remotest source
Of swift Missouri's flood and idly play
On California's sands. Thy mid-day beams
Fall on the broad Pacific's scattered isles.
Rare gems of beauty mid an ocean's waste—
With earlier freshness and with rays aslope.
Thou gladst the valleys and the lofty hills
Of seagirt Niphon, populous Cathay
And savage Borneo and the spicy isles
Of Ternate and Tidore.† How fixed thou art
Yet seemst in motion, as the voluble earth
Rolls oceans, continents, and Isles and Seas
In swift succession neath thee, while benign
Thou yieldsts Earth's every part the grateful change
Of light from darkness, but unchanging shinest
At once the morning, noon, and evening sun.

I had a ready aptitude for mathematicks, the study was much to my taste — indeed absorbing — but if I obtained eminence as a mathematician I did not feel confident that it would help me to make an independent way through life — it seemed to me rather like passing my time in happy mental abstraction, than acquiring knowledge useful, and certainly applicable in the current affairs of men. I therefore studied the speculative science of mathematics no farther than I believed it useful to aid my reasoning powers, in exactness of thought and language, and in this I considered an algebraic demonstration involving the higher powers, the most perfect and next to Euclid's Elements the most exact application of human reason — a mental exercise in which there could be no ambiguity in thought and none in language.

---

†"Ternate and Tidore whence merchants bring their spicy drugs."
—*Milton.*

In testing my capacity I soon acquired confidence in my reasoning powers — knew myself a logical thinker, and found myself possessed of a use of language considerably above that of most of my associates. I therefore determined on the Law as my profession and made my reading and collegiate course as far as possible preparatory to its study. In February 1813 an epidemic which was popularly called the cold plague[92] took off many persons in Athens and the country round and for a time broke up the school. I went home, took with me Virgil, a Latin Dictionary and Grammar and went on with my studies there, commencing with the Aeneid, because being narrative, it was



Wolf Creek Mills.

easier for a beginner than the Bucolics or Georgics. I laid my watch on the table before me and worked by the hour, doubling, instead of anticipating the eight hour rule — the first day I made but sixty lines — the last day twelve hundred — and I so read as to comprehend fully the sense of every sentence. I did not attempt Greek — my limited time and slender means forbade it, though I much desired, as I knew its value to the student of our own language in every department of science. My funds were likely to fall short. I therefore took a school in Gallipolis and taught one quarter.[93] I went to Kenhawa to collect a small debt which was due me there. I found the impression

among my old companions that a partnership with me insured success, and met at once with several offers. I selected the best — took off my student's garb and worked for a month in good earnest — it went hard, but I earned about a hundred and fifty dollars, and with my recruited finances returned to my studies. In looking over some French books while in Gallipolis, I found the language easy, so I took a grammar with me to Kenhawa and paid some attention to it while there. After my return, I went again to Gallipolis, and took lessons for a month with a French teacher hoping to acquire something of pronunciation — This I found must be a failure, but I soon read and translated with facility.

The fourth of July before I left the college I was invited to deliver the oration. Europe was in a disturbed state, with the final struggle between Buonaparte and the allied powers, and the world was looking anxiously to the result. It was my first effort at a public speech. I wrote and committed it — gave the manuscript to my Father and retain little memory of it. The concluding sentence was an apostrophe, something as follows:

"and you, my beloved country, young and free and happy, may you endure forever—*esto perpetua.* When the thrones of Tyrants crumbled into dust lie in undistinguished ruin, and Europe from her present shattered state sink if she be doomed to sink again to barbarism, still may the unfading ivy twine around thy brow, peace, freedom and concord bless you, till Time shall have finished its destined course and Earth by his command who called it into being return again to former chaos."

It was the fit production of a Sophomore, but understood to be a success. My Father was proud of it and it gave me considerable reputation in the limited circle in which I began to be known.

On my leaving college, the Board of Trustees awarded me a diploma,[94] waiving my want of Greek; and I went to my Father's and took with me Blackstone's Commentaries. I read the four volumes through at about two hundred pages a day — a mere exploration, to find what was there and to understand what I could. I then turned back and studied the volumes carefully — after which, in the month of July I went to Lancas-

ter[94½] and entered myself, a student of Law under General Philemon Beecher.[95] He was a man of fine intellect, though of irregular and limited education. Naturally eloquent he would, had his mind been disciplined, have been an orator. I remember some brief passages in his addresses to the jury, which for strength and pungency are seldom excelled. One will do as a sample. He was for defendant in an action of slander. The Plaintiff appeared badly in the evidence, but his counsel was indignant at what he called *aspersions* on the character of his client. Beecher in his reply having condensed and presented very strongly the enormities proved against him took up the word. "Talk" said he "of *aspersions* on a character such as this — is there a *sprinkling*, a *spot* upon him? — No—he has *plunged* — he is *steeped* in infamy". He conceived a cause quickly and truly — was familiar with all the affairs of common life and looked quite through the deeds and motives of men — he was consequently a very successful jury lawyer — afterwards when in Congress to which he was elected in 1816, though highly estimated by those who knew him well, he failed to make his mark — evidently conscious of his ability but ashamed of his want of education and aware that men much his inferiors in mental power might criticise the English of his speeches however eloquent and impassioned.

Jacob Burnet[96] one of our most eloquent advocates at the Bar in Ohio, a scholar too and master of language, when sent to the Senate of the United States, was mute, but for another cause. He lost two of his front teeth, and being for almost a lifetime familiar with his own full clear utterance, he could not endure to lisp the language which he had before spoken to the admiration of his hearers — it was like a skilled musician playing on an instrument with broken chords. He might have partially remedied the defect by artificial teeth, but did not.

After studying with Genl. Beecher thirteen months during which time he paid me every attention, I was in August 1816 admitted to the Bar.[97] The next month I went with him to Circleville Court, where he promised me a cause to argue. One was selected — a slander case in which he was for Plaintiff, and I prepared in advance for the opening argument. It was

compromised. He gave me then a case of contract resting upon written evidence which I prepared carefully but it was continued. I sat at the counsel table quite disheartened while the clerk called the docket — when a case was called in which Beecher was for the defence — it was ready and he said I must try my hand at *that*. I read the pleadings hastily, and attended to the testimony, and when Genl. Beecher had closed the cross examination of plaintiff's last witness I thought I discovered important matter which had not been distinctly brought out. I asked leave to interrogate, which, being granted, I brought out by a few questions the new matter which was conclusive for the defence. This gave me confidence. I opened the argument for defendant and Beecher very kindly said I had presented the defence fully and he had nothing to add. The incident, trivial as it was made a very favorable impression on the Bench and Bar at that place. I went to Athens Supreme Court in November, where I found nothing to do, but met a son of an old neighbor[98] whose brother a boy of some fourteen or fifteen was indicted in Washington Common Pleas for petty larceny. He asked me to go to Marietta and defend him. I agreed to go for twenty-five dollars but as my money was nearly out I required fifteen dollars in hand. This was paid me and I went. My boy was convicted, but I obtained a new trial. The Court of Common Pleas sat in Lancaster in November. Mr. Sherman,[99] the General's father — then one of our best lawyers, had a case of trespass and wounding for trial, and invited me to assist him. I opened the case. We were successful — the Defendant appealed and the Plaintiff retained me as assistant counsel for the Supreme Court. I found too that I had gained reputation at home by my opening speech.

In the spring I went again to Marietta to defend my boy client on his second trial. The evidence against him was his own confession, and the witness testified that he used neither threats or persuasion and held out no hopes to him of immunity if he confessed. Having obtained the new trial, I enquired carefully of the boy's brother and ascertained that the prosecuting witness had promised to him that the matter should be concealed if the boy would confess, and that he had communicated the

promise to the boy. On the second trial I asked leave to examine a witness to the court touching the admissibility of the State's evidence—this though not strictly regular was permitted. I called the brother and proved the fact & when the prosecuting witness was called I asked him the preliminary question and he admitted the conversation with the brother on which the court rejected the evidence of confession, and my boy was acquitted. He was a member of the Methodist church and his conviction had caused some sensation. This trial was largely attended by the Brethren and the result was so unexpected, that it was credited to me as a new and unusual stroke of professional talent. There chanced to be at that term a very large number of criminal cases for trial — the people had broken up a nest of counterfeiters and had six or eight accused in jail — some out on bail, and some cases of larceny and one of perjury. That evening and the next day I was employed in twelve penitentiary cases. From this time I took rank in public opinion — from which opinion I was not so ungrateful as to dissent — as first among the young members of the central Ohio Bar. My travel on horseback to attend to my boy's case was about 240 miles — the time spent with it about twelve days — my fee was $25. I have had causes since, in which my fees ranged from $10,000 to $70,000, but none which gave me more satisfaction, or was really of more consequence to me than this. Some two or three of my new cases were tried that term. The first was a case in which the evidence was quite insufficient, but to my great surprize the jury, which was composed of some of the best and most intelligent men of the county returned in a few minutes a verdict of guilty. I moved for a new trial, and in my argument dwelt with some severity on the unwarranted finding. The new trial was granted and the jury was sworn in another case in which the evidence was very clear for conviction. In arguing this I commented on their hasty and unexpected finding in the first case — they were evidently much troubled, and took very ample time to consider this. After they came in, they sent for me — spoke of my comments as harsh and unkind — said the county had for several years past been greatly troubled with a gang of counterfeiters and horse thieves but was unable to con-

vict them either because of the weakness or the conplicity of some one or two jurors—that they had now in prison, or on bail, a large part of the gang — the very worst of them, and they, the jurors had been selected to see that justice should be done — that they had left their business at a great sacrifice and were devoting their time, simply for the purpose of enforcing the law and suppressing crime. I said in reply that I had no doubt they were very good men — that their motives were good, but that selected as they were they were not lawful jurors — and that I must make use of what they had told me, in defence of the other prisoners. Accordingly on the next prisoner being called I challenged the array, and on the testimony of the foreman, and the sheriff got the jury set aside. This led to a continuance of nearly all the cases. From this time on I had a commanding practice in the southern counties — but the people were poor and fees small. On this circuit I met with Samuel F. Vinton[100] and Charles B. Goddard[101] — young lawyers of fine talents and high culture — who were my intimate friends and companions during their lives. We practised in the courts together for many years and Mr. Vinton and myself were for a long time associated in political life.

I was for several years prosecuting attorney[102] in Fairfield, an office at that time by no means a sinecure, the country being greatly infested with counterfeiters, or rather persons engaged in passing counterfeit bank notes. They were generally manufactured at some distant place, and travelling merchants frequently passed through the country bringing with them large sums and distributing to supply the local demand. They sold at a moderate price allowing a large margin to their customers for risk and profit. My predecessors in office had prosecuted very faithfully all cases which came regularly before the court, but left it to the Grand Jury & Justices of the Peace to track the felons and bring their causes there. *I,* when appointed determined to make an effort to cut the business up by the roots. I soon ascertained that a loose young fellow had offered to pass a new counterfeit bill — it was refused and the bill remained in his possession, so that it could not be described, or proved false, he therefore could not be convicted. I sent for him, told him

his danger and advised him to tell me all he knew and if I found him true I would overlook the past. He told me of the traveling merchants — said they were soon to be along again and promised to inform me when they should be again in Town. The day before Christmas 1818, he told me they had come and stopped at the hotel where I boarded — that they hid their merchandize he knew not where, and if arrested none would be found in their possession — and added that they were to stay all night at a tavern fourteen miles west of the town where they expected to meet a large number of their customers. I told him to go out and meet them, and as soon as business began, to come out a hundred or two yards on the Lancaster road and I would meet him, and receive his report. I bound him to the strictest confidence, and took him to Judge Scofield[103] one of the associate Judges, that he might be able to vouch for him in case of accident to me. The Sheriff was absent — the Deputy Sheriff drunk, so that I must myself take charge of the enterprize or let the rascals escape. Judge Scofield in whom I had great confidence told me I must take fifteen or twenty armed men with me, for if I went ill prepared I would come home well whipped. I took his advice — summoned twelve of the best I could get — told them I was going on a secret expedition with which I could not trust even them, and that they must be ready each with his horse and such weapon as he could get, to mount and follow as I should ride down the street at dusk. I had got the deputy sheriff as sober as possible armed with a warrant to arrest Morris Seeley and certain other persons, names unknown. My men all joined me — pleased with the promise of an adventure and we rode rapidly till we passed the intersection of the several roads leading westward so that there was no danger of our being passed, when I halted and explained to the men our object. We then formed and moved on silently till within two or three hundred yards of the house when we turned into the woods & tied our horses. I left the men, *perdu*, near the road, all but one, whom I took with me and we ensconsed ourselves behind a log and waited for the signal. A dog discovered us and barked and growled down on us fiercely, but it was Christmas eve, there were noise and revelry in the house, and men shouting,

and horns blowing outside — so we were not discovered. After a long time my spy made his appearance — told me the merchants had gone out to the stable for their wares and that they would open immediately upstairs, and he hastened back that he might not be missed. I saw a light move in from the stable and soon reappear in the designated room. I summoned my men — had a part of them stationed at the windows and doors, and at the bar — reserving the deputy Sheriff and three others to go with me upstairs. The Landlord met me & told me the room above was occupied. I replied that I knew it and my business was with the gentlemen there. I hastened him down, and entered the room. There were some watches & chains on a table, two men standing by it, one of whom seized & thrust something in his pocket and sprang to the door. I arrested the other who made no resistance. The first, seized the Deputy Sheriff who had followed next me and threw him across the room — sprang upon the next, a small but agile man, who struck him with a dirk and slightly wounded him, but he got to the door and met the last of the party—Genl. Reese[104]—a strong resolute man who grappled with him and threw him on the bed — he soon surrendered and all resistance ceased. I searched all present and found no counterfeit money except $150 new notes in the pocketbook of Wm. Peck one of the Lancaster confederates, who as we came in, threw it under the bed to hide it, but who was observed by one of the party. This convinced me that they had the counterfeit merchandize in the room, but after the most careful search I could not find it. Having given this up and tied the prisoners to prevent escape, I left them in charge of four of my party and went to see to matters below stairs. I found forty or fifty persons there, who however attempted no resistance. I searched the bar, and found several hundred dollars of counterfeit notes, and I sent up stairs two pair of saddle bags, which I directed to be left unsearched till I came up. When I was absent however the Deputy Sheriff assumed command and proceeded to investigate the saddle bags. The attention of the party being drawn from him, the active villain who fought so well at the door went to the window and tied as he was raised it and threw himself out — he fell directly on the

guard that I had stationed below — brought him down and before he could recover and give the alarm, escaped into some fallen timber & brush-wood nearby and could not be found. In more carefully securing the rest of the gang our stock of ropes fell short and we had to take the bed cord, & in throwing off the clothes and bed to get it two bundles of counterfeit bills fell off containing exactly $10,000 less the $150 found in Peck's pocket book. I examined the saddle bags, and found nothing amiss in them except a doubtful bill of $50 — which the owners explained by a letter they showed me, and I let them depart; and myself and party with our prisoners reached Lancaster about 2 o'clock Christmas morning. This broke up the trade in Fairfield County.[104½] Justices and Grand Jurors became vigilant and I had but one other case of passing counterfeit bills in the four or five years in which I was prosecuting attorney and that arose from a mistake. A small dealer bought a half pint of whiskey at a country tavern on the border and gave a counterfeit dollar to be changed — the Landlord had him arrested and sent to Lancaster for trial — he was amazed, thought he was in Franklin county, and said he would have seen the landlord damned before he would have bought his whiskey, if he had known he was in Fairfield.

I rapidly grew into practice in my own county and the other central and some of the northern counties of Ohio. The older lawyers whom I met here, with the exception of Granger[105] of Zanesville, were not students — They were generally skilful in managing causes before a jury but careless in preparation. I studied assiduously—made myself master of criminal law and special pleading and found much advantage in it.

A criminal case — homicide — *accidental shooting* as represented by the defense — malicious, as charged by the prosecution — which arose in Licking County and was tried on a change of venue in Muskingum, in which I was successful, gave me reputation in those counties and with the Bench and Bar. From memory, I think I managed the case well both in the examination, and the argument — and it was a case involving much doubt — the homicide having occurred in a quarrel, the defendant attempting to shoot a dog, which under the circumstances

he had a right to kill — the deceased trying to protect him — the gun went off by accident or design & the *man* was killed. To the hackneyed appeal in the opening speech — "the blood of the murdered man crying from the Earth for vengeance and justice," I replied — "I am glad this point has been taken, that I may answer it, as it presents the only view on which a conviction is possible — the separation of the *event* from the *act* and purpose and thus making the event, and it alone the ground of your judgment. The tendency to this state of feeling is irrational but has its lodgement in the human mind and it is hard to remove it — the messenger of bad news is often hated, and the senseless stick or stone by which we are wounded is sometimes made the object of splenetic vengeance — but you are rational judges and as such will consider only the *act* and the *purpose* moving to the act, and not its accidental consequence as the crime of this man. If you are Christians you cannot believe that a voice from the dead cried for vengeance, for we are well taught that they are removed from all the passions by which life here is agitated and disturbed. So it is written — 'For also their love and their hate and their envy are departed, neither have they any more a portion in that which is under the Sun' — But if the gospels of life be fallacious and the hopes of the Christian vain — if the grave to which we descend be the eternal home of all that once was man, what is there *then* I ask you to be pleased with cruelty or gratified with revenge. Impassive as the earth on which we tread — their silent dust cannot be provoked or moved by our unhallowed passions? Consider then gentlemen, the *motive* and the *act* disconnected with the *result* — suppose the dog and not the man to have been the victim, would any man have thought of pronouncing the act criminal? surely not— and unless you condemn the *motive* and the *act,* with the *purpose,* irrespective of the result my client, in the name of truth and justice must stand acquitted." My object was to make a favorable impression on the minds of the jury, and to lead them from the question of *carelessness,* the result of passion, which was against him, to that of *intent,* which was on the whole in my client's favor. In this I was successful — the defendant was acquitted. On the whole I was more successful, in defence, as

as a criminal lawyer the first ten years of my practice, than afterward.

Sherman had a commanding practice in the northern counties and invited me to go with him, which I did when my southern circuit did not interfere — and though he must have been well aware that I was to be his most formidable rival at the Bar he never failed when an opportunity offered to advance my reputation by commendation, countenance and encouragement. The lawyers on our extensive circuits were indeed *brother*

Site of Wolf Creek Mills.

lawyers in habit and feeling — there was no professional jealousy among us. We lodged at the same taverns — ate at the same tables, occupied the same parlor (generally rustic enough) and often to the number of eight or ten slept in the same large chamber. The habits of physicians are solitary — they generally practice alone — talk with their patients in their sick chambers and sometimes learn to slander and hate their professional rivals. The Bar at the time of which I write was eminently social. Generally we were employed on the circuit, in cases as they arose, and went to trial on one or two days notice — the

social habits of the Bar rendered study almost impossible hence the pleadings and practice were loose and irregular. My habits were studious and I felt the obligation of preparation strongly and was often almost churlish in withdrawing from a convivial party, to study my coming cause & prepare a special plea or replication to the annoyance of my more liberal brethren— but they bore with my eccentricities most kindly, and though sometimes loud, they were never bitter in their denunciations For instance, one evening the bar was having a pleasant sitting at our common hotel on the circuit — happening to have a case which required study I was out in quest of authorities, and as the fun grew "fast and furious" I returned with two law books under my arm. Dick Douglas, our wit *par excellence* exclaimed as I entered the room — "Here comes the living embodiment of malice at common law — a heart regardless of social duty and fatally bent on mischief". The mischief on which I was fatally bent, was a special plea or demurrer with which to defeat some good jolly brother lawyer's case.

A more delightful profession or a happier or kindlier set of men filling it is hardly to be found than the central Ohio bar during the first ten or twelve years that I was a member — there was personal adventure enough, and physical and mental exercise enough — and more universal social feeling than generally belongs to societies of men. The close bonds of fellowship were somewhat relaxed in after years when large hotels were opened at our county seats and each lawyer had his own private chamber.

In 1820 I first attended the Circuit Court of the U. S. then held at Chillicothe, and became acquainted with Charles Hammond[106] and Philip Doddridge,[107] both excellent lawyers — both wrote and spoke the English language perfectly, and with a brevity and directness seldom equalled — both were very kind to me, and I had afterwards for many years much pleasant intercourse with them. Hammond was for a long time a leading member of the Ohio Legislature, and permitted politics to withdraw him much from the Bar, and at last he transferred his clients & causes to me, left the court and became Editor of "The Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette". In this particular de-

partment he has never been excelled — his editorials are well judged and direct, with the point and brevity of Swift and more than the correctness of Addison. In the politics of the country his influence was very great. While he was in the height of his practice at the Bar the Ohio Legislature having passed a law levying a very heavy tax on the branch Bank of the U. S. located at Chillicothe, the bank refused to pay the tax, and a commissioner was appointed to levy and collect it.[108] He entered the bank and seized its assets to the required amount, and the Bank brought Trespass, for breaking and entering its close, and carrying off its goods. Mr. Clay appeared for the Bank, Mr. Hammond for the State. Mr. Clay offered his evidence to prove title and possession of the close. Mr. Hammond denied its admissibility and it was ruled out by the Court. Mr. Clay took snuff with both hands, seemed quite bewildered and at the mercy of his opponent. After a few minutes Mr. Hammond rose, said the object of his client was, not to gain a technical triumph, but to try the right, which could not be done in the present form of pleading, he would therefore agree to an amendment which should raise the actual question — let a verdict pass by consent & take the case on Bill of exceptions to the S. C. of the U. S. This was of course agreed to. The case had attracted much attention — and the young members of the Bar joined in the triumph and felt proud of the victory and magnanimity of our Ohio Lawyer.

Doddridge was equal to Hammond as a lawyer, and his superior as an orator. The correctness and brevity of his statements in law papers were admirable. I once had occasion to make a brief in a case in which I was employed with him and found to my admiration that I could not at all abridge the stating part of the answer which he had drawn up for our client. He could look through a case at a glance. On one occasion he appeared in a case of Mr. Hammond and asked a continuance because Mr. H. was unable to attend. Mr. Brush[109] on the other side objected, and said his client absolutely required him to try the cause at that term. On this Mr. Doddridge told the clerk to give him the papers — he untied them and shuffled them over in his fat clumsy hands. The action was Ejectment — having

looked at the papers four or five minutes he said the jury might be sworn. Brush offered his first item of evidence, the deed under which the Plaintiff claimed. It was not properly acknowledged, and was rejected. Brush thereupon said he must submit to a non suit — but Doddridge said no — you may withdraw a juror and continue the cause — this generous offer was of course accepted and we all joined in lauding the tact and promptitude and professional liberality of Mr. Doddridge. Unfortunately he was intemperate or we should have recognized him as the monarch of the profession. On this occasion, the evidently favorable impression he had made elated him — he went to our hotel — indulged in large potations, and kept his room for three or four days. Leonard,[110] a highly intellectual and learned lawyer, but subject to the same frailty, was with him. He told me that about the close of the second day, they were both in bed, neither able to rise, he raised himself on his elbow and groaned aloud "My God how my head does ache" to which the experienced old Philosopher replied "Let it ache, Mr. Leonard, it will ache." He used to come round by Lancaster, that I might go with him to Columbus to the Circuit Court and he would return with me the same way. Generally he was sober, and delightful company, though he would sometimes, as I thought, recount to me adventures entirely fictitious. One morning we left Columbus in a post coach together for Lancaster — he was in a fine humor, full of chat, and interesting narrative, but he evidently had drunk too much and after a while became dull and stupid. We stopped at Lithopolis to dine, and I directed the driver to be at the door with the coach as soon as dinner was over. A bottle of whiskey was set out by his order and he took a draft before dinner. I took the bottle, put it in the bar, locked the door and put the key in my pocket. Before getting into the coach he asked again for the bottle but it was not to be found — the bar door was locked and the key mislaid — after some commotion the bar-keeper came with a sledge hammer, broke the door, brought out the bottle and my excellent old friend indemnified himself fully for the temporary privation. When we reached Lancaster he was very drunk. I left him at Mr. Noble's[111] hotel with directions to send for Doc'r White,

and give him no stimulant unless prescribed by the Doctor, under whose care he so far recovered as to be able to travel next morning. He was several years a member of Congress, where he made one speech which was listened to and much lauded by Mr. Clay; but the habit of intemperance was uncontrollable and it was supposed to have caused his death at last. My poor friend Leonard had a still harder fate — he destroyed his fine intellect by occasional intemperance, and died in an insane asylum. An amusing incident of his life is worth recounting. He was fond of metaphysical studies, and having possessed himself of Kant's "Critique of pure reason"[111½] in the original, he sat down to study it, with no previous knowledge of the German language, with no aids but a grammar & dictionary. He shut himself up in his office and refused to see even his best clients while thus engaged. William Creighton[112] a wagish brother lawyer who knew his occupation and his nervous temperament gave out in market one day that Mr. Leonard was purchasing butter for shipment and paying high prices for it — told the farmers where he was to be found but that they must knock loud as he was hard of hearing.— they went one after another, brought him out by hard knocking and offered him their merchandize till he became furious, and at last in answer to a loud knock he rushed to the door brandishing his poker and swore he would knock the astonished farmer's brains out, if he dared say butter to him once. But he persevered — read Kant in German and understood him generally, wherever Kant understood himself.

Creighton was on the North West frontier an aid to Col. Brush, who lay with his regiment about twenty miles from Detroit when Hull surrendered. This regiment was included in the surrender and a British officer was sent to convey the order and escort them to Detroit, as the whole country was in possession of the Indian allies. Creighton in effect assumed the command — he had the officer blindfolded and held a prisoner till they were prepared to retreat — they then released him — destroyed all their stores except their whiskey — placed that in the most convenient situation for the accommodation of their expected guests — and moved homeward with all practicable

speed. The Indians, as had been anticipated, soon took possession of the deserted camp and their pursuit ended there, in a drunken row.

I was at one time 1823 a candidate for the Legislature — a question was then agitated about changing the mode of taxing lands — it had been according to quality 1st, 2nd, 3rd rates — it was proposed to change this to an ad valorem — taxing land according to value — this it was thought would increase the relative tax of Fairfield County and I was asked by some large holders of valuable land to oppose it. This I declined to do, but replied to them that it was just and I must sustain it — before this there was no doubt of my election, but my rich farmer friends were dissatisfied and interrogated me through the press to which I promptly answered, and was consequently defeated. I never permitted my name to be used for the Legislature or any other office in the gift of the people of the State afterwards until 1830 when a vacancy occurred in the Senate of the U. S. and I signified to Mr. Elias Howell[113] a member from Licking County my wish to be a candidate and he engaged for me the most heartily at once securing the support of Mr. Mornton[114] a Democratic member of Knox County. About this time the Court of Common Pleas sat at Mt. Vernon was largely attended by the Bar and they all united in a determination to urge my election for the Senate though there were two older lawyers there, Mr. Silliman[115] and Harper[116] each of them of standing which would well have entitled him to contest with me for the seat. I give this to illustrate the kindness and good will of my brethren of the Bar. I had no political prestige having never been in public life and having failed in my election the only time I had been a candidate—and being in the then present in a minority in my own county which was largely Democratic. When it came to the election the parties were closely divided — perhaps equally —the Democratic candidate was Uriajah T. Williams,[117] an unobjectionable man. The Whigs were divided between Jeremiah Morrow,[118] an excellent old gentleman who had once served a term in the Senate, Edward King[119] a noble whole souled fellow — who had been several years in the Ohio Legislature, and though not especially profound was a very eloquent

speaker — and myself who was confessedly in the first rank of the legal profession. Of my own party politics King was my most formidable competitor.

A few days before the election my friend Howell came to me and said he had arranged for a caucus of Ohio members to determine on their choice and that I would certainly be nominated. I replied to him, "and as certainly defeated—King thinks that I—a lawyer—have no right to come in and supersede him—an active and efficient Whig politician. He will be dissatisfied and feel himself wronged by the result, and a day's reflection and discussion of the matter with his wife and friends will the more embitter him and them and he, or if not he some one or more of his ardent friends will refuse to vote for me and I shall be defeated. But if you go into the election without further commital and he finds me far in advance of him and when the scattering votes are all given to me, and some of his less decided friends vote for me, though disappointed, his first impulse will be a generous one—he will give me his vote and take care that his few remaining supporters give me theirs." Mr. Howell on my suggestion went and saw the friends with whom he had consulted and they withdrew the proposal for a caucus. When they went into the election I had on the first ballot 31 votes, one of which Mr. Thornhill,[120] a Democrat who would not vote for King. He had 16 one of which was a Democrat who would not vote for me and Mr. Morrow had 4 votes. It required * * * to elect.[121] Mr. Morrow's 4 votes soon fell to me, and King's slowly and gradually until he had but four. He wrote my name on his ticket, held it up and showed it to his friends who were around him. They conformed their votes to his and I was elected but he was next day and for a long time a soured and disappointed man—though afterward we were friends as before.

[It is unfortunate that Mr. Ewing did not continue his narrative, giving his experiences in the United States Senate during one of the most interesting periods of American history—the "reign of Andrew Jackson." These were the days of South Carolina Nullification. The echoes of the Webster-Hayne debate had hardly ceased reverberating through the corridors of the Capitol. (See Note 122.) Such giants as Clay and Benton and Calhoun were at the zenith of power and influence. The people were realizing the consciousness of their power. Matters

were beginning to shape themselves for the new issues, out of which should come the dreadful shock of arms a generation later. Mr. Ewing's characterization of men and issues would have been a decided contribution to the history of that time.

Perhaps the sickness which attacked him in the autumn of 1869 had a great deal to do with the non-completion of his reminiscences. While he was addressing the United States Supreme Court he was suddenly stricken. For several days his life was despaired of. He regained much of his wonted strength and vigor of mind, but old age had come and he quietly breathed his last at Lancaster, where he had been for half a century, her most honored citizen. The date of his death was October 26, 1871.]

Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. March 24, 1912.

REFERENCES.

1. From what Mr. Ewing subsequently states concerning the death and burial of Abel Sherman, the date of writing the Autobiography must have been 1869.

2. The children of Thomas Ewing, six in number, were: Philemon Beecher Ewing, late of Lancaster, Ohio; George Ewing; Ellen B. Ewing, who became the wife of General William T. Sherman; Hugh Boyle Ewing, late of Lancaster, Ohio; Thomas Ewing, once the Democratic candidate for governor of Ohio; Maria, the wife of Colonel Clement F. Steele; and General Charles Ewing.

3. Thomas Ewing, the grandfather of George Ewing, was born in Ireland in 1695, emigrated to Southampton, Long Island, probably in 1718, for in that year he went to Greenwich, West Jersey, then called Cohansey from the stream on which it lay. Here he married Mary Maskell in 1720 and died in February, 1748. His children were: Maskell, Thomas, Mercy, Mary, Samuel, John, Lydia, Joshua, Samuel (2), and James. Two of these were officers in the militia during the revolution. Samuel was a county Judge for a short time in the revolution. Joshua and James are the only ones mentioned in the Journal of George Ewing (1775-1778).

Thomas Ewing, 2d, father of George Ewing, was born Oct. 6 (17), 1722, and died, May 27, 1771, leaving children (living) Dixon, Rachel, (Peck) George, Phebe (later Wid. Ewing) and Sarah (later Wid. Morgan). He married Phebe Sayre, Rachel Dixon and Sarah Vickars, but the children of the two former died in infancy except the second Dixon who was a Tory and disappeared from his home about 1778 probably. Nothing further is known of him. Of the children of Thomas Ewing and Sarah Vickars, Sarah, Hope, Joel, Hannah and Thomas died in infancy. Sarah Vickars Ewing married (2d) William Carle and died in the same year, 1773.

The first Thomas Ewing was deacon and his son Thomas elder in the Presbyterian church at Greenwich. The latter was on the county board for many years, and clerk of the board for some time. He built a house still standing at Greenwich on Bacon's neck road in 1766 or 1767. This was sold by George Ewing when he went to the Ohio river and is now in the possession of a related family. The Peck family was last heard of in the west and Sarah Ewing Morgan shared in the western migration of George Ewing. Phebe married a revolutionary soldier, Remington Ewing, in January, 1784. George Ewing signed the marriage bond. Remington was a grandson of Judge Remmenton and had a brother, William Ewing, both mentioned in Judge Remmenton's will. Remington Ewing and his wife were said to have gone south. There is no record of them after 1794.

George Ewing was born March 18, N S, 1754, as it is entered on the record of the church. He was living in one of his father's houses on November 2, 1767, as the will refers to "twelve acres where George Ewing now resides." This mention and a grant in the will of sixteen acres and some residuary clause are the sole mention of him prior to the revolution, the commencement of his journal, 1775-1778.

"George Ewing, commonly called during his residence in the county, Lieut. Ewing, was, it is believed, the first white settler within the bounds of what is now Ames township. A native of Salem, New Jersey, he entered the continental army at the beginning of the revolutionary war, and served with credit during its whole course. For his bravery and good conduct he received, soon after entering the service, a commission as first lieutenant of the Jersey Line, which position he held till the return of peace. Shortly after the conclusion of the war he emigrated to what is now Ohio county, West Virginia, which was then constituted the very frontier of civilization, and was, with the surrounding region, the scene of many a bloody conflict between the "Long Knives" and the red men. After a few years' residence here he removed with his wife and young family, in 1793, to the Waterford settlement, on the Muskingum river, where he passed a year or two in the block house, until the danger from Indian attacks, then imminent, had passed. In the spring of 1798, Lieutenant Ewing, encouraged and assisted by Judge Cutler, removed his family to a place seventeen miles northwest of the frontier settlements, in what is now Ames township, and became a pioneer of that section of country. He settled on what is now known as the Thomas Gardiner farm. During the period of his residence here he was an active supporter of schools and every means of developing and improving the community. He was chosen township trustee at the first election, in 1802, and in after years filled that position and the office of township clerk. He was fond of reading, possessed a bright and active mind, and a fund of sterling sense, combined with lively wit and good humor. In 1818 he removed to Perry county, Indiana, where

he died about the year 1830." Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio, p. 394. The correct date of George Ewing's death is 1825.

4. He held the rank of Lieutenant. During his service in the Continental Army he kept a Journal, from which the following facts have been gleaned by Wm. C. Ewing:

The journal covers the period from his first enlistment, Nov. 11, 1775 to May 21, 1778. He was then serving as a volunteer lieutenant in Col. Lamb's regiment of artillery with which he continued until after the battle of Monmouth. The journal may have contained later records but if so the pages have been torn out. I do not think it probable that the journal was continued after his marriage in August, 1778, for his subsequent service was in the home militia and the boat companies of Captain Allen serving along the Cumberland and Salem coasts. From the references in the journal I believe that in 1778 his sister Rachel Peck was dead and Phebe and Sarah, aged 16 and 9, made their home with their uncle Joshua Ewing, whose wife, Hannah Harris Ewing, was an aunt of the Rachel Harris whom George Ewing married, August, 1778.

George Ewing occupied his home at Greenwich until 1785, when he sold the property and moved to Ohio county, Virginia, where his second son, Thomas Ewing, was born, December 28, 1789.

His journal shows an enlistment in the company of Capt. Richard Howell, 2d Jersey Regt. for one year; his journey as far as Albany where he was taken sick and left in the home of Philip van Rensselaer where he was kindly taken care of until May, 1776, when he joined Capt. Bloomfield's company of the 3d regiment, with whom he made the Mohawk expedition to Schenectady, the German Flats, the company building Fort Dayton. On October 20, his company marched to Ticonderoga reaching the fort November 1. Here he joined his own regiment and on the 15th, the company was disbanded and he returned to Greenwich by way of Kingston, Florida, Trenton and Philadelphia. He re-enlisted in two days on the news of the seizure of Trenton by the British.

This militia service was under Capt. Daniel Maskell, and he shortly enlisted as sergeant with Capt. John Barker, his term running until April 1, 1777, being discharged with his company April 2; on the 22d, 1777, he recruited for the Third Jersey Regiment of the Continental Line, and on June 5 received his commission as ensign in that regiment. He was in Captain Henion's company and was with the regiment at Amboy, Staten Island, and was in the fight at Brandywine and the subsequent encampment at Valley Forge. Here he took part in Lafayette's enterprise at Barnhill as he called what is now Barren Hill.

He visited his old home that winter and took part in a militia engagement, being absent from Valley Forge from February 4th to March 20th, meanwhile he enlisted some recruits.

On April 28th, 1778, he resigned his commission as ensign and got a discharge from the service. On the 30th he entered as a volunteer in Capt. Randall's company of artillery, Col. Lamb's regiment. That day the news of the recognition of the United States by France and Spain was received in the camp. May poles were erected in every regiment and the next day was spent in a general jollification, and a more formal celebration was made on the 6th of May.

The journal closes with an account of the reconnoisance to Barren Hill under Gen. Lafayette above referred to, in which George Ewing served in the artillery as a volunteer.

5. "Anacreon," a lyric poet of Greece, who lived in the fifth century before Christ. Of his many poems, expressed in light and flowing strains, in praise of wine and beauty, only a few remain. No doubt the poems read by Mrs. Ewing were the odes translated by Thomas Moore, while he was a student in the University of Dublin.

6. This was in 1786.

7. Ohio County, now in West Virginia, is the county in which the city of Wheeling is located.

8. Hugh Ewing in 1867.

8½. The first American Ewing was Thomas Ewing, (1695-1747) married to Mary Maskell (1701-1784). They lived at Greenwich, New Jersey. One of their sons was Thomas Ewing, (1722-1772) whose third wife was Sarah Vickars. They were the parents of George Ewing, (1754-1825), the father of Thomas Ewing. The wife of George Ewing was Rachel Harris.

9. Londonderry in the north of Ireland was one of the Protestant strongholds. It was here in the early summer of 1789 that James II, aided by the King of France, laid siege to the town. The place was stubbornly defended during a period of one hundred and five days, when James retired to the south.

10. The Battle of the Boyne was fought on the river of that name in eastern Ireland, July 12, 1690. The contestants were the forces of James II and William of Orange. The result of that battle was the complete overthrow of James, thus forcing his abdication and establishing the rule of William and Mary. The anniversary of this battle is still celebrated by the Orangemen or Irish Protestants.

11. It is not known what the particular act of valor was. But the sword presented was silver-handled and was in possession of the family in New Jersey. It was stolen by a slave and the handle was melted for the metal.

12. British possession of Detroit and the menacing attitude of the Indians was a source of much disquietude at this period. The settlers were awaiting their entrance into the Northwest Territory. Although Marietta had been settled and the Seven Ranges were open to occupancy, yet there was much uncertainty as to the future of the country. This was a mooted question in the Northwest until after the War of 1812.

13. Short Creek town is on the boundary between Ohio and Brooke counties, West Virginia. Short Creek empties into the Ohio at this place.

14. Among the garrisons then in Ohio might be mentioned Campus Martius, at Marietta; Farmers' Castle, at Belpre, and Fort Frye, at Waterford.

15. Mr. Ewing is in error about some of the details of the massacre at "Round" Bottom. The place is better known as Big Bottom, near Stockport, Morgan County. The site of the massacre is marked by a monument and is owned by the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, a gift from Obadiah Brokaw, the owner of the land. *The date* of the attack was January 2, 1791, instead of Christmas day. There were three saved, but neither of them was an Indian. Mr. Ewing also errs in giving the number in the garrison. There were but fifteen instead of twenty-five. Volume XV of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications gives a detailed account of this massacre. Dr. James Ball Naylor, the novelist, has included this event in his story "In the Days of St. Clair."

16. Olive Green Creek flows into the Muskingum from the east about three and one-half miles above the present town of Beverly. Hildreth states that there were about thirty inhabitants in this garrison: Geo. Ewing, wife and seven children, Ezekiel Hoit (instead of Ezra Hoit, as Mr. Ewing states), wife and children, Abel Sherman, wife and two sons, (instead of three), Ezra Sherman, wife and son, named Abel, Aaron DeLong, wife, son and two daughters, and Matthew Gallant, wife and several children.

17. Wolf Creek flows from the west, into the Muskingum at Waterford. The mill was erected about a mile from the mouth. It was built in the summer of 1789, by Colonel Robert Oliver, Major Haffield, and Captain John Dodge. The mill-stones were procured from Laurel Hill, near Brownsville, Pennsylvania. It is stated that the mill could grind a bushel of corn in four minutes. This was the first mill built in Ohio.

18. In the spring of 1790, another mill was attempted on the Little Hocking about a mile and a half from where it empties into the Ohio River. This would be closer for the Marietta and Belpre people than the one on Wolf Creek. The timbers were prepared, but the Indian War breaking out put a stop to its building and was not resumed until after peace had again come.

The settlers not to be outdone, contrived a "floating mill." This could be anchored out in the river and be comparatively safe from the Indians. The mill was erected on two boats, planked together. The water wheel, propelled by the current of the river, was fastened on one boat while the burrs were in the other. The space between the boats formed a deck. It could grind from twenty-five to fifty bushels

of corn in twenty-four hours, owing to the velocity of the current. The mill was placed in the Ohio near Belpre.

19. Marmontel, an elegant French writer (1723-1799). He studied for the church but turned aside toward literature. His most celebrated book, *Belisaire,* a political romance, excited furious opposition on the part of the clergy, who condemned it as "heretical and blasphemous." There was a dead set-to between the philosophers and the clergy. Pamphlets and caricatures, both pro and con, appeared in great numbers. While this book excited the most comment, yet his reputation as a writer rests on his really best book, his "Elements of Literature."

20. The Waterford garrison to which Mr. Ewing refers is better known as Fort Frye. It was begun a few days after the Massacre at Big Bottom and finished in March of 1791. Its purpose was to afford protection to the settlers of Wolf Creek and those at Waterford. The site selected was on the east side of the Muskingum river about a third of a mile below the present town of Beverly. The fort was triangular in shape, with a block house at each corner. The palisades were twelve feet high. About two weeks after its completion the Indians made an attack, but it was too strongly built, and they soon gave up the attempt.

20½. The following taken from Howe's History of Ohio (1852) is descriptive of life in Olive Green Garrison from another source:

From the communications of one of the early settlers at Olive Green, we annex some facts respecting their privations and the discovery of a salt well.

"The inhabitants had among them but few of what we consider the necessaries and conveniences of life. Brittle wares, such as earthen and glass, were wholly unknown, and but little of the manufactories of steel and iron, both of which were exceedingly dear. Iron and salt were procured in exchange for ginseng and peltry, and carried on pack horses from Ft. Cumberland or Chambersburg. It was no uncommon thing for the garrison to be wholly without salt for months, subsisting upon fresh meat, milk and vegetables, and bread made of corn pounded in a mortar—they did not yet indulge in the luxury of the hand-mill.

"There had been an opinion, founded upon the information of the Indians, that there were salt springs in the neighborhood, but the spot was carefully concealed. Shortly after Wayne's victory, in 1794, and after the inhabitants had left the garrison and gone to their farms, a white man, who had been long a prisoner with the Indians, was released and returned to the settlements. He stopped at Olive Green, and there gave an account of the salt springs and directions for finding them. A party was immediately formed, (of whom George Ewing, Jr., then a lad of 17, was one), who, after an absence of 7 or 8 days, returned, to the great joy of the inhabitants, with about a gallon of salt, which they had made in their camp kettle. This was, as I think, in August, 1795. A supply, though a very small one, was made there that season for the use of the frontier settlement.

"Whether this salt spring was earlier known to the whites I am unable to say. It may have been so to spies and explorers, and perhaps to the early missionaries; but this was the first discovery which was made available to the people." Howe's History of Ohio, p. 511.

The editor secured, through the late Captain Isaac Hook, of Stockport, Morgan County, in 1905, a kettle that had been used by the salt boilers at Chandlersville. This relic was presented by Mr. Hook to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society and is now in the museum of that organization.

The "Notes of Ephraim Cutler" contain some additional interesting information concerning the pioneer manufacture of salt.

Salt Making in 1797.

"Soon after I settled at Waterford, Lieutenant George Ewing, (father of Hon. Thomas Ewing), informed me that he had discovered a salt spring that had furnished salt for the Indians. We were often visited by numbers of Wyandotts and Shawnees who came to sell wild meat and furs, and one of these had given to Mr. Ewing such information that he, with two or three other men, went in search of the spring and succeeded in finding the place. It was in the wilderness, nearly forty miles from us, on Salt Creek, where Chandlersville, Muskingum County, is now situated.

"The article of salt was extremely difficult to procure. Nearly all the salt consumed west of the Alleghanies was brought over the mountains on pack-horses. The price was seldom less than five, and was sometimes seven and eight dollars a bushel. People sent to Marietta to purchase it by the quart or gallon. It was not only excessively dear, but scarce and hard to be obtained; and our means of realizing money were very limited. When the springs were discovered a public meeting was called, and a "Salt-Spring Company" was formed from the settlements at Olive Green, Wolf Creek Mills, Cat's Creek, and Waterford, for the purpose of making salt. They were divided into four classes, bearing the names of these places, and at stated times they relieved each other in the work. We took possession of the spring, cleaned it out, set the large iron kettles, which we had for making sugar, into arches, and began boiling the water for salt. It was a slow, tedious process. During a week of hard work four men could make about six bushels. We succeeded, however, in making a full supply for the several settlements represented in the company, and had some to spare. Afterwards when our conveniences were improved we could, by our best efforts, make five bushels a day; and it was a great relief to the whole country. We sold it at two dollars for fifty pounds.

"When Zane's road across the country from Wheeling, Virginia, to Maysville, Kentucky, which had been authorized by Congress in 1796, was opened through the forest and made passable for pack-horses, the

inhabitants of the settlements near St. Clairsville, cut out a path from this road after it crossed Will's Creek, to come to the Salt Works; and we cut one through the woods to Zanesville, where Messrs. McCulloch and Crooks with their families had made a settlement, and frequently travelers would leave Zane's road, take the track of the Salt-Works, and thus we often had company in our cabin for a night.

"I was often up with parties to make salt, and had at one time in my company a lively little Frenchman named Peter Noblaise, who came from France with the Gallipolis French. One evening two gentlemen called and requested our hospitality for the night. They appeared to be foreigners, but spoke English well. Peter soon discovered that our visitors were Frenchmen, and after we had collected in our cabin, he and one of them became very loquacious in their native tongue. Being a good singer, Peter commenced the Marseilles hymn, and sang several other French airs, in which he was joined by one or both of the strangers. The other man, who was a person of fine figure and engaging manners, confined his conversation mostly to me; asking many minute questions about the Ohio Company and the settlers at Marietta, and especially the French at Gallipolis. We conversed until after midnight, when I gave him my bunk and bearskin for a bed. The next morning on departing he thanked us in the most cordial manner for our entertainment, as they were about to start, the one who had talked with Peter took him aside and told him we had entertained the Duke of Orleans." (Afterward Louis Philippe, king of France.)

21. The burial-ground has, too, become a thing of the past. Some years since, the bodies were all removed. That of Abel Sherman was taken to a small cemetery below Beverly and re-interred. The rude stone described by Mr. Ewing was again placed at the head of the grave, and can be yet seen. It is still in a good state of preservation. The epitaph plainly legible, reads:

"Here lyes the body of Abel Sherman who fell by the hand of the Savage on the 15th of August, 1794, and in the 50th year of his age."

22. This was the Rev. Nathaniel Harris of Trenton, N. J., where he was interested in the Academy. His wife was Mrs. Catherine (Cox) Stockton, widow of Samuel Nitham Stockton and daughter of Col. John Cox of New Jersey. Their one child was Rev. Nathaniel Sayre Harris, an Episcopal minister, who died in New York in the '80s.

Rev. Harris must have come out to help put down the Whisky Rebellion in Western Pennsylvania. Although the date of that event does not coincide with the one given by Mr. Ewing. There were New Jersey Militia in service at that time.

23. George Ewing, Jr., a brother of Thomas Ewing, was born at Greenwich, New Jersey, March 11, 1779. He married Hannah Boyls, August 19, 1809, in Ames township, Athens county, Ohio. In May, 1818, he removed to Perry county, Indiana, where the wife died August

12, 1848, and the husband, November 29th of the following year. George Ewing was uneducated, but an excellent man and a great hunter.

24. "At Sandusky" is probably a little misleading. Crawford was burned on Tymochtee Creek in what is now Salem township, Wyandot county. Lang, in his History of Seneca county, does not seem to think as Mr. Ewing suggested that perhaps Girty did not "dare" to aid Crawford. Lang states that when Crawford, in his agony, asked Girty to shoot him, the latter "tauntingly replied that he had no gun."

25. George Girty had been a disbursing agent at the Shawanese towns during the Revolution. In the disastrous defeat of Col. Lochry, near the mouth of the Great Miami, August 24, 1781, he was with the Indians in the battle. Lang says he "was adopted by the Delawares, became a ferocious monster and died in a dunken fit."

26. George White-Eyes was the son of "White-Eyes," a Delaware chief, who lived the most of his life on the upper Muskingum. He was a friend to the Americans during the Revolutionary War. He was made a colonel on the staff of Gen. McIntosh and was present with the forces when Ft. Laurens in Tuscarawas County, was erected. It was here on August 10, 1778, that it is said he was treacherously killed, although this is a disputed point. The son was sent by Colonel George Morgan, the Indian agent at Pittsburg, to be educated at Princeton. He came into considerable property at his father's death. It is stated that "he was a degenerate and soon squandered his means in debauchery." He was killed by William Carpenter, Jr., on May 27, 1798, in Jefferson County. The trial of Carpenter and his father, as abettor, was the first to be held in Jefferson County. An interesting account of this trial is to be found in Vol. VI, p. 227, of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications.

Dr. Hildreth does not agree with Mr. Hunter as to the place of George White-Eyes' education: "In the fall of that year (1790) young George White-Eyes, a son of the Delaware chief of that name, passed through Marietta on his way home to his tribe, he having been educated at Dartmouth College, by the United States, as a token of respect for his father, who was always a friend of the whites." Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley.

27. Abigail Ewing was the second child of George Ewing. She went to Indiana with the family. Her husband's name was Brown. A son, Ewing S. Brown, was once a student at Marietta College. He went to Mississippi and died in the Confederate service. Abigail died shortly after the Civil War.

28. Thomas Dilworth was an Englishman, who died in 1780. He was the author of several books,—"The Book-Keeper's Assistant," "The School-Master's Assistant," "Authentic Compendium of Arithmetic," "A New Guide to the English Tongue."

In America no school books were imported in any quantity until the publication of this book in 1740. It was the most popular speller

of the eighteenth century. A portrait of Dilworth with a scholastic cap on his head and a pen in his hand served for a frontispiece; and in truth, as the greatest school-book author of his time, he was not unworthy of the honor. The spelling words were interspersed with much religious reading and dismal moralizing, but as an offset to this matter, there was "A select Number of Fables adorned with proper sculptures." Johnson's "Old Time Schools and School Books."

29. *"Great and manifold* were the blessings, most dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the father of all mercies, bestowed upon the people of *England,* where first he sent Your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us." The first sentence in the dedication.

30. Isaac Watts, (1674-1748), English hymn writer, published three volumes of psalms and hymns. Many of his verses are still retained in church collections. Some of the best known are his "Before Jehovah's Awful Throne," "Joy to the World, the Lord has Come," and "Come Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove." He is the author of one of the most beautiful "cradle hymns" in the English language, "Hush, My Dear, Lie Still and Slumber."

31. John Flavel, 1627-91, an English non-conformist, who, under the act of uniformity, was ejected from his pastorate. After the fall of the Stuarts he was minister of a non-conformist church at Dartmouth. His works were popular for a long time.

32. Rachel Ewing married William Thomas. They lived in Indiana.

33. The Northern Raven, now scarcely ever seen in Ohio, but in the pioneer days they were more plentiful. They mostly frequented desolate and uninhabited places. The cutting of the forests in the state has driven them away.

33½. Captain Morgan had married Sarah Ewing. Mrs. Morgan in her later life lived near Urbana, Ohio, with her niece, Hannah Harris Ewing.

34. The Fool of Quality; or, the History of Henry, Earl of Moreland, was written by Henry Brooke, (1708-83).

It dealt with the education of an ideal nobleman. The hero is brought up by an uncle, who gives him unlimited means for relieving poverty, etc. The personal history of this quixotic young man is completely overshadowed by the frequent homilies and dissertations on politics, morals and social amelioration; the theology is that of Brooke's future editor, Charles Kingsley—the identity of Goodness and God. (Edited by Kingsley, abridged and with biographical preface, highly eulogistic, and printed in 1873.)

35. Little Hocking is a stream entering the Ohio River near Belpre in Washington County.

36. Federal Creek is a stream of some importance, emptying into the Great Hock-Hocking east of Athens, in Rome township, Athens County.

36½. Under date of July 3, 1871, Mr. Ewing in a letter to the Athens County Pioneer Association, which held a Fourth of July celebration at Amesville, gave some reminiscences of his early experiences.

"In the spring of 1803, my father removed his family to a small farm seven miles southeast on the Marietta road. In this I am not mistaken, as I made record of the date on the bark of a beech-tree, which I have seen often since. I remained on the Amestown farm, to go to school and help my brother take care of the stock. Judge Walker came in November of that year, and occupied the principal cabin, and such of our family as remained, a smaller one the other side of the little run. I was reading a library-book — The Children of the Abbey — and had got together a good supply of hickory bark to make me a light, and I rose an hour or two before day, and sat on a stool by the fire reading. Henry Bartlett, Esq., who happened with us that night, came and sat also, and asked to look at my book. I handed it to him, and, as he returned it, it fell open on the fire, and scorched and spotted several of the leaves. By the rules of the library, there was a fine for every spot, and, in counting over the injury in fips and levies, I found myself a bankrupt boy. However, I took the book to the next library meeting, explained the misfortune, and the Board very kindly remitted the fines. If the volume (I think it was the second) be still in being, it must bear the marks of the adventure.

"I remember a rural scene of the summer of 1800, simple and childish, but illustrative of a fact in history. Mrs. Brown had a handsome little tomato-plant of the small, round kind, which was then called love-apple. It was not known among us as an article of food until several years after the French inhabitants of St. Domingo had been driven from the island and took refuge on our shores, and then its use extended slowly. On the day named, children of the two families were at play in Mrs. Brown's garden, when suddenly the alarm was raised, and ran through the little group, that Apphia Brown had eaten a love-apple. We sped with the fearful intelligence to the grown-up people, who did not partake of our alarm, and it passed off without a catastrophe. It was many years later when I first saw the tomato used on our tables as an esculent.

"For many years, we had no post-office nearer than Athens; but my father's little farm, on the Marietta road was passed once a week by a mail carried on horse-back between Clarksburg, Virginia, and Chillicothe — one week east, the next week west. I always took care to be on hand when the mail passed. It was carried by a boy of sixteen or seventeen — John Davis — who became my intimate friend; and I fed his horse, and mother gave him supper and a bed with me by the fire, as a reward for the news he brought us. I have often sat up till ten o'clock listening for his horn; he was very punctual with his satchel of

"'News from all nations, lumbering at his back'."

I am indulging in trifles, but,

"'These little things are great to little man,' and I write as I would talk with you if present. I wish all our assembled friends many happy returns of this glorious day.

"I am, very respectfully, yours,

"T. Ewing."

Memoir of Thomas Ewing of Ohio, p. 224.

37. The Ewing farm was located about a mile from the present village of Amesville, in Athens County.

37½. "My brother was engaged in making some bedsteads. He had already finished a table, in the manufacture of which he had used also an adze to smooth the plank, which he split in good width from straight grained trees. Transportation was exceedingly difficult, and our furniture, of the rudest kind, composed of articles of the first necessity. Our kitchen utensils were "the big kettle," "the little kettle," the bake oven, frying pan, and pot; the latter had a small hole in the bottom which was mended with a button, keyed with a nail through the eye on the outside of the pot. We had no table furniture that would break — little of any kind. Our meat — bear meat, or raccoon, with venison or turkey, cooked together and seasoned to the taste (a most savory dish) — was cut up in morsels and placed in the centre of the table, and the younger members of the family, armed with sharpened sticks, helped themselves about as well as with fourtined forks; great care was taken in selecting wholesome sticks, as sassafras, spicebush, hazel, or hickory. Sometimes the children were allowed, by way of picnic to cut with the butcherknife from the fresh bear meat and venison their slices and stick them, alternately, on a sharpened spit and roast before a fine hickory fire; this made a most royal dish. Bears, deer, and raccoons remained in abundance, until replaced by herds of swine. The great west would have settled slowly without corn and hogs. A bushel of seed wheat will produce, at the end of ten months, fifteen or twenty bushels; a bushel of corn, at the end of five months, four hundred bushels, and it is used to much advantage for the last two months. Our horned cattle do not double in a year; hogs, in the same time, increase twenty fold. It was deemed almost sacrilege to kill a sheep, and I remember well the first beef I tasted. I thought it coarse and stringy compared with venison. We had wild fruits of several varieties, very abundant, and some of them exceedingly fine." Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio, p. 396.

38. The service-berry, or as it is more commonly known in southern Ohio by its colloquialisms "sarvis" or "June-berry," was very plentiful all through that section of the state.

39. Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755), a French writer best known and remembered for his great work, representing twenty years of toil, "The Spirit of Laws." Twenty-two editions were published in

eighteen months, and it was translated into several European languages. The purpose of the book was to show the relationship between the laws of different countries and their local and social circumstances.

40. This method of gathering wild fruit was always prevalent in southern Ohio. Not only were the service trees felled, but even chestnut trees and the trees upon which the wild grape grew, were frequently cut down. It was not uncommon for "coon hunters" to chop down a large oak tree for the purpose of getting a coon skin. The tree would often be permitted to decay.

41. Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield" had appeared in 1766. It was the first novel of domestic life in the English language and it "soon made its way into every castle and peasant's hut in England." It is significant that it should be read in a pioneer home in the woods of Ohio at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

42. Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), was the first prime minister of England, as we accept the meaning of that office today. While he was a Whig, he was vigorously assailed by another faction of that party which eventually brought about his political undoing. His policy was that of peace; he could hardly be drawn into war. For years the English Jingoes tried to precipitate a Spanish war, and finally Walpole could resist the popular clamor no longer. The war that followed is that of the Spanish Succession.

43. Mr. Ewing had the situation well in mind. Admiral Hosier had been sent to the coast of Panama, as a sort of blind. No doubt Walpole's orders were not to make an attack. This was in 1726-27. Admiral Vernon in Parliament had made his boast that he could capture Porto Bello with six ships. In 1739 he made the attack with the loss of but seven men.

In the middle of March the news arrived of Vernon's capture of Porto Bello. It was not enough to exalt this somewhat minor success into a great national victory. It was converted into party capital. The two houses of parliament voted thanks; congratulatory addresses poured in upon the king; medals were struck showing Vernon's head with the legend: "He took Porto Bello with six ships." In this legend lay the sting which the opposition, who claimed the hero of the hour as their peculiar property, applied to Walpole. Admiral Hosier at the head of twenty ships, had ventured no further than to establish a blockade of Porto Bello which had cost the country, besides the life of the admiral himself, the lives of 4,000 men. The inference was clear. The naval strength of the country had been sapped by Walpole's pusillanimity.

44. The title of the ode is "Admiral Hosier's Ghost." It was written in 1739 by Richard Glover (1712-1785), an anti-Walpole political writer, who expressed the popular opinion that Walpole was truckling to Spain. While the ballad itself seems to malign Vernon, yet its purpose was to injure the prime minister. The ballad is to the effect that after the success of Porto Bello, when Vernon and his men were cele-

brating their victory, suddenly from out the sea came hideous yells and shouts. Troops of ghosts arose from beneath the waves, with Admiral Hosier in the lead.

Hosier is the spokesman. He tells how he and his men are undone by the action of the home government, and how it would have been better for him to have disobeyed and lost his life on the scaffold, rather than to meet such a dishonorable death. He closes with an appeal of vengeance for his ruin.

45. James Thomson (1700-1748) an English poet, not read a great deal any more. His first poem to attract attention was *Winter* (1725). Two years later the *Summer,* from Which Mr. Ewing quotes, appeared. Thomson in describing the region of perpetual summer, where the climatic influence is "casting down the towering hopes and all the pride of man."

46. After diligent search and inquiry on the part of the editor, neither the author nor the ballad on the Capture of Quebec were ascertained.

47. The editor has been unable to learn anything concerning the "Monody" on the death of Wolfe.

48. The assistance rendered Zeus, when the Titans made war against Olympus, by Briareus and his brothers is an instance of the first reference.

Later Briareus, Typhon and Euceladus opposed father Zeus. They were finally subdued and buried alive under Mount Etna, where they still sometimes struggle to get loose and shake the whole island with earthquakes.

49. Sakuntala, the daughter of a King and a heavenly nymph, is discovered with her friends by King Dushyanta who instantly falls in love with her and marries her. The King is suddenly recalled to his court and during his absence a Brahmin's curse falls upon Sakuntala, which causes the King to forget his love. But if she wears his ring she will recover his affection when meeting him. But her ring is lost in a pool on the way. By a miracle she is wafted to heaven. A fisherman finds the lost ring in the body of a fish and he restores it to the King, whereupon the enchantment is removed and he bewails his loss. Years elapse and the King is called to heaven where he aids the gods in their war with the giants. When he returns, he rides in India's Chariot. Alighting on a lofty mountain he sees a child playing with a lion. It is his and Sakuntala's child and through it, he and his wife are reunited. Sir William Jones and Sir Monier Williams have made excellent translations of this drama. The author is Kalidasa.

50. The editor must plead ignorance relative to this Scottish legend.

51. Capt. Benjamin Brown, one of the most prominent among the early settlers of Ames, was born October 17, 1745, at Leicester, Massachusetts. His grandfather, William Brown, came from England to

America while a youth, was the first settler in the town of Hatfield, on the Connecticut river, and was often engaged in the Indian wars of that period. In February, 1775, Benjamin Brown, then thirty years old, joined a regiment of minute men, and two months later was engaged in active hostilities. In May he was commissioned a lieutenant in Colonel Prescott's regiment of the Massachusetts line, and in June participated in the battle of Bunker's Hill. In January, 1777, Lieut. Brown was commissioned a captain in the eighth regiment Massachusetts line. His regiment took a very active part in the operations directed against Burgoyne during the summer of 1777, and Capt. Brown was engaged in nearly all of the battles that preceded Burgoyne's surrender, in some of which he particularly distinguished himself by his gallantry and daring. A short time after this he was offered the position of aide-de-camp on Baron Steuben's staff, but declined it, fearing that his military knowledge was inadequate. In 1779, compelled by the necessities of his family and other personal reasons, he resigned his commission and returned home to provide for their support. About the year 1789 he removed with his family to Hartford, Washington county, New York, then a new settlement, when he again migrated in the fall of 1796, and sought a home in the northwestern territory. He reached Marietta in the spring of 1797, and in 1799 came to Ames township, in company with Judge Cutler. He was one of the prominent citizens during the time he resided in Ames, holding various township offices, and contributing largely to the advancement of the settlement. In 1817, his health becoming feeble, he went to live with his son, Gen. John Brown, in Athens, and here he died in October, 1821.

His wife, whom he married in Massachusetts in 1772, and who bore him a large family of children, died at Athens in 1840, aged eighty-six years. Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio, p. 404.

52. The facts concerning the time and place of publication of the Athenean Oracle have not been available.

53. Mr Ewing's account agrees in a general way with the facts that led up to the successful inoculation of James Phipps in 1796. Vaccination was first practiced in America three years later.

54. Ephraim Cutler (1767-1853) was born at Edgarton, Martha's Vineyard, Mass. He was the son of Dr. Manasseh Cutler. He came to Ohio in 1795 and lived a few years in Ames Township, Athens County, and afterwards removed to Washington County, where he spent the remainder of his life. He was appointed by the first territorial legislature one of seven Commissioners to lease all the ministerial and school sections in the Ohio Company's lands. In 1802 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention and secured the adoption of the provision which imposed upon the General Assembly the obligation to "encourage schools and the means of instruction." In that Convention he voted alone on the motion that it was now expedient to form a state government. His vote was in the negative. In 1819 he was elected a

member of the General Assembly of Ohio. Here he served on important educational committees. In 1823 Mr. Cutler was elected Senator. He was a member of the School Committee, and it was largely through his influence that the Common School System of Ohio was established. The first school ever taught in his neighborhood near Marietta was in a room of his own house.

55. Morse's American Geography was first published in 1789. Its author was Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826) of Charlestown, Mass. He was a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale. He published quite a series of geographies and gazetteers. Some of his books were published in England and were translated into both French and German. His Geography was popular, running through many editions. The copy owned by the Dover branch of the "Coon-Skin Library" is now in the possession of the Ohio University Museum. It is the eighteenth edition and was published in 1816. Johnson's "Old Time School and School Books" contains a very full description of this "First American Geography."

56. No poet by the name of Casimer has been found. Casimer was the name of many Polish princes and kings. Might not the general name of the king, by which Sobieski might have been known, become interchanged so that the hero and author were confused?

57. John Sobieski, (1624-96) King of Poland (1674-96), with his brothers undertook to restore the fortunes of their country. John distinguished himself and became not only the admiration of his countrymen, but also the dread of the Tartars and Cossacks. In 1673 he defeated the Turks in the battle of Choczim. This victory made him King of Poland. When the Turks besieged Vienna, Sobieski came to the rescue, compelled the raising of the siege, captured the Mohammedan standard and sent it as a trophy to the Pope.

58. Naturalists would hardly agree with Mr. Ewing, when he says that the bear was fat after his winter's hibernation, yet Joseph Bobo, a pioneer of Lodi township, Athens county, says in Walker's History that bears were always fat when they came out in the spring.

59. The name of the author of this translation was not attainable by the editor.

60. Linscott is a familiar family name yet in Athens county. It is spelled sometimes with one t and again with two.

61. The editor is unable to find any historic account of the "taking of Lewiston." The local historians of the place know nothing about it. It is more than likely that Mr. Ewing meant the Siege of Louisburg, which occurred in 1745.

62. "The sheep and the goats perish with the cold and the cattle stand around in great hulks, encased in a frosty cover.

"The deer huddled together are numb under the fresh deep snowfall. When so burdened, hunters do not chase them with unleashed hounds, or frighten them into pitfalls between the red feathered lines."

63. Mr. Walker in his History of Athens County makes Moses Everett a graduate of Harvard. He was the son of Rev. Moses Everett of Dorchester, Massachusetts.

64. "In 1803 the inhabitants of Ames assembled in public meeting to consider the subject of roads, which, having been disposed of, the intellectual wants of the settlement became a topic of discussion. They were entirely isolated and remote from established schools and libraries, and felt keenly the necessity of providing some means for their own and their children's mental improvement. The establishment of a library was suggested, and all agreed that this was the readiest way to meet the case, provided funds could be raised and the books obtained." Walker's History of Athens County, page 367.

"In this great scarcity of money the purchase of books for a library seemed like an impossibility; but the subject was canvassed by the meeting, and it was resolved to attempt it. Before the end of the year, by dint of economy, and using every ingenious device to procure necessary funds, a sum of money was raised. Some of the settlers were good hunters, and, there being a ready cash market for furs and skins, which were bought by the agents of John Jacob Astor and others, these easily paid their subscriptions. At all events, the movement was successful, and the money was paid in. Esquire Samuel Brown was just ready to make a business trip to New England. He was going in a light wagon, and took with him a quantity of bear skins and other furs, which he designed exchanging in Boston for such goods as were needed in the settlement. The money was placed in his hands, and he was deputed to make the first purchase of books for the embryo library — the first in Ohio. He was furnished with letters to the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris (a gentleman of education and note, who had visited the western country a short time before), and the Rev. Dr. Cutler, who accompanied Mr. Brown to Boston and selected a valuable collection of books." *Id.* page 368.

The original record of the association is entitled "Laws and regulations of the Western library association, founded at Ames, February 2, 1804." The preamble to the articles sets forth that, "considering the many beneficial effects which social libraries are calculated to produce in societies where they are established, as a source both of rational entertainment and instruction, we, the subscribers, wishing to participate in those blessings, agree to form ourselves into a society for this purpose, under the title of the Western library association, in the town of Ames. Furthermore, at a meeting of the said association, at the house of Christopher Herrold, on Thursday, the 2d of February, 1804, agreed that the following articles be adopted as the rules of the society." The shares were $2.50 each, and each share paid a tax of twenty-five cents a year. Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio, p. 369.

December 17th, 1804, a meeting of the shareholders was held at the house of Silvanus Ames, and Ephraim Cutler was elected librarian. It was also "voted to accept fifty-one books, purchased by Samuel Brown." At the annual meeting held at the house of Ephraim Cutler, January 7th, 1805, the committee reported that they "have received pay for thirty-two shares, amounting to $82.50, of which they have laid out $73.50 for books." For this year Benjamin Brown, Ephraim Cutler and Daniel Weethee were elected the committee of managers, and Ephraim Cutler librarian. "Voted that the thanks of this association be transmitted, post paid, to the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, for his assistance rendered in the selection and purchase of the books which constitute our library." The list of this first purchase of books contains "Robertson's North America," "Harris' Encyclopedia," 4 volumes; "Morse's Geography," 2 volumes; "Adams' Truth of Religion;" "Goldsmith's Works," 4 volumes; "Evelina," 2 volumes; "Children of the Abbey," 2 volumes; "Blair's Lectures;" "Clark's Discourses;" "Ramsey's American Revolution," 2 volumes; "Goldsmith's Animated Nature," 4 volumes; "George Barnwell;" "Camilla," 3 volumes; "Playfair's History of Jacobinism," 2 volumes; "Beggar Girl," 3 volumes, etc. Later purchases included "Shakespeare;" "Don Quixote;" "Locke's Essays," "Scottish Chiefs," "Josephus," "Smith's Wealth of Nations," "Spectator," "Plutarch's Lives," "Arabian Nights," "Life of Washington," etc. Page 370.

The library received additions from time to time, until there were finally accumulated several hundred volumes — a considerable library for the place and period. Many years later it was divided, and part taken to Dover township (where some of the original stockholders lived), where it formed the nucleus of another library, which was incorporated by an act of the legislature, passed December 21, 1830. Walker's History of Athens County, page 373.

65. Samuel Brown, brother of John and nephew of Capt. Benjamin Brown, a native of Massachusetts, came to the northwestern territory in 1797, and settled with his family on "Round Bottom," on the Muskingum river. In the year 1800 he bought a piece of land on Sunday creek, within the limits of Ames township as soon after defined, but in the present township of Dover. In 1805 he returned to Washington county (having sold his farm on Sunday creek), and opened a new farm about eight miles west of Marietta. He lived here till 1835, when he took up his residence with his son-in-law, Mr. James Dickey, at whose house he died January 15, 1841.

65½. At an exhibition given at the close of the term taught by Mr. Cutler, the children recited dialogues or other pieces committed for the occasion. Thomas Ewing and John Brown spoke the dialogue of Brutus and Cassius, from Shakespeare.

A younger brother of Ephraim Cutler, a graduate of Harvard and

not of Yale. The school was taught in a room of Ephraim Cutler's house.

66. Timothy Jones, a native of Rhode Island, was born of wealthy parents, graduated at Brown University, became a lawyer and also a graduate of medicine, and held a high social position in Providence, Rhode Island, where he lived. In 1805, when near fifty years old, his wife having died, he relinquished the comforts of settled life and removed to Ohio. He arrived in Rome township, Athens county, in that year and buried himself in the forests of Federal creek. He was a man of considerable scientific research. During the revolutionary war he obtained the first premium, offered by the legislature of Massachusetts, for the manufacture of saltpeter. Dressed in the garb of a pioneer working on his farm on Federal creek, he presented to those who knew his history and character an interesting study. An aged citizen of Rome, who knew Dr. Jones, says, "in the forest he was a hunter—in the log cabin parlor a perfect Chesterfield." Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio, p. 508.

Jones married a daughter of Ebenezer Barrows, who had been a soldier in the French and Indian War. Walker's History of Athens County, p. 509.

67. The Indian Mound can still be seen about a mile from the village of Stewart, in Berne Township, Athens County. The grave is yet visible.

68. Pasquinade, a lampoon or satirical writing.

69. James Ross, of a family various members of which were prominent in colonial and revolutionary affairs, was a courtly gentleman of the olden times. He was an intense and uncompromising partisan in his support of Adams and the Federal party, and was for many years the recognized leader of Pennsylvania federalism. It was the great ambition of his life to become governor of Pennsylvania, an ambition which was never gratified, although he appeared before the people as a candidate three times.

Thomas Mifflin, the first Governor of the State under the Constitution of 1790, held office for three consecutive three-year terms without serious opposition. During his third term, however, political differences between the Federalists and the followers of Jefferson became very violent. When he retired, in 1799, James Ross became the candidate of the Federalists and Thomas McKean of the Jeffersonians for the gubernatorial office.

The campaign which followed was the most violent the State had yet known. Personalities and abuse of the respective candidates figured largely in the contest. In a total of 71,000 votes, McKean obtained a majority of a little over 5000. Very singularly, the principal topic of acrimonious discussion during the campaign was not any matter of policy connected with our own internal affairs but a question of sympathy

with England and France respectively in the great wars then being waged on the European continent.

Three years later Ross was again a candidate against McKean. But McKean, from the first, had pursued an aggressive policy, letting the axe fall relentlessly on all officials suspected of Federalism. By this he had so disintegrated the Federal party of the State that Ross received but a little over 7000 votes in a total poll of 66,000. Ross had the mortification of falling nearly 2000 votes below another Federal candidate, also named James Ross, who, by way of distinction, was called "James Ross, of Pittsburg," in the annals of that day.

Ross did not appear in the field when McKean was elected to a third term, but, three years after that, when Simon Snyder was the Jeffersonian candidate for Governor, Ross once more appealed to the Federalists to rally around him, but Pennsylvania had become a rock-ribbed Jeffersonian State and the result at the polls was:

Snyder	67,975
Ross	39,575

70. Thomas McKean (1734-1817), admitted to the bar 1777 and a member of the State Assembly, 1762-79. Member of Continental Congress from 1774 to 1783. In 1781 was president of that body. From 1777 to 1799 he was Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and resigned to accept the governorship, which he held until 1808. He was the author of the Delaware Constitution.

71. Since there were only thirty-five members of the first Constitutional Convention, there were but about five in the class "moderate and inclining to rational principles." It is not difficult to discover who the "rationals" were by an analysis of the vote. Yet Mr. Cutler voted with the majority twenty-four times and with the minority nineteen times.

72. The reasons for the "feeble executive" are easily discoverable. Under the Territorial form of government the people of Ohio had been denied the right of self-government; Governor Arthur St. Clair had freely and often arbitrarily used the veto power. Besides, the democratic doctrines of Jefferson had found fertile soil among the pioneers of the West. These things prompted the convention to make of the Governor "a name almost without a meaning" and subsequently to cause Governor Tom Corwin to affirm that his only duties were "signing notaries' commissions and pardoning horse thieves."

73. *The American Friend* was published at Marietta from 1813 till 1833. Its editor was David Everett, a brilliant writer. But when Mr. Ewing saw the advertisement, it was known as the *Ohio Register and Virginia Herald*. The paper was established in 1801 and was published under the above name until 1810, when it was changed to the *American Spectator*.

74. Ossian, a Celtic warrior-poet, is said to have lived in the third century. James Macpherson, a Highland schoolmaster, published in 1760 some literary fragments, which purported to be translations of the Gaelic verse of Ossian. They at once became popular. Their genuineness has been attacked, much to the detriment of Macpherson's posthumous literary reputation. Macpherson, as Mr. Ewing indicates, fared well. He held many lucrative official positions, sat in Parliament, and retired to an estate with a pension.

75. Thomas Chatterton (1752-1770), the most unique genius in English letters, died with his own hands at the boyhood age of eighteen. Yet in these few years he succeeded in perpetrating a series of high-handed forgeries, purporting to be ancient manuscripts. He nearly succeeded in trapping the wily Walpole. During the last few months of his life his literary productions were prodigous in amount. One of the most beautiful of his passages is the lament in Aella. His ode to Liberty in *The Tragedy of Godwin* is considered especially fine in its imagery.

76. *The Amber Witch* (Die Bernstein Hexe), a novel by Johann Wilhelm Meinhard (1797-1851), a German litterateur.

77. The excess of the solar month above the lunar month or the solar year above the lunar year. The Annual Epact is eleven days, the difference between 365 and 354.

78. The Kanawha Salt Works were located at Malden, a few miles from the present capital of West Virginia.

79. The Ohio University at Athens had opened for the reception of students June 1, 1809.

80. The comet of 1811 is one of the most celebrated of modern times. It was discovered on March 26 of that year and was last seen on August 17, 1812. In the autumnal months of 1811 it shone very conspicuously, and owing to its great northern declination, remained visible throughout the whole night for many weeks. The extreme length of its tail was about 25 degrees and the width about 6 degrees. The diameter of the nucleus was 428 miles. It was of a reddish hue, while the nebulous portion had a bluish-green tinge. It is conjectured to be a periodical comet whose orbit permits it to make its appearance every 3065 years.

81. Note the different spellings. Washington in his Journal spelled it Kanhawa. The word is Indian and means *the river of the woods.* It is now spelled Kanawha.

82. No account of Harriet Boone has been discovered by the editor.

83. The Wild Irish Girl was a romance written by Lady Morgan (Miss Sidney Owenson), (1783-1859).

84. The War of 1812 was then in progress.

85. Alexander Adam (1741-1809), Scotch writer; student at the University of Edinburgh; became rector of High School at Edinburgh.

Was a popular teacher; among his students were Sir Walter Scott, Lord Brougham and Jeffrey. His first publication was his Principles of Latin and English Grammar (1772). This was severely criticized because it was written in English. He wrote other books of a classical nature, but his best work was his Roman Antiquites (1791).

86. Queenstown Heights was on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, between the Falls and Lake Ontario. Here on the thirteenth of October, 1812, troops under General Van Rensselaer attacked the British under General Brock. The attack was successful. General Brock himself lost his life and six hundred American troops held the Heights. In the afternoon a large body of British came to re-capture the lost field and General Van Rensselaer hastened to bring over the New York militia, stationed at Lewiston, on the American side. These brave (?) soldiers refused to move. They appealed to the ever-ready slogan of "states' rights" and the victory of the morning was changed to defeat. This attitude of the militia and the Federalist party is clearly indicated in Mr. Ewing's verses.

87. Fort Meigs was built by General William H. Harrison in the winter of 1812-13 on the right bank of the Maumee. The fort occupied about ten acres of ground and was well constructed. Generals Procter and Tecumseh in the late summer of 1813, with a band of English and Indians, tried to reduce it, but without success.

88. Malden, a British fort on the Canadian side of the Detroit River, was the headquarters of the British army during the War of 1812.

89. Augustin de Iturbide was Emperor of Mexico from 1783-1824.

90. The horse's hoofs strike the mellow plain with a galloping sound.—Virgil's Aeneid. Book VIII, line 595.

91. Rev. Jacob Lindley, the first President of the Ohio University, serving from 1808 until 1822.

92. "In 1814-15, the county was visited by a terrible epidemic designated then as the 'cold plague.' I recall with painful emotions the events of that period. My father had, from increasing infirmities, almost wholly retired from the practice of his profession, and I had succeeded in some measure to his business. Thus it fell to my lot in connection with my professional brethren to participate in the warfare against this dreadful disease. The leading physicians of the county at that time were Dr. Ezra Walker, of Ames, and Dr. Leonard Jewett, of Athens, both of them very skillful practitioners. The disease was not confined to the western regions; indeed it originated in New England, and had, in many instances, baffled the efforts of the best physicians there. We all labored intensely during the winter, and I am forced to confess in my own case that I had but little success. The disease raged with terrible violence, and many died in all parts of the county."—Reminiscences of Dr. Chauncy Perkins, Walker's History of Athens County, p. 581.

Dr. Perkins and Mr. Ewing do not agree as to dates. The disease is now known as *La Grippe.*

93. There is quite an interesting letter extant written by Thomas Ewing to his classmate, John Hunter, while he was staying in Gallipolis. It describes the muster of the Militia for the War of 1812.

94. "May 3d, 1815. The committee appointed by the board of trustees to examine Thomas Ewing and John Hunter, candidates for a degree of bachelor of arts and sciences, beg leave to report:

"That they have examined the applicants aforesaid in the different branches of literature, viz.: in grammar, rhetoric, the languages, natural and moral philosophy, logic, astronomy, geography, and the various branches of mathematics, and that they have witnessed with much gratification the proficiency made by the before named students. They therefore report the following resolutions:

"1. *Resolved,* That the said Thomas Ewing and John Hunter merit the approbation of the board of trustees, and that they are each entitled to a degree of bachelor of arts and sciences.

"2. That the president be authorized and required to inform the said Thomas Ewing and John Hunter that they are each so entitled to such degree in this seminary, and your committee recommend that the same be conferred.

"3. That the secretary of the board deliver to the said Thomas Ewing and John Hunter each a copy of these resolutions.

"JESSUP N. COUCH,
"CHARLES R. SHERMAN,
"STEPHEN LINDLEY,
"J. LAWRENCE LEWIS,
"Committee.

"Report accepted." — Record Book, Ohio University Trustees, Vol. 1.

94½. A. B. Walker, a boy about fifteen years of age, went with Mr. Ewing to Lancaster to bring the horse back. Walker's History of Athens County.

95. Philemon Beecher (1775-1839) was a native of Litchfield, Connecticut. He came to Lancaster in 1801 and two years later was elected to the Ohio Legislature. He served in the second, the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth sessions of the General Assembly. In the year 1818 he went to Congress, where he remained for ten years.

96. Jacob Burnet (1770-1853) was born in Newark, N. J. He was educated at Princeton and came to Cincinnati in 1796 to practice law. In 1799 he became a member of the Territorial Legislature where he was a partisan of Governor St. Clair. From 1812 to 1816 he served in the Ohio Legislature. From 1821 to 1828 he served as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, but resigned that position to accept the United States Senatorship, as a successor to General Harrison, who had resigned. He served but three years in this capacity. Judge Burnet was the author of a book on the Northwest Territory, published in 1847.

97. During his preparation for the bar, Mr. Ewing for the first six months studied sixteen hours a day.—Walker's History of Athens County.

98. This neighbor was Elisha Alderman.

99. This was Charles Robert Sherman, father of John and William T. Sherman. He was born in Norwalk, Connecticut, September 17, 1788. He came to Lancaster in 1810, and decided to make it his future home. The next year he returned to Connecticut to bring his wife and child, Charles T. Sherman, to Ohio. The trip was made on horseback, and the babe was carried the entire distance, resting on a pillow.

Mr. Sherman was a brilliant orator and held many positions of trust and honor. In 1823 he was elected one of the Judges of the Ohio Supreme Court. He died at Lebanon, Ohio, June 24, 1829, in his forty-first year. He had been a trustee of the Ohio University, and was one of the examiners who conducted the examination for Mr. Ewing's graduation.

100. Samuel F. Vinton (1792-1862), born in Massachusetts; graduated at Williams College; settled at Gallipolis, Ohio; served twenty-two years in Congress; author of law extending the idea of "section 16" for school purposes in all the new states; an earnest advocate for the good treatment of the Indians. Perhaps what is the greatest argument ever delivered before an American court is that of Mr. Vinton's on the Ohio-Virginia boundary line. See Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. Vol. 4.

101. General Charles Backus Goddard practiced law at the Zanesville bar from 1817 to 1864, the date of his death. Henry Howe tells an interesting story of how General Goddard once overheard Thomas Ewing rehearsing the arguments he expected to make in a case where Goddard was the opposing counsel. When the case came on for hearing, Goddard had stolen Mr. Ewing's thunder and took all the wind out of his sails.

102. Under Ohio's first Constitution the Prosecuting Attorney was appointed by the County Commissioners.

103. This was Elnathan Scofield, a native of Connecticut. He came to Lancaster in 1805. He was by profession a surveyor, but for many years was a merchant. He held various offices, serving in turn as County Surveyor, Justice of the Peace, State Senator, and Postmaster, under John Quincy Adams, of Lancaster. He held the position of Associate Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Fairfield County for two terms. The Court then consisted of a Judge and two Associates. He died suddenly in 1841.

104. This was certainly not William J. Reese, who was popularly known as General Reese, for he did not come to Lancaster until 1827. Graham in his Fairfield County History states it was David Reese.

104½. This must have occurred about 1820, or shortly before. The rendezvous of the gang, according to Graham's History of Fairfield

County, was in the locality known as "Sleepy Hollow" among the hills south of Lancaster.

105. This was Ebenezer Granger, a native of Connnecticut. He came to Zanesville about the beginning of the War of 1812.

106. Charles Hammond, (1779-1840) was born in Baltimore and educated in the University of Virginia. He located in Belmont county in 1801, and was appointed Prosecuting Attorney for the Northwest Territory. During the War of 1812, he published *The Federalist* in St. Clairsville; was a member of the State Legislature (1816-21) and reporter for the Supreme Court of Ohio (1823). In 1824 he removed to Cincinnati and a year later became editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette,* which position he held for fifteen years. He was the author of political essays signed "Hampden," published in the *National Intelligencer* in 1820, upon the Federal Constitution which were highly complimented by Jefferson. He died in 1840. See Howe I-311 for estimate of his journalistic ability. Also, Howe II-506 for a narrative of the United States Bank Contest.

107. Doddridge, Philip — An American lawyer, born in Brooke County, Virginia, in 1772. He acquired distinction as an advocate in trials by jury. In the Constitutional Convention of Virginia, in 1829-30, he represented several Committees in western Virginia, and was the leader of the party which preferred white Representation. He died in 1832.—*Dictionary of Biography.*

108. The law taxing the branches of the United States Bank was passed in 1819. There were two branches in the state — one at Cincinnati, and the other at Chillicothe. The tax levied was $50,000 for each branch. This law was popularly known as the "Crow-bar" law since the state collector forcibly took the money for both branches out of the Chillicothe bank. The state resisted the Federal Courts and declared her "sovereignty" in unmeasured terms. Howe states that the rights of the bank were defended by Duncan McArthur. Hon. Daniel J. Ryan has contributed an interesting article on "Nullification in Ohio" to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society's Publications, Volume II.

109. Henry Brush came from New York state to Chillicothe in 1803. His practice was limited till after the War of 1812, when for twenty years he acquired a good business. His rank as a lawyer was not high. He served as Prosecuting Attorney of Ross County in 1808-09; member of the lower house of the Ohio Legislature 1810; State Senator 1814; in Congress 1819-21.

In the War of 1812 he was in command of a company of Ross County volunteers that had marched to re-inforce General Hull at Detroit. He had not reached Detroit, but hearing that Hull had surrendered and by the terms of capitulation, his command was included, he made his escape. Anticipating pursuit by the Indians, Captain Brush caused the head of a whisky barrel to be broken and scattered some tin cups about. The pursuers got no further than the barrel. While they were imbibing

and getting so drunk that pursuit was impossible, the entire company succeeded in beating a hasty retreat.

Mr. Brush abandoned his profession in 1838. He moved to a farm and died in Madison County, in 1860, at the age of eighty.

110. Benjamin Greene Leonard, son of Colonel Nathaniel Leonard of the Revolutionary army, was born at Winsdor, Vermont, November 8, 1793. He graduated at Dartmouth College and came to Chillicothe at about the age of twenty-seven.

He was remarkable for the keenness of intellect and for his knowledge of law, language, science and—his eccentricities. It is said he would remain locked in his office for whole days. He was never known to have his office in the business section of the town. Clients had to knock, long and loud, before they could get his attention. He seemed to avoid practice, was a recluse from society and—an opium fiend. In 1840, in a case before the United States Supreme Court, he displayed such ability and legal acumen as to win the commendation of Chief Justice Marshall. Soon after, symptoms of insanity appeared. He was sent to Columbus for treatment, but he died in the insane asylum in 1845.

111. John Noble, the father of Hon. John W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior under President Benjamin Harrison, came to Lancaster about 1815. He was then a tailor. His hotel was known as the Union Hotel, situated where later the well-known hostelry, the Tallmadge House, stood.

111½. Kant's "Kritik der reinen Vernunft" was published in 1781.

112. "William Creighton, Jr., Ohio's first Secretary of State, was twice member of Congress. He came from Virginia to Chillicothe in 1799 and practiced at the bar for fifty years.

"He was large in person, clear-headed, social, a great admirer of Henry Clay and with a boyish humor that sometimes found vent in practical jokes."—Howe's Ohio. Vol. II-517.

113. Elias Howell was a member of the Senate from Licking County.

114. Mr. Ewing is mistaken about Mr. Mornton being a member of the Legislature from Knox County. At that time Knox County was represented in the Senate by Thomas Rigdon and in the House by John Greer. The records fail to disclose a man by the name of Mornton representing any county then or in subsequent years. Taylor's "Hundred Year Book."

115. Wyllys Silliman, born at Stratford, Connecticut, October 8, 1777; edited Federalist newspaper in Western Virginia in 1800; married Deborah Webster Cass, daughter of Major Cass, at Wakatomika, near Dresden, Ohio, January 14, 1802; in 1803 was chosen President Judge of Common Pleas Court, and sat at the April term, 1804, in Muskingum County; Registrar General, Land Office, 1805; Commissioner of road from Zanesville to forks of Muskingum, February 4, 1807; helped move

state papers from Chillicothe to Zanesville, 1810; Incorporator Zanesville and Lancaster Turnpike Company, December 25, 1816, and of Zanesville and Cambridge Turnpike Company, January 27, 1817; Representative in Ohio Legislature, 1828; Solicitor of United States Treasury, appointed by Jackson. In 1836 he removed to Cleveland, returned to Zanesville, where he died at the residence of his son-in-law, Charles C. Gilbert, November 13, 1842.

He is said to have been a most eloquent speaker.

116. Judge Alexander Harper of Zanesville, where he died in 1852. He was Judge of the Common Pleas Court for fourteen years.

117. Micajah T. Williams, of Hamilton County, served five terms in the Ohio Legislature. He was Speaker of the Lower House in the twenty-third session.

118. Jeremiah Morrow, of Warren County (1771-1852). In 1801 he was elected to the Territorial Legislature; was a delegate to Ohio's first Constitutional Convention; elected to Ohio Senate in 1803; served ten years in House of Representatives at Washington. From 1813 to 1819 he was in the United State Senate; elected Governor of Ohio in 1822 and re-elected in 1824. In 1841 he again went to Congress and served in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh Congresses. See Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society's Publications, Vol. II, p. 98, for an interesting account of the public services of Mr. Morrow.

119. Edward King represented Ross County in the Senate at that time.

120. Bryant Thornhill was a member of the House from Licking County.

121. There were then 108 members of the Ohio Legislature. Fifty-five votes would be necessary for election. If the parties were about equally divided Mr. Ewing evidently did not receive the entire Whig support, and evidently, more than one Democrat voted for him.

The ballots as given in Taylor's "Annals of Ohio Progress" stand as follows:

Ewing	23	37	42	46	51	54	55
Williams	49	50	49	52	57	53	51
King	21	21	16	9	5	2	2

122. The following abstract from a letter written by Theo. D. Jervey, a distinguished investigator of Charleston, South Carolina, is an interesting addendum to what the editor has stated. Mr. Jervey is the author of a Life of Thomas Y. Hayne:

"What you had to say about Thomas Ewing interested me more than all else. One of my friends here, is an Ohio scholar. From him I have heard of this great son of Ohio. But I have other reasons for being interested in Ewing. I note he graduated one year prior to that which saw Hayne of South Carolina win his election to the State Legis-

lature. Fifteen years later, you note Ewing in the United States Senate, where he found Hayne, who had preceded him there by seven years. Hayne met in debate in the Senate many strong men, Clay, Webster, Dickerson and Chambers; but I do not think any man he ever met in debate helped him as much as Ewing. Ewing's speech in 1832 was the strongest presentation made in reply to Hayne, and this despite the fact, that Clay made a famous speech. Ewing's ideas reappear in an address of Hayne, delivered some five or six years later, when he was exerting every effort of which he was capable, to push through his railroad to connect Ohio and South Carolina, a work which scholars have paid too little attention in their studies of our history, in my opinion."

THE OHIO FRONTIER IN 1812.

DIARY "OF THE INDIAN CONGREGATION AT GOSHEN ON THE RIVER MUSKINGUM" FOR THE YEAR 1812.

WRITTEN BY REV. BENJAMIN MORTIMER.

[In the Summer of 1798, David Zeisberger, accompanied by several brethren of the Moravian Colony, departed from their then temporary home, the town of Fairfield, on the Thames, in Canada, and proceeded to the Tuscarawas Valley, where they founded the settlement called Goshen, located seven miles northeast of Gnadenhütten. In the party of the Goshen settlement was the Rev. Benjamin Mortimer, an Englishman, who had several years before joined the Moravian Missions in America. He was a zealous worker among the Indians and a close friend of Zeisberger, at whose funeral, 1808, he preached a sermon in English. Subsequently Mortimer became pastor of the Moravian church in New York City, where he died in 1834. This Diary of 1812 is interesting as revealing the condition of the Mission during the War of that date between England and the United States. The original of the Diary is preserved in Archives of the Moravian church at Bethlehem, Pa. Indebtedness should be acknowledged for the privilege of publishing the Diary to the Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Curator of the Moravian Library, Bethlehem—E. O. R. *Editor.*]

Goshen Congregation at the close of 1811: 4 married pair; 2 married women; 1 widow; 2 single men; 7 boys; 8 girls;—28 persons.

* * *

DIARY OF THE INDIAN CONGREGATION AT GOSHEN ON THE RIVER MUSKINGUM FROM THE 1 JANUARY TO 30 APRIL 1812.

New Year's day 1 Jan., the public meeting was from Luke 13, 6-9, etc.

5th from Prov. 23.26 whereby these passages of scripture were closely applied to the hearts.

Epiphany 6th was celebrated in the nearness of our Lord, with a morning blessing, discourse and lovefeast. During all the late festival days we were thankful that we had no disturbance from drunken people.

9th was a meeting for the communicants whom on the

10th we spoke with individually, and found in a humble state of mind, longing for more grace from our Saviour.

11th we enjoyed with them a blessed Lord's supper, concerning which they afterwards expressed themselves with much thankfulness.

12th the public meeting was from Rom. 12.1 etc. In these days we had particular occasion to speak with Tobias, and with Anna Sophia, about their circumstances, advising them to conduct themselves willing to do.

17th we had the particular pleasure to receive a considerable parcel of congregational accounts, and other writings from our dear brn. in Germany and Pennsylvania for which we were very thankful.

19th the public meeting was Ps. 60. 13.

23rd there were several shocks of an earthquake felt here, and in particular one at ½ past 8 o'clock in the morning, more severe than any of those on the 16th ult. None of our brn. & srs. could recollect that they had ever till lately witnessed any thing of the kind before, and in common with the rest of the inhabitants of this country, were much alarmed at these unusual phenomena. We explained to them the supposed causes of earthquakes, and exhorted them to put their trust in our Lord, and not to be afraid; but at same time to pray for grace to be ready for whatever might be His will with them.

An Indian chief who hunts at present not far from here, gives out, that the late earthquakes took place because the Great Spirit was not pleased that the white people had taken possession of so much of the Indian country, and had lately killed so many Indians on the Wabash.

26th the public meeting was from John 3.17. & 2 Feb. from Phil. 3. 7-14.

7th at about ½ past 3 o'clock in the morning, there was a very severe shock of an earthquake here. The concussions lasted nearly half an hour. The morning was perfectly calm, and the moon shone dimly. In the evening at about 8, and at ½ past 10 o'clock, there were two other pretty severe shocks, though not nearly equal to that in the morning. In general

about this time slight earthquakes were very frequent, and sometimes lasted for hours successively. In many persons they produced headache, and a disordered state of the stomach resembling sea-sickness. We were told of instances in the neighborhood of children who after an earthquake were obliged to vomit. These concussions of the earth, the dreadful apprehensions that were at this time very generally entertained of an Indian war, the prognostications of a so-called prophet among the whites in Virginia, and a variety of other occurrences, made many people in these parts suppose that the end of the world was near at hand.

9th the public meeting was from Luke 22. 37. By a letter from Br. Luckenbach to Br. Peter, we were very sorry to hear of Br. Hagen's poor state of health since he left us last fall.

13th we had the pleasure to receive the late weekly leaves out of the U.E.C. Today a beginning was made to seize the property of Indians here for debt, by warrants from a justice of the peace; which occasioned considerable uneasiness among our brn. & srs.' We endeavored to console them, and make them easy on the subject, by representing to them the advantages that, with proper care on their side, they might derive from our laws.

16th the public meeting was from Math. 4.1 etc. Sugar-making commenced for this season, and all the Indians here moved to their sugar-camps.

23d on account of inclement weather, there could be no meeting here. Ska and William set off for Sandusky, by whom we sent congn. accounts and other articles to our brn. there.

1 March, the public meeting was from Matth. 25. 1-13.

2d at our request Br. Oppelt from Gnadenhütten attended the court today in New Philadelphia, in order to prosecute some of the persons who are now more forward than ever in offering whiskey to the Indians. The notices that he gave had a good effect, though as the grand jury was found to have been irregularly summoned, they could make no presentments.

3d Br. Mortimer visited in Gnadenhütten and Beersheba.

8th there could be no meeting here, as the weather was unfavorable.

15th there was a general attendance of our people here, and the public meeting was from Is. 46. 3, 4.

22d on account of the very unfavorable weather, our brn. and srs. could not possibly assemble from the sugar camps to a meeting.

Maundy-Thursday, 26th, all the Indians who at present reside with us, came to hear the account of our Saviour's sufferings in the garden of Gethsemane, and listened thereto apparently with great attention. Br. & Sr. Mortimore enjoyed the holy communion together blessedly.

Good Friday, 27th, the reading of the history of our Saviour's sufferings was continued in several meetings.

Great Sabbath, 28th, we had an agreeable lovefeast with all the Indians here, in commemoration of our Saviour's meritorious rest for us in the grave. The opportunity was especially improved to call to mind the most remarkable scenes of our Lord's sufferings, which is never done without evident impression upon the hearts.

Easter, 29th, early in the morning we prayed the Easter litany, partly in the church, and partly in the burying-ground. At 10 o'clock we read together the history of the day, after which was the festival discourse from Rev. 1. 18. During these festival days all the Indians here moved entirely into the town again on purpose to enjoy the meetings, and no kind of disturbance occurred. This afternoon they returned again to their sugar-camp.

31st Br. Mortimer visited in Gnadenhütten.

5th April, the public meeting was from Matth. 9, 27-31.

9th Br. Mortimer visited again in Gnadenhütten and in Beersheba.

12th, the public meeting was from Jno. 10. 14-18. Br. Mortimer went today to Beersheba to the assistance of Br. Miller to confer on some matters with the brn. of that congregation agreeable to a commission given him for the purpose from the directors of the society for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen. He returned home in the evening.

16th, the post today brought us the unwelcome news that the President of the U. S. had called on the Governor of this

state, for 1200 of the militia to march immediately for Detroit. This will occasion much uneasiness among the Indians in general, who are alarmed at nothing so much as at the marching of the militia. It was the militia of this country and not regular troops that murdered so many of our defenseless Indian brn. and srs. and their children, in cold blood, in the year 1782 at Gnadenhütten.

19th, the public meeting was from Prov. 2. 6, 8. In the afternoon Br. Mortimer tried to dispel the alarms which our brn. had expressed respecting the marching of the militia. They declared themselves at length to be quite easy on the subject, provided only open war did not break out between the English and Americans; in which case they believed that if, as they apprehended would be the case, Indians took part in the dispute, their lives would not be safe here. They said they relied on Br. Mortimer for advice, what it would be best for them to do in such a case.

26th, the public discourse was from Prov. 2, 6-8.

30th, being appointed by the Governor of this state to be observed as a day of public fasting and prayer the same was kept here with due solemnity. At a meeting in the morning, after prayer had been put that the Governor had recommended, a discourse was held from Jer. 18, 1-11, with reference in particular to Jonah 3, 1 etc.; and with a suitable application to the hearts. It was rumored here to-day, that all the Indians at the town half way between here and Sandusky were suddenly fled away and the neighboring white people did not know what was become of them. If this is the case (and it is not improbable) the cause, we suppose, is their excessive terror on account of the marching of the militia, whom all the Indians in these parts, from past experience, regard only as so many lawless, bloodthirsty murderers.

N. B. According to subsequent accounts if these Indians really all fled as described, the majority of them soon returned.

3 May, the public meeting was from Jno. 4. 42.

Ascension-day, 7th, at a meeting in the morning, the history of our Lord's glorious ascension into heaven was read and was

discoursed upon, the conclusion was made with prayer kneeling. In the evening Br. Mortimer, by commission from the G. H. C. in Bethlehem, made known to the brn. & srs. that he was called from hence in the service of our Lord to New York. As he could not at same time inform them who would come as his successor in this place, the communication caused some agitation among them, and they seemed to be generally afraid that they would now be left without a teacher, and, as they said, for want of hearing the gospel fall more and more into sin, and thus perish eternally. Br. Mortimer encouraged them with the hopes that if it was their sincere desire to amend their course of life, and begin anew to live for our Lord, a teacher might still be sent them. In consequence of the declarations of the majority in the ensuing days, that they could not endure the thought of going to live again among the wild Indians, where they would no longer hear the word of God; and the disposition they manifested to make the best promises they could for the future; he promised to remain with them till another teacher was sent here in his place.

8th, Br. Mortimer visited in Gnadenhütten and Beersheba.

10th, the public meeting was from Jno. 14. 16, 17.

Whitsunday, 17th, was celebrated with a solemn morning blessing, and a discourse from Acts 2. 1, etc.

18th, Br. Miller on his way to and from New Philadelphia where he preached today made us as usual the pleasure of a visit.

22nd, was the funeral of Anna Benigna, the wife of John Henry, who departed to our Lord early yesterday morning. She was born and baptized at the winter abode of the Indn congn, on Capt. Elliott's farm (near where Malden now is in Upper Canada) on their way from Pettquotting to Fairfield, in the year 1791. At an early age she married, and being brought to bed with her first child on the way between here and Pettquotting, the company with which she travelled so hastened with her on the journey, that when she arrived at the latter place, she was very ill, and apparently at the point of death. In her distress she sought and found the grace of our Saviour, and was soon after received into the congn. Three years ago, a

particular work of the Spirit of God was observable in her, and she was admitted to partake of the holy communion. She was of a still, quiet and meek disposition, lived in uninterrupted peace with every one, was dutiful towards her aged mother, and in the different relations of wife and mother walked worthy of the gospel. She never unnecessarily missed a meeting, and rejoiced for some years past at nothing so much as when she heard of our Saviour, with whom it was evident that she lived in heart's connexion. So exemplary and valuable a young sister we would very gladly have kept among us. Our Lord however thought otherwise, and for a considerable time past has been preparing her for a happy exit out of time. When her departure drew near, nothing troubled her but the thoughts of leaving her only surviving child, her husband and mother. But she became at length easy on their account too; and being anew assured of the forgiveness of all her sins, she declared that she was now ready to depart, and rejoiced at the thought of going to be with our Saviour.

In the evening a stage and seven waggons, containing 7 families from Litiz in Pennsylvania, and that neighborhood, passed through here on their way to Billartin Heller's two miles from here, where most of them propose making their home for the present. The greater part of these belong to the Brethern's congn., and purpose settling not far from here. The whole number of families of white brn. & srs. in this neighborhood is now nearly forty. With the above mentioned company came Br. & Sr. Miller's daughter Charlotte from Bethlehem, who remained over night with us, and proceeded the next day, the 23d to her parent's house in Beersheba.

Trinity, 24th, the public meeting was from 1 Jno. 5. 7, 8. Ska Levi and another Indian came here from Sandusky and brought us letters from our dear brn. there and at Fairfield. On account of fears at present entertained in these parts of an Indian war, much eagerness was soon discovered in our neighborhood, to know what news these Indians had brought, and what was the object of their being here. All the accounts they brought agreed with our letters in representing the Sandusky, Greentown and Achquittehanning Indians as peaceably disposed

towards the United States. The false reports that are at present propagated here respecting the Indians are innumerable.

26th Anna Sophia returned from Achquittehanning whither she went some weeks since to seek relief for her sick child. In these days we had the pleasure to receive congn. accounts and letters which had been brought hither by Br. Christ. Blickensderfer and company from Litiz. Our brn. & srs. were now engaged in planting; some of the srs. were sickly, and could not attend to their work as usual, on which account we found it necessary to remind the others to be so much the more industrious, that they might be the better able to assist each other with the future produce of their labors, and there be no want among them.

29th Br. Mortimer visited in Gnadenhütten and Beersheba.

31st the public meeting was from Matth. 6, 24. Locusts now made their appearance here in greater numbers, than ever have been known in these parts since the recommencement of the settlements on this river. For some weeks past as they were coming out of the earth, the hogs fed and throve on them. They now served as food for the fowls, and the Indian children also fried and ate them.

7th June, the public meeting was from John 12. 35, 36.

13th Br. Miller and daughter paid a visit here, and returned to Beersheba the same day.

14th the public meeting was from Jno. 10. 28.

15th Br. Mortimer visited in Gnadenhütten and Beersheba.

21st the public meeting was from Ps. 23. 1-4. In the evening we had the grace to enjoy the holy comm. with our small congn. of Indian comts., in the sense of the nearness of our gracious Lord.

28th the public meeting was from Matth. 11. 28.

30th Br. Miller paid us a short visit.

1 July the very melancholy intelligence was brought here, that war had actually been declared by the U. States against Great Britain, which led us to commend ourselves, the Indians here, and all the inhabitants of the land, to the protection of our Lord.

4th Kaschates came here from Greentown.

5th the public meeting was from Rom. 6. 3, etc. In the afternoon Br. Mortimer went by invitation to welcome Br. & Sr. Blickensderfer and family in this neighborhood, as members of the Gnadenhütten congn. He had also the grace to enjoy the holy comn. with the brn. & srs. there.

12th the public meeting was from Rom. 6. 19 etc.

16th Br. & Sr. Miller made us the pleasure of a visit.

19th there could be no meeting here from the apprehension of disturbance from drunken Indians.

22nd for some time past it had been circulated in our neighborhood, that a number of Indians with red coats and British rifles were seen in different places near us; and the report occasioned much uneasiness among the settlers. Today we were seriously questioned from New Philadelphia on the subject, and were glad that we could satisfactorily explain the origin of the whole alarm. It has arisen from the circumstance, that Kaschates, who is known here by the name of Thomas Lyons, some time since came here with a red coat on, and carrying—as was said —a British rifle. This Indian speaks English, and used when he lived here formerly, to relate to the white people very circumstantially, what murders he had committed among them during the last Indian war, and what excessive cruelties he either has—or pretends to have been—guilty of. His arrival here at this time excited the greatest illwill against him wherever he was known, as he was supposed to be come only as a British spy. We were glad that he soon went away again of his own accord, as no Indian appears to be so generally disliked in this part of the country as he is.

26th the public meeting was from Acts 26. 17, 18. During this week, by occasion that some disputes that occurred here, had to be made up, Br. & Sr. Mortimer spoke with all our upgrown Indians, either individually, or in small parties. Whatever was said to them was well received, and seemed to have salutary effects. The disagreements that had arisen were satisfactorily adjusted and love and harmony restored. For all this we had particular reason to be thankful to our Lord, especially in consideration of the present trying times.

A draft of militia was made this week throughout our

county, and the men received orders to hold themselves in readiness for the defense of the country. This requisition fell hard upon many heads of families, and others, to whom it was very inconvenient to leave their homes; and numbers were under much anxiety, that if during their absence, an Indian war should break out on the frontiers nearest us, their families would be unprotected, and in great danger of their lives. It was also believed, that the circumstance that the Indians reside at this place, rendered the situation of the neighboring white inhabitants more critical than it otherwise would be; as here, it was apprehended, hostile Indians might secret themselves; and from the knowledge that they could obtain here of persons and places, devise plans for future mischief among the white people. The report was circulated, too, that such inimical Indians were already arrived here; that by day they were not to be seen, but that they assembled here during the night. It was in consequence said without reserve, that before the militia marched, the settlement here must be destroyed. Many declared that if they saw a strange Indian here they would shoot him, and shoot any Indian who would take their part; which was in fact nothing less than uttering a threat of murder against all the inhabitants here; and some said plainly, that every Indian here must be killed. The different militia companies were mustered, and the drafts made on Thursday; and on Friday in particular these alarming expressions were communicated to us.

1 Aug. It being the day appointed for all the drafted militia men to meet in New Philadelphia, Br. Mortimer went there too, to enquire into the truth of the flying reports respecting danger from the Indians, and to avail himself of such opportunities as might offer, to calm men's minds respecting the dangers that were apprehended from those that live here. He could assure every inquirer, that no strange Indian except the above mentioned Kaschates had arrived in Goshen for a considerable time past, and that he had been gone from here for above a week. He proposed that as long as the war continued notice should be given by us in New Philadelphia whenever any strange Indians arrived here, with a description who they were.

2d by the return of the mail carrier this morning to Gnadenhütten Br. Mortimer wrote to the Governor of this State, to give him some account of our situation. This was a step that appeared from various considerations to be proper at this time. The public meeting was from Luke 12. 37.

3d Br. Mortimer went again to New Philadelphia, principally with the view to shew Col. Bay, who is the principal military man in this and the neighboring counties, copy of the letter which he had sent to the Governor yesterday. He took the opportunity to converse with him, and other gentlemen there who appear to be friendly disposed toward us, more leisurely than could be done on Saturday, concerning the situation of the Indians here, with reference to the reports that circulate in our neighborhood, respecting dangers to be apprehended from them, and to learn their sentiments on the subject.

4th the Indian Ska set off from here for Jerome's town; and we recommended to him not to come hither again as long as the war continued. This man is unmarried; and although he has been a hearer of the gospel with us now these 13 years, remains still a heathen. He spends much of his time in going from place to place to hear and tell news. As he speaks broken English and has occasionally told among the white people what acts of cruelty he had committed among them during the last Indian war (which were altogether probably his own fabrications) he is on that account disliked by many in this neighborhood.

5th Br. Mortimer went to Gnadenhütten and put into the post office there a letter to Mr. Varnum, the Agent of the United States at Sandusky, the object of which was, for reasons assigned, to warn and prevent, as much as lay in his power, all Indians whatever from coming to this place. This step seemed the more necessary, as the American Brigadier Gen. Hull, as the public papers informed us, had recommended to all the Indians who had joined the British at Brownstown and Malden, and afterwards made peace with the U. States (whose number it appeared however afterwards was not great) to return peaceably to their former homes. Among these are some from Sandusky and Jerome's-town, who as they have not planted this

season, might in part, if not previously prevented, design to come hither to partake of the crops of their Indian friends, and to hunt and buy cheap provisions in our neighborhood; which —as the state of the public opinion here is—they would do at the peril of their lives.*

Today we heard that on the preceding evening, in consequence of the firing off of a gun by some unknown person about dusk near Canton, which is 34 miles from here, a great fright was occasioned in and near that town, as it was immediately circulated and believed, that the Indians were arrived, and had commenced destroying and murdering. About 300 persons fled during the night into Canton, and all the inhabitants there remained under arms till morning. The consternation continued in that neighborhood for many days afterwards, but not an Indian was to be seen or heard of.

By occasion of this last occurrence, we warned the Indians here of the danger which might very easily befall them, if they were from home in the evenings; and strongly recommended to them, to be careful where they go, how they behave everywhere, and not for the present to go to places where they are not well known, and are not assured that they are among friends. They are not a little terrified at the different accounts they hear, and some of the women spoke of flying to some more secure place. But the brethren answered: "that they did not come here of themselves, but had been brought hither by their teachers, and a place appointed them by Congress to reside on. That they had still one teacher living with them, to instruct and take care of them. Here therefore they relied upon being protected and provided for as circumstances might require. Nor did they think that their lives would be rendered more secure by their moving to any other place."

In those days the report also came here, that a company of Missouri Indians (Osages etc.) who were returning from a mission to the President of the U. States, had been fired at on the Ohio from the town of Steubenville, when their conductor—a white man—was wounded in the mouth. This account we

*Br. Mortimer in the sequel made known the contents of this letter to Col. Bay and others in official stations in the county.

afterwards found was true. It shows that it would no longer be safe for our Indians to move from this place, as their being strangers any where among the white people, would alone, without strong protection, put them in danger of their lives.

8th between 11 & 12 o'clock at night, above 20 men, all armed with rifles, swords or pistols, came here from New Philadelphia, to search for Indians who have been said to sculk about by day, and assemble here at night. Messrs. Laffer and McConnel preceded them on horseback, and came first to Br. & Sr. Mortimer's house, to give them notice of the approach of the people, and what their business was. Br. Mortimer, who was fast asleep, on being awoke and dressed, offered to go with the whole company, with a candle in his hands, into every Indian house, and to every place about us which the people might express a desire to visit. It happened that there was no other Indian here except Charles and Christian Henry and their families, who at this dead hour of the night were all fast asleep. They were awoke by Br. Mortimer in presence of Messrs. Laffer and McConnel, and told of the object of this visit; and Mr. McConnel went immediately afterwards with Br. Mortimer's consent to fetch the company of armed men, who had meanwhile stopped near the town. Three of these people believed and maintained, that from the place where they had stood among the bushes, they had seen two men cross the street just at the time when Br. Mortimer came out of his house with Messrs. Laffer and McConnel, with a candle in his hand. They declared too that they had heard them open a door, and speak together; and no surmise made with a view to explain what might have led to this belief, would satisfy them. The most diligent search was therefore made in all the buildings and places from whence the New Philadelphians themselves believed it to be possible, that the supposed two men could have come; but no trace, they allowed, was found, that a human being had been in any one of them, within the preceding 24 hours. If therefore they saw anything, it was probably only two dogs, who had recently barked, and might have crossed the street at the time when Messrs. Laffer and McConnel entered the town, and who by means of a distant candle, and their fears, became long and

alarming shadows. All who belong here were very sure, and averred, that no strange Indians were secreted here.

Had this unauthorized visit, made in the dead of the night, with many apologies for troubling us at so unseasonable an hour, and with much caution in particular from Mr. Laffer, who took care that no person here should be alarmed, and nothing done or said that could be taken amiss; not been conducted so prudently, we might with propriety have made it the subject of a complaint before a magistrate. A report, it was said, had reached New Philadelphia that 15 strange—and it was supposed hostile—Indians were seen during the day coming towards this place. This occasioned much alarm, and the 20 armed men and upwards, came here to see whether the report was true; and if so; they told us, to take the 15 strange Indians prisoners. But their plan was illjudged; for had there been so many hostile Indians here, the greater part of them would probably have been killed by them, as their behaviour was altogether unsoldierlike. Judge Dierdorf, Mr. Clark, Col. Bay and others in New Philadelphia had endeavored, they said, to dissuade them from their purpose, as they professed to be convinced, that all the reports of hostile Indians being harbored here, were false; but as their representations were disregarded, they particularly desired Mr. Laffer, who keeps the principal tavern there, to ride in haste hither, give due notice of their approach and business, and strongly recommend in their name, to behave themselves in a becoming manner here. After staying with us upwards of an hour, these nightly visitors set off on their return home. As soon as they were out of town, they began to fire off their guns, in order as they had said here, to frighten the women in New Philadelphia, and make them think that murderous work was going forward. As they approached New Philadelphia, they continued firing, which so alarmed Abr. Kneisley Esqre. and his family, who live about half a mile out of town, that, under supposition that hostile Indians were actually come, and were fighting with the New Philadelphia people, they all fled with the utmost precipitation into the woods, and remained there till break of day.

9th the public meeting was from Ps. 32 7.

10th Br. Miller paid us a visit.

11th, a strange Indian woman came here, from whom we learnt that a considerable number of Indians were at present hunting in these parts, but avoided coming to New Philadelphia, or here, for fear of the white people. The woman staid here only a few days. A company of regular troops marched through here on their way to Zanesville.

14th all the militia of the county assembled not far from Br Uhrich's mill. As we live nearly in the center of the county, and on the high road, many people pass on such occasions through our place.—Kaschates, of whom mention in our diary 22d last month, came here again.

We soon informed him of the suspicions entertained concerning him by the white people; and that we wished him on that account to go out of these parts. He answered that for the very reason that he had heard this, he had come and would now remain here, and give an account of himself to every one who would ask him; he would not go away immediately, as that would only strengthen the suspicions against him; and he was conscious that he was come here for no bad or improper purpose, but merely to see his friends. This was doubtless too the real truth. On hearing this, Br. Mortimer, and the Indian brother John Henry took the first opportunity of the return of a considerable party of militia from the mustering-ground, to inform them that Kaschates, the Indian of whom so much had been said, was now here, and had declared that whoever pleased might speak to him, and he could himself answer them in English. Br. Mortimer first related to them the general history of his life, mentioning every circumstance that occurred to him in his favor, among the rest that the red coat which had occasioned so much alarm, had, to his knowledge, been made here six years ago; and as for his speaking of the warlike exploits which he had performed 30 or 40 years ago, it was precisely what almost every old soldier among the white people did, and which no man was ever blamed for. He then introduced the militia men, who while he was speaking, had increased to about 40, all on horseback, to Kaschates himself, who on being called, came directly out of the house, Br. Mortimer placing himself close to

him as his friend. Some of the militia murmured, and even threatened; but others immediately shook hands with him, expressing themselves at the same time handsomely in his favor. On this evil disposed were overawed and silent. After some further conversation the greater part declared themselves to be quite satisfied; and all went away to appearance convinced that no bad design ought to be imputed to him. Kaschates when all was over, retired to the house again; but lay down in his clothes, kept his horse tied to a tree, and before the next morning came, had gone off privately without saying a word to any one.

Yesterday on the mustering ground some disputes had taken place among the militia; and the same Mr. McConnel who had been on the preceding Saturday night at Br. & Sr. Mortimer's house, badly wounded the two brn. John Uhrich and Henry Keller, who were appointed as guard over a drunken person, merely because they did the duty assigned them. Br. Uhrich's life for some time was almost despaired of. This occurrence among others, served to take off people's attention for some time from the Indians here, concerning whom many unreasonable reports and jealousies had been entertained and propagated, one cause of which appeared uniformly to be, that the militia here were mostly unwilling to go to Canada, and brought forward the danger to be apprehended from the Indians if they went, as a ground why they believed they ought rather to stay at home.

15th Anton, son of the late Br. Lucas, came here from Pettquotting, and two Indians from Jerome's town.

16th, we heard from Mr. Kneisley Senr., that one of the Indians who came here yesterday from Jerome's town, had on the way got drunk in New Philadelphia, and without any provocation, drew his knife at, and used threatening language to Mr. Kneisley and others. Upon such occasions, and especially during the present war-time, the first expression in almost every one's mouth is, to shoot such an Indian on the spot. The person who behaved so we sent away immediately, after relating to him how he had excited the public feelings against us, and endangered all our lives. Every other wild Indian who was

here, was intimidated by this affair, and accompanied him. The preaching was from Luke 22. 32.

17th there was a meeting of a considerable part of our county militia at New Philadelphia. Unfavorable news began now to arrive here from the American army near Detroit, which much damped the spirits of many.

18th Ska returned here from Jerome's town.

19th, Br. Mortimer visited in Gnadenhütten and Beersheba,

20th this day being appointed by the President of the United States, to be kept as a day of humiliation and prayer, the same was also observed here. At 11 o'clock a public and very solemn discourse, in reference to our own particular circumstances, and those of the county at large to which we belong was held from Is. 26. 8, 9. Just when the meeting was ending, nearly 200 persons passed through here from New Philadelphia, namely the company of militia that had been drafted here lately, and were on their way to Zanesville, and a considerable number of persons who chose to accompany them for a few miles. The sight of so many people did not appear to occasion any fears among our Indians.

21st we thought of the meeting of the Society for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen, which is usually held on this day in Bethlehem, wishing all the members the guidance of the good Spirit of God in their deliberations.

After a long drought, we had on this and the following day, a very heavy rain, which caused the Muskingum in many places to overflow its banks.

23rd the public meeting was from Luke 17. 17.

Today the first certain news arrived here, that Genl. Hull and his army had suffered a great reverse of fortune, but what the particulars were, could not be ascertained. The inhabitants near Cleveland had seen English ships approach that place full of people, and supposing them to be come to invade the country, fled from their houses, and spread alarm in all directions. The consternation in this part of the county was beyond description great; it could hardly have been greater with many, had the enemy actually been at their doors, and had they seen scalping knives in the hands of the Indian warriors. From

mere anxiety and dread, all labor appeared to cease now throughout the country.

26th Col. Bay passed through here, and shewed Br. Mortimer a letter which he had just received from Governor Meiggs, directing him as acting General of Brigade, to provide for the security of the frontier nearest here, by calling out the militia of his district, and building block houses. He expressed the wish that some Indian men from here might go along with the army to be used as spies and interpreters. To this Br. Mortimer stated objections, which seemed to have weight with him. On sounding him respecting the measures that he might think proper to pursue to defend the country, he confessed himself to be utterly at a loss what to do.

In the evening Br. Mortimer conversed freely with our Indn. brn. about our present critical circumstances, exhorting them very strictly as to their behaviour and conduct and recommending to them in particular to put an unshaken confidence in our Lord, and be resigned to his will with them.

27th was a general meeting of the militia of the county at New Philadelphia. Br. Mortimer also went thither to gain information. Today a few of the men who lately belonged to Genl. Hull's army began to pass through here on their way from Cleveland to their respective homes. Their appearance and hard fate excited universal interest and compassion.

28th some of the men from Genl. Hull's army took breakfast with us. At parting they declared the Indians at this place to be in great danger of their lives from their incensed comrades, and warned us in a friendly manner to take great care, or harm would easily befall them.

29th some hundreds of Genl. Hull's army passed through here. They came along as beggars, and were in general treated everywhere with much hospitality. We did all in our power to shew a friendly disposition towards them, and soften their anger against the Indians. Some parties of them spoke loudly before they came here (and their words were reported to us before their arrival), that they would kill every Indian here and take their horses to ride home on. Today was another meeting of the militia in New Philadelphia. Col. McArthur

and other principal officers of Genl. Hull's late army passed through here. Capt. Thorp, an old acquaintance, of Br. Heckewelder, informed us that he had heard from persons whom he could rely on, that all the Indian men at our settlement at Fairfield, had been compelled by other Indians to go with them to war against the United States. The same melancholy intelligence was confirmed by others from the army, with whom we found an opportunity of conversing.

30th there was no meeting here on account of the frequent passing of soldiers. Br. & Sr. Edmonds and family from Beersheba came here, to celebrate with us Sr. Mortimer's 41st birthday, Sr. Edmonds being Sr. Mortimer's sister. Upon this occasion we drew for ourselves several texts of scripture, that during the following days of increased outward trouble, were through our Lord's grace a great encouragement to us, in particular the daily words and texts for the 11 Septr. and 25 Nov. this year.

31st we heard that an Indian had been killed at Canton, and that a quaker gentleman was knocked down there, and severely bruised, for having declared himself openly in a tavern to be a friend of the Indians. As guns were at this time pressed in the settlement for the use of the small army that is to march soon from New Philadelphia, one was required from this place, namely from the Indian Charles Henry, which he cheerfully consented to deliver. An account of the increased alarm and threats that we heard respecting the Indians here, we very earnestly recommended to them not to go out of their town, further than to their cornfields, on any account whatever. Such cautions tend to alarm and cast down our Indian brn. and srs., but we cannot avoid giving them, as the times are at present. The last strange Indian who remained here—a man from Greentown of the name of Big Johnny Cake—was much frightened, and asked Br. Mortimer what he would advise him to do. He recommended to him to go off from here immediately to where he properly belonged, and to avoid being seen by the white people on the way. The man went from here in consequence without loss of time; and from this time forward until this diary was concluded, no more strange In-

dians ventured to come to this place. Today we heard a threat very seriously repeated, that a number of persons in New Philadelphia were privately deliberating about coming to burn our town. Our friend Mr. James Clark of that place passed through here, and on being addressed by Br. Mortimer, expressed himself in warm terms our assured friend. He said he would make it his business to enquire into what might be going forward among the people concerning us, and as soon as we appeared to him to be really in danger, he would give us notice of it. This promise he in the sequel kept very faithfully, and thereby got the ill-will of our enemies, which he however appeared not to regard. Other travellers whom Br. Mortimer addressed in the street, also approved themselves afterwards as our sincere friends. Br. Mortimer now wrote urgently to Col. Bay to request a constant guard for this place, till the present alarms were past. As Charles Henry was in New Philadelphia to deliver his gun, his life was threatened by some of the soldiers from the late northern army. He had gone there with some of Col. Bay's people, who had promised him safe protection thither and back again. Col. Bay, Judge Dierdorf, Capt. Itzkin and others accompanied him to our town, and staid some time with us. While these gentlemen were in conversation with Br. Mortimer, 100 militia men from Guernsey county in this state, who had been ordered out by Col. Bay, passed through our places on their route to the frontiers. In other places on their way to us, they had committed various excesses and all along many of them had threatened destruction to the Indians here. As providentially however they met here with some of the most respectable gentlemen in the county, and just conversing with us as with friends, they behaved without exception better in our town than they were in the habit of doing elsewhere; which was a mercy for which we could truly thank our dear Lord. One Indian woman, on seeing these 100 men exercise in our town, in presence of Col. Bay fled away, and had not again been heard of at the time this diary was concluded. Some sick men from Gen. Hull's army staid all night at Br. & Sr. Mortimer's.

1 Sept., Br. Oppelt of Gnadenhütten from uneasiness came

to see how we might have fared yesterday. Many more of the late army of Gen. Hull passed through our town. Br. Mortimer in these days had to spend most of his time on the street, conversing with and endeavoring to pacify these people as to our Indians. The revengeful, cruel and malignant disposition which the greater part of them manifest towards all Indians, was often shocking and painful to him to witness.

Late this Evening Br. Mortimer observed that all our Indian brn. & srs. sat together and appeared pensive and disheartened. In conversation with them he soon found that they were considering together, how critical their situation would be if the army which was now marching out of these parts to the frontiers should return enraged, as the men of Genl. Hull's army were, against all Indians because they had killed some of them. One brother then observed in a low and thoughtful manner that they had more cause of concern than this. Three men in New Philadelphia, he said (whose names he mentioned) had lately told him that all the Indians here depended upon Br. Mortimer, that he would get them protected from danger; but added they: "when the time arrives that your town is to be destroyed, and you Indians killed, the beginning will be made with him and his family". That such threats have been frequently used, is very certain. Probably the intention was merely to endeavor to frighten us away. But if they were seriously meant by some, it is quite conceivable that it might be the design, first to murder the missionary and his family, that there might be no white man to witness further proceedings.

Br. Mortimer before taking leave endeavored to comfort the Indian brn. and srs. with the consideration that we were in the hands of our almighty God and Redeemer, who, if all men were our enemies, could protect us from every harm and danger. Soon after the Indian brn. & srs. and their children sung a few verses together and then retired to rest.

In these days it was related to us, that our brother John Henry had lately visited with his little daughter in several of the dwellings of the white brn. & srs. who live nearest to us, saying that he wished to see them once more and take leave of

them. He commonly added: "Perhaps you will soon hear that my daughter and I lie dead together in my home."

2d about 250 militia men, including those who lately passed through here from Guernsey county, marched from New Philadelphia towards the frontiers, under the command of Col. Bay. We were glad that these people were moved farther off from us, as during their encampment at New Philadelphia our dogs had barked incessantly during the great part of the nights. The Indians maintained afterwards that white men were then skulking about near to us, and that they had seen them from the inside of their houses, though no one adventured to go out to search for them.

3d at noon we had the very particular pleasure to see Br. Luckenbach arrive with us, and to hear from him that Br. Hagen was safe at a house three miles this side of Wooster. These brethern, in consequence of the capture of Genl. Hull's army at Detroit, had been obliged in common with all the inhabitants at Sandusky, to fly from that settlement which was soon after burnt by the savages. It was on account of the difficulty of hiring horses, that Br. Luckenbach proceeded to us alone, so soon as he could consider Br. Hagen as being certainly out of danger from the enemy.

4th Lieut. Col. Beatty and Judge Spear of Guernsey County paid Br. Mortimer a friendly visit on their way to the army on the frontiers.

5th was again a day when many alarming threats respecting our place were communicated to us. We were told that it would certainly be destroyed in two weeks, that Br. Mortimer's house would be burnt; and some of our friends related to us, that such was the prevalent exasperation throughout the country against all Indians that it was hardly safe for any one to speak a word in their favor. We communicated our circumstances very frequently in prayer to our Lord, and diligently recommended to our Indian brn. & srs. to do the same, that we might all be perfectly resigned to His holy will with us.

6th Br. Luckenbach kept the public meeting from Matth 6.24.

7th was the festival of the married choir in congregations,

but we could not celebrate it, on account of the constant uneasiness and alarms that prevailed around us. Br. Mortimer went to New Philadelphia, and other places in our neighborhood, on business arising from our present circumstances. It was confidentially said about this time in our neighborhood, and in the sequel repeated over and over again, that the Indian Philip, and other strange Indians who had been seen to fight against the U. States at Brownstown and Detroit, were since then come to our town, and attended nightly meetings here. We declared to the proper authorities and to every one who conversed with us on the subject, that to our knowledge no such persons were here; and that the promise which we made some time since, to give speedy notice in New Philadelphia of the arrival of every strange Indian with us, had been and would be strictly observed by us, as long as the war continued.

8th Col. Findlay's regiment, being the last part of Gen'l Hull's late army that was landed at Cleveland, began to pass through here on their return home; and like all the rest of this army, in straggling parties only, and as beggars for provisions generally wherever they came. In rancor against the Indians they were inferior to none who had preceded them. Br. Luckenbach set off to fetch Br. Hagen here from the comfortable house near Wooster where he had procured accommodations for him.

9th many officers and men passed through here from Cleveland.

10th Br. Luckenbach came here with Br. Hagen; the latter was in a very infirm state of health.

13th Br. Mortimer kept the public meeting from John 6. 37. Br. Hagen went to Gnadenhütten and Beersheba.

14th he was followed by Br. Mortimer, who returned in the evening.

15th the account arrived in New Philadelphia of some shocking murders committed the day before by Indians, only about 50 miles from here, near where the place called Greentown formerly stood. Through the violent prejudice and hatred against all Indians, which now pervaded the country,

that settlement of friendly inoffensive people was shortly before hastily broken up and all the inhabitants moved away, by order of some of the commanders of the militia. Immediately afterwards, the neighboring whites burnt every house there and plundered or destroyed all the property of the Indians in the most unwarrantable manner. This procedure, the savage hunters who were at that time out in the woods, as soon as they heard of it, of course resented, and began to revenge, to the no small terror of all the settlements of white people within perhaps more than one hundred miles of that place.* In the afternoon, Messrs. John Kneisley, Espich, Itzkin, Laffer and Peter Williams of New Philadelphia arrived with us and brought the following letter from our friend mr. Clark:

NEW PHILADELPHIA 15 Sept, 1812.

DEAR SIR: I think it would be proper to take some measure for the security of the Goshen Indians either send them to Bethlehem, Pittsburg or some other place of security; for I am fully persuaded that they will not long be safe where they are. If you send them away, they will require a guard to protect them. They might go to the Greentown Indians, who are already under the protection of the United States, but in that case they would require a very strong guard, having to travel through a country where our armies lie, and where the recent murders were committed, or through the country where Hull's unfortunate men have lately returned to, in either of which routes it would be difficult to protect them. If they go by themselves it would be difficult to escape our spies and rangers who are out, who would give them no quarters should they meet with them.

You can consult your friends on the measures to be pursued. Humanity cries aloud for the kind hand of protection to be extended to the innocent Indians who have submitted their all to the protection of the U. States but yet I am sorry to state that I have no difficulty in saying that in my opinion

* By all accounts they were perfectly inoffensive as to their conduct to the whites.

they will not long remain undisturbed in their present place of residence.

In haste I have the honor to be
Your friend and humble serv.
JAMES CLARK.

REV. BENJ MORTIMER.

All the above named gentlemen of New Philadelphia who had been in friendly habits with us, and were mostly in official stations, urged our following the advice of Mr. Clark. Doubtless they really believed that it would be the safest and best for us, and for the whole neighborhood, and the only means of quieting the minds of the people at large respecting us, and preventing bloodshed in our place; that every Indian here should be removed to some other part of the country. As they were pressing in their representations and expressed much concern on our account, we agreed to endeavor to effect this; and spoke with that view in the evening to our Indian brn., who expressed themselves willing to do what we proposed to them, believing themselves that it would not be safe for them to remain here much longer. Br. Luckenbach in consequence went the next day, the

16th to Gnadenhütten, and Br. Mortimer addressed the following letter to Mr. Clark:

GOSHEN 16 Sept. 1812.

DEAR SIR:—

I was favored with your humane letter of yesterday, containing the advice to remove the Indians from this place, it being your opinion that they would not be safe here much longer. In your and the other gentlemen's sentiments on the subject Mr. Luckenbach and I could not but coincide, and felt much obliged for all the communications which you and they have made to us. On reading your letter first to the three Henries, and relating to them the account of the murders which have been recently committed so near to us, they all believed too that it would be best for them to move away out of the State to the eastward, and Mr. Luckenbach has promised to accompany them. Every Indian here, I am told, will go with them,

and they will be ready to start in a few days. This number including the small children is 25. We have mentioned next Monday to them as the day for moving, but this will depend on the guard's being ready, which you and the other gentlemen purpose kindly to furnish them with. The Indians have proposed taking the route towards Charleston, where they consider Col. Connel, Major McGuire and Capt. Biggs as their good friends. They would be thankful for recommendations from you to one or more of these gentlemen, and request that the guard from here may accompany them so far. All their rifles they propose depositing with Mr. Peter of Gnadenhütten. Mr. Luckenbach is gone today to Gnadenhütten to consult with our friends there. Tomorrow one or both of us propose waiting on you, and our other friends in New Philadelphia. Mr. Luckenbach intends going with these Indians as their missionary and conductor, and they have promised to be obedient to him. To me it is a most welcome circumstance that the fortune of war led him to come hither from Sandusky, as it would have been very inconvenient for me who have a family to travel with a company of Indians through the settlements.

I have again made the most particular enquiries here, whether Buckwheat, Big-Johnny-Cake, Phillipus, or any other strange Indian had been seen here lately, but every one denies having seen or heard anything of them. I have read to all the Indians here the law about high treason. I remain etc.

BENJAMIN MORTIMER.

JAMES CLARK ESQ.,
New Philadelphia.

During the day attempts were made by some of our Indian brethern to dispose of their houses and plantations to those white brethern who live nearest here. No one however would purchase of them; partly because they pitied them and did not wish them to leave the country; and partly because they had heard and now told our Indians, that as soon as they were gone from here, people from New Philadelphia etc. would burn their houses, throw down their fences, and steal or otherwise make away with all the cattle they might

leave, precisely as had been done at Greentown, after the fairest promises had been made to the Indians there, both by the civil and military authorities, that they and their property should be sacredly protected. If therefore—it was remarked—anyone would purchase houses, cattle, or standing produce of them, he would probably get nothing for his money. Nay, if any of their own cattle happened afterwards to be on the Indians' land (which was constantly the case) they might be taken away by unprincipled persons along with theirs. They would therefore much rather, they said, and for every reason, see them if possible remain where they were, and entirely give up the idea of moving away. This opinion of our white brethern who live nearest us, perfectly coincided with our own. The difficulty however was to get the whole neighborhood to think so. These considerations, in connexion with our other circumstances, caused us white brethern to have a very particular consultation in the evening, the result of which was that

17th the bren. Mortimer and Luckenbach, in company of some of our friends, went to New Philadelphia. On entering that small* town every eye was fixed on them. At Mr. Clark's, a few of the principal persons there soon met, to hear what they had to say, while numbers were gathered together in the street opposite to the house. The Brn. represented to Mr. Clark and his friends, the above mentioned difficulties as to the loss of property which our Indians would incur, in case they left their present place of abode; and their whole case as injured persons in the opinion of the public, and perfectly innocent of the treason which was so unreasonably charged against them. They stated facts, and accounts which had come to their knowledge, tending to show, that their danger would be increased instead of being diminished, by attempting to move to any other part of the country; as here, where they were known, they had

*At this critical juncture, it was most fortunate for Goshen that New Philadelphia was still a small town, containing hardly 40 houses. Had it been larger, the difficulties to be encountered would in proportion have been greater. Or, had New Philadelphia not existed at all, and the country to the N. W. of us been as far back in population as it was seven years before, Goshen, as being in that case still on the frontier must have been abandoned.

many friends; and where unknown, could at present, as Indians, expect to meet with hardly any but enemies. In their hard case, everything practicable, it was argued, ought to be attempted for their safety. At the same time it was very much their and our wish, it was stated, to do everything in our power, to remove the suspicions that were entertained against them. We had applied to Col. Bay some time since (on the 31st Aug.) for a guard for our town. He did not then believe it to be necessary; but had promised one in case the danger increased. Every one agreed now there was an increase of danger, in consequence of the murders that had recently been committed so very near us. But Col. Bay was now with the army, and we could not apply to him. And were he here, we were convinced that it was not in his power to help us; as the panic was now so great throughout the country, that everyone wanted to be guarded; therefore if a beginning was made to leave guards anywhere, the consequence would soon be that no army would remain to secure the frontiers, and the whole country would thence be exposed to danger from the enemy. Our proposal, therefore, was that Mr. Clark and his friends should, at our expense hire any number of creditable persons that they might think proper, to answer the double purpose of being guards over, and spies upon the conduct of our Indians. They should watch and guard them by day and night, report daily every occurrence among them to some civil or military officer, and cause every Indian who might offend against the laws, or act suspiciously, to be treated accordingly. They should scout in the neighborhood and follow every track of an Indian that might be discovered; in doing which the Indians in Goshen promised to assist them to the best of their ability whenever required, and to furnish horses for their use in all these services. The Indians offered too, to accompany any scouting parties that might be sent on short expeditions from New Philadelphia to look for hostile Indians, and to render them all the service in their power; as they considered all the enemies of the U. States as their own;—in short, to afford every proof in their power that they were faithful to the country. Br. Mor-

timer promised to board the hired spies at his house and furnish them with lodging and every reasonable accommodation. And if anything else could be thought of as proper for us to do in order to remove all suspicions, and prevent the necessity of the Indians moving from Goshen, we would if possible, do it.

This plan was fully discussed, and appeared to Mr. Clark, and his and our friends who were present to be so fair and so perfectly satisfactory, that they agreed to support us in the prosecution of it. They perceived that it was all that with propriety could be offered on our part to give satisfaction to the public; and the case of our distressed Indian brn. & srs. moved them to pity. It was agreed that the proper number of spies, to watch both by day and night, ought to be four. Our friends knowing their own difficulties, wished that we might hire them, but we urged rather, in order to prevent suspicions that Mr. Clark or some other gentleman, might kindly undertake the business for us; observing thereby, that of course it must be our wish that no person might be engaged, who would bring up false reports against us. The conclusion was that we had to undertake this business ourselves, but would let Mr. Clark know who the persons were that we engaged. On our return our Indian brn. & srs. were exceedingly rejoiced to hear that a plan was agreed upon according to which they might remain at their homes; and they went to work with alacrity, to make the repairs that we pointed out to them as proper to be done to the house where the spies were to be lodged. The brn. Miller, Oppelt and others came today to visit us, and expressed their sympathy with us on account of our present difficulties.

18th a man belonging to Genl. Hull's late army, who had taken dinner at Br. & sr. Mortimer's, and had an uncommonly wild appearance, and Indian clothing and trinkets about him, on his way over the hills between Goshen and Gnadenhütten on seeing one or more women who appeared to be afraid of him, first skulked behind some trees, and then ran off hastily. This occasioned new and wide extending alarms in the neighborhood. It was believed that hostile Indians were very near, and preparing to strike some blow; parties of militia were sent out

in different directions after them; and families, even of our nearest neighbors, began to move together from their plantations to one house, as was supposed for better safety. Moving thus together or forting as it is called in the western country—has the distressing effect when conducted as it was here of increasing the fears of the people very much: for no guards were appointed about their so called forts; therefore the inhabitants were not more secure in consequence, and could not think themselves so, and the opportunity was taken especially on the part of the females, to tell each other the most frightful stories which they had ever heard concerning the cruelties of the Indians in war, and thence to form strong representations of what great evils might befall themselves. The state of things about us was now truly awful to those who were under the complete influence of their fears. Happy were those, who with placid resignation could cast all their care upon an Almighty Saviour, believing assuredly that he cared for them, and that nothing could befall them without the divine permission.

19th there was another general meeting of the militia in New Philadelphia. News arrived there, that 4 more men had been killed on the preceding day by the Indians near Greentown, and that three of them were of the Guernsey militia. Soon after a young man belonging to the town, dressed himself and yelled after the manner of the Indians. It was immediately rumored through the town, that an Indian army was approaching: the militia could therefore be no longer kept on the mustering-ground, and the consternation and fusion were general. Our faithful friend Mr. Clark was immediately concerned on our account. He told us afterwards, that his first impressions concerning the occurrences of this day were, that they had been concerted by the evil-minded, in order to effect at once the ruin of our place. He therefore sent us in haste the following letter, which was handed us by our friends Messrs. John Kneisley and Itzkin, Major Vennatton and two Capt. Johnsons who were noticed in New Philadelphia to gallop off towards our settlement.

(Confidential)

NEW PHILADELPHIA 19 Sept. 1812.

DEAR SIR:

The measures we agreed on for the protection of the Goshen Indians appear not to be rightly understood by the people. They think their only dependence is in the removal of the Indians, although I fear a contrary effect. The alarm of other murders and the rumor of Indians living in the woods, has so agitated the minds of the people, that I really feel the consequences. I pitty the Indians and I know not their best defence but believe it prudent for them to remove somewhere.

I do assure you for my part, I do not wish the Indians removed; but I believe it to be necessary to remove or conceal them tonight. I wish my fears may be groundless.

JAMES CLARK.

REV. BENJAMIN MORTIMER.

This letter found the brn. Mortimer and Luckenbach as usual in these days—at haymaking in our meadow. The gentlemen strongly expressed their fears on our accounts, as well as for the Indians, and urged us to consult our safety by flight. They represented our daily increasing danger; for people would not enter into the arrangement which we had made two days before at Mr. Clark's house; as they scorned the idea of guarding Indians, believed themselves not safe as long as our settlement existed, and therefore insisted that the Indians should be removed. Our friends, they said, had been branded with the name of tories for endeavoring to set through our plan, and apprehended a mob if they said anything further about it. On questioning the gentlemen, whether there was, in their opinion, reason to believe that an attempt would be made to massacre us all that night, as Mr. Clark apprehended might be the case; we found they inclined to the opinion that no such plan had as yet been agreed on; and that it was, they believed, only Mr. Clark's own anxiety and concern on our account, that made him express himself so strongly as he did. They promised individually to approve themselves further as our friends, and apprize us immediately as soon as they might hear anything

further on the subject, that persons had, as some really thought was the case, actual intentions of murdering us. After further conversation we took a very friendly leave of each other.

As soon as the gentlemen were gone, Br. Mortimer communicated the object of their visit to our Indian brn., but purposely in a calm manner, so that they might consult with their safety, without being too much alarmed. To his surprize, the impression made on them was that they were not disposed to secret themselves for that night, believing that it would be a means only of increasing their and especially the women's fears. We earnestly pressed some of our friends as they returned from the mustering in New Philadelphia to stay over night with us, offering them the most liberal payment for so doing; but no one could be prevailed on to do so, alleging as a reason the fears of their own families. In Br. & Sr. Mortimer's house a few arrangements were made respecting what would be done in case we were attacked in the night; but on these arrangements we could place but very little reliance, as no hope existed that their four children could be removed out of their beds in the night without their making so much noise as would be the means of detecting the whole family and preventing their escape. Their smallest child but one was so afflicted too with rheumatism, that she could not exercise her limbs, and the least motion of them by another occasioned her excruciating pain. The public feeling was at this time so strong against us, that no magistrate, we had reason to believe, would have dared to interfere in our behalf.

There was also every reason to believe, that if our place was attacked the first object would be to dispatch the missionaries in order that if possible no witnesses, but the murderers themselves, might remain of so vile and horrid a transaction. After we had tried what was in our power for our safety,*

*Br. & Sr. Mortimer had in the preceding days been frequently urged by their friends, to move to Gnadenhütten or elsewhere, out of the apparently imminent danger; but found no freedom to do so; or even send any of their property away; on account of the very great alarm which such a step would have occasioned to the Indians; and the no less encouragement which would have been afforded thereby to our enemies, to persevere in their plans of mischief against us.

and being utterly without human help we laid ourselves quietly down to rest, in reliance only upon the guardianship of our Lord and his holy angels. Our Indn. Brn. & srs. also, agreeable to their custom, sung verses together before they retired to sleep. It was truly remarkable to us, that during this night an uncommon stillness prevailed in our place, and not even a dog was heard to bark. We learnt afterwards, that one of the officers who had been with us from New Philadelphia on the preceding afternoon, and who alternately appeared moved to tears, and fired with anger, at the consideration of the unreasonable treatment which we experienced, immediately on his return to that town, began to fight the first man whom he heard speaking against our place and people; the consequence of which was, that many others entered into the dispute; and there was so much boxing of each other, to give force to the various sentiments entertained respecting the Indians, that we at length were, for that evening quite forgotten, and some of most outrageous had to be committed to jail. Thus the wrath of man was in this instance overruled by a higher power; perhaps expressly in order to give us a night of peace and quietness.

20th in the morning Br. Mortimer wrote the following paper, designed for an advertisement, and sent it to Mr. Clark for his opinion of it:—

"To the citizens of New Philadelphia, and of the County of Tuscarawas generally:

"GENTLEMEN! The following remarks are respectfully submitted to your candor and good sense. Would it be for your advantage if the Goshen Indians were removed from their present abode? We have the example before us of the Greentown Inds. So soon as they were taken away from their town, Indians who were out in the woods began to commit murders in that neighborhood. The tracks of Indians are also frequently discovered in this county; but as yet they have done no mischief any where among us. And they will, many people believe, do none in this country, for they fear that vengeance should be taken upon the inhabitants of Goshen. But if the Goshen

Indians be moved away, and their town be burnt, they will, it is feared by many, like the people near Greentown, be in great danger of suffering from other Indians; for all other Indians would be irritated by such treatment.

"The Goshen Indians, Gentlemen, it is said, are desirous to give you every demonstration in their power, that they are faithful to you, and to the country. They offer to accompany you on scouting parties, to consider your enemies as theirs, and if necessary, to fight by your side in time of danger. They wish spies to be placed by you in the town, to watch their whole conduct, report every occurrence among them, and cause every Indian who offends against the laws, or acts suspiciously, to be treated accordingly; and a generous reward has been offered to such spies for their services.

"Dismiss, therefore, Gentlemen, your distrust of the Goshen Indians! Consider them as your friends and neighbors and believe them assuredly, that from the circumstance of these Indians residing among you, you are more safe from danger than any other frontier inhabitants of Ohio. 21 Sept. 1812."

At the usual time Br. Luckenbach kept the Sunday's public meeting here from Luke 13, 11-17.

In the afternoon Br. Mortimer went to New Philadelphia, and agreed with Mr. Clark that the proposed advertisement, which met his ideas as well as ours, should be put up in different places as soon as possible. Hitherto it had been the prevailing opinion in the country, even among those who were best disposed towards us, that it would, in every view, be best if we moved with our Indians out of this part of the country. And the more violent—not to say savage—part of the community, were ever ready to add, (as if highly desirable and advantageous to them) "then we might without scruple kill every Indian whom we saw"! The object of the advertisement was with the blessing of God, to oppose this wicked principle; and endeavor to get the general sentiment more in our favor, and in that of reason, candor and humanity.

Br. Mortimer took the opportunity of his being in New Philadelphia, to put himself in the way of hearing, and thus being better able to judge for himself than can be done by hearsay,

what the sentiments and disposition of the evil-minded against us really were, and how they would express themselves in his presence. On entering into conversation with this view in the street, with some persons who were well-known to him, the number of men who in consequence soon assembled, were about twelve. At first concern was expressed about our Indians; then a wish for their removal to another part of the country. But it was soon after, without further ceremony, openly declared that they were traitors to the country, and kept up a secret correspondence with the British in Canada, to which the missionaries were privy; and that all this could be proved. On Br. Mortimer's expressing much doubt whether there could be any ground whatever for such assertions, and stating it to be the duty of those who believed themselves to be possessed of these proofs, to come forward openly before some judge or justice, and there make good their charges; he was answered by one of the company, that the proofs they had to give, were such as *he should soon feel powerfully at his own house,* as well as hear; that many only waited for this, till the murders of the Indians took place a little nearer; and that any guards that we might have on our side to protect us would then *be killed too.** On this part of the company set up a loud laugh and Br. Mortimer took friendly leave of them all. The affect of this conversation was that some who were present were afraid afterwards of being summoned to appear before a magistrate. A general surprise appeared to be excited too, that we did not, out of fright, leave the country. Today we engaged Peter Edmonds junior of Beersheba as our first spy; through a mistake in an application that we made, we had not been able to procure one before, that would have answered our purpose.

21st we sent Mr. Edmonds with a line to New Philadelphia to give an account of all that he had seen here, and receive orders. We also engaged Daniel Warner as spy. We began today to send copies of our advertisement to distant civil and military officers in the county, accompanied with a few lines to

* The associates of the person who used these last threatening words, said afterwards, that he was not in his right senses, and that nobody minded what he said.

them, in which they were requested, if the same met their approbation, to order it to be put in some public place; and recommending our town, and the Indians here to their protection. The effect everywhere answered our utmost wishes. It was not up in New Philadelphia till after the lapse of a few days, for fear it might immediately be torn down. Thus curiosity was first excited to know its contents; it was read then with so much the more avidity, and treated with respect. Truly a fear from God accompanied it. Some of our greatest enemies were overheard once to say to each other when reading it: "We must let these people alone, for if we burn their town, perhaps ours will be burnt too as a consequence." Br. Miller of Beersheba was so kind as to translate the advertisement into German, and to cause it to be put up in that language in several places. The use that we made in the sequel of our spies, was not only for the purpose mentioned above (see the 17th Sept.) but to guard our Indians at their work, accompany them when necessary to safe places in the settlements or on short hunting excursions, and to spy for us at vendues, taverns, and other places of public resort, to learn people's sentiments, and in particular how they were disposed towards us. As it was never known exactly among the people generally, how many spies we kept, or who they were, but only that we had a number of them in pay: people were taught thus by degrees to be more cautious than they had been before, in their expressions respecting us. We heard today that some persons whose home was not far from us, who had deserted from the army, as was generally believed merely out of fear of being killed by the Indian warriors, were very loud in their threats against those Indians who live with us. These men had probably however no intentions: their only object was that it might, if possible, still be believed that they had courage.

22d as we had learnt that Col. Bay (the acting General of Brigade in this district in the absence of General Cass) returned yesterday from the army on the frontiers, Br. Mortimer addressed a letter to him today by one of our spies to give him some account of our proceedings during his absence, enclose him a copy of our advertisement, and request him if he ap-

proved of it, to dispose of it as he thought might best subserve our interest. As the principal commanding officer in these parts, he could at anytime have exercised the power that was displayed by another Colonel at Greentown, and ordered our Indians away from here; and we knew that many would now strongly press him to take such a step. Our letter informed him what was our present determination on the subject, namely that we were resolved not to go of our own accord; and that we and many of the most respectable persons in the county believed that by adhering to the determination, we would consult the safety and best interests of the whole neighborhood. We relied upon Mr. Clark, who we knew possessed a strong sway over the Colonel, to give force to this representation; which we also found afterwards he had been very willing to do.

Br. Mortimer also wrote the following letter today to an inhabitant of New Philadelphia, who last evening in the hearing of one of our white brethren, as well as at other times, had expressed himself in a very reprehensible manner:—

GOSHEN 22 Sept, 1812.

"SIR—I have been informed several times of late, that you have spoken much to my disadvantage, and that in strong terms; which I suppose can arise from no other cause, but because false accounts respecting me have been communicated to you. You have said, I have been told, that I was sent here from England, and receive a salary from thence. This, Sir, is utterly false. I was sent here from Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, after a residence of 6½ years in this country, and that without the knowledge of any person whatever in England or in the British dominions, who had no concern whatever in my appointment. Neither do I receive any salary, or emolument, whatever, from England or from any person in the British service. I have lived now 21 years in this country. When I left England I had two brothers there, who are since dead; and for some years I have received no letter even from England or from any British subject. In Germany I have two brothers, and from a most respectable and well known society there it is that I derive my support.

"I have written you the above, Sir, in order to inform you of the truth, which I suppose you would wish to know. Please to communicate the same to your friends, who may be under the same error with yourself. What I here write can be confirmed by many respectable persons in this neighborhood, who are well acquainted with me and my appointment here. In addition I can say, that I am the oldest white inhabitant of Tuscarawas county, and that no man can say that I have intentionally deceived him, or swerved from truth and uprightness in any part of my conduct.

"I should be glad if you would soon pay me a friendly visit.

"I am etc.

"BENJAMIN MORTIMER."

This letter was received by the person to whom it was addressed as a compliment which he neither expected nor deserved, and was read by him to all the inhabitants of New Philadelphia, where it produced a good effect. The person here alluded to took the first opportunity of visiting in Goshen, and making a becoming apology for the improper words which he had used.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that the suspicions expressed concerning Br. Mortimer, on account of his being an Englishman; and of the Indians and missionaries generally, because they had heretofore travelled much to and from Canada to our settlement at Fairfield, or to Pettquoting and Sandusky, and had taken bundles of paper with them; or because other Indians had frequently visited our place: were all the mere pretences, made use of by designing men to set the public against us. Nothing of all this could be laid to our charge, as arguing improper disposition or conduct on our part, as citizens of the U. States, or as rendering us with ground liable to suspicion. The only real causes, we had any reason to believe why we, and our Indian brn. & srs. were at this time persecuted, were antipathy against all Indians, enmity to the gospel and the prevalent wish to deprive our Society for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen, of the possession of the three tracts of land in this county, which have been given them in trust by Congress for the use of our Christian Indians, which it was

thought by many would be easily effected, if only the Indians and missionaries could all be driven or frightened from Goshen.

Colonel Bay, in answer of considerable length to the letter that we had addressed to him today, expressed himself well contented that our Indians should remain where they were "till," as his words were, "some mark of treachery in them was discovered," but added, that he thought it proper that they should all deliver their guns for safe keeping to some person whom he would appoint to receive them, for such time as they continued at Goshen, or till the war with the Indians on the frontiers had ceased.

This requisition of the guns of our Indians was alarming to us. We had often heard it said—and that too by some of our sincerest friends—that it would tend much to remove all suspicions against them, if they voluntarily delivered up all their arms. Many of those who urged this point strongly in all occasions, coupled also therewith, the confining them all in one of two houses, that they might be the more easily and better guarded. We knew too that the men who belonged to Gen. Hull's late army, had often said in New Philadelphia and elsewhere, that were it not for the guns of the Indians here of which they were much afraid, they would kill them all with their knives. We were therefore—but secretly only in our representations to our Indians—much against their delivering up their arms, or moving from their separate dwellings into one or two only; as we considered such treatment to be unworthy for them as respected their characters; and as exposing them to be murdered at any time, and without risk of present danger to whoever would chose to be their assassins. Indeed had things come so far, that they had been confined defenseless, in one or two houses we should, in consequence, have every night expected that their bloodthirsty enemies (and bloodthirsty they were!) and without doubt have murdered them all in cold blood. Under these impressions Br. Mortimer addressed another letter to Colonel Bay,

23d in which he informed him, that the Indians here had intended some time since to deliver all their guns to Mr. David Peter of Gnadenhütten; and explain the true reason why this

had not been done. He let him know that an order from him to deliver their guns now, would be complied with without the least demur; but that if this sacrifice was required, he would feel it his duty, as far at least as respected the three Indians John, Charles and Christian Henry, to give immediate and full information of the matter to the Governors and Assembly of Pennsylvania, who by a special act, out of respect for the memory of their father's worth (the late William Henry) and their own good characters as citizens of the U. States, had made them a present of their guns, to use them, if occasion required, for the defence of the country. The question was also put: Whether an Indian inhabitant here, against whom there was no charge of misconduct regularly proved, and who was not under special and secure protection of the military;* could now, with right, and especially under the system of having spies upon them that had been adopted, be required to give up his gun for safekeeping; any more than the same could, under like circumstances, be demanded of the white inhabitants of the county?

The Colonel was requested to give the proposal of taking the guns from the Indians here a second consideration, and informed that Br. Mortimer would very much regret, on the Colonel's own account merely, having to communicate his letter of yesterday, which probably never was intended for publication, to the Governor and Assembly of Pennsylvania, or to any other public persons.** These representations were received by Colonel Bay very kindly. He expressed himself thankful for all the information thus given him, and especially for being told how the three sons of the late William Henry had become possessed of their guns; and now entirely gave up the idea of requiring any of the Indians who reside with us, to surrender up their arms. It was his express request too, that his former letter might not

* See a note under this date, at the conclusion of this subject, in reference to the "protection" here "of the military."

‡ The letter of the Colonel above referred to, which was written in great haste, would, if made public, certainly have done him no credit anywhere. It contained accusations against Indians in Goshen, taken from the mouths of our enemies who then surrounded him to all of which a full answer was given him today by Br. Mortimer.

be shown to any public characters; which is the reason why its contents are here so slightly touched upon.

When it is considered, that the military commanders in Ohio, in defense of their forcible removal of our nearest Indian neighbors, the innocent inhabitants of Greentown, declared at this time, that they had power to take up, disarm, confine or remove any person whatever (and were it the President of the United States himself if within their reach) upon suspicion only; will appear important, that the advantages acquired by this correspondence in behalf of the 25 poor, and really—otherwise than through the arm of the Almighty—defenseless Indians in Goshen, were that we had now a promise in writing, from the officer exercising the supreme command in our district that our Indians should not be removed, "till some mark of treachery in them was discovered;" and also a strong written pledge that as innocent people he would give no order to disarm them. Perhaps, as respects this matter, it was providential too, that the Colonel did not return from the army somewhat earlier. It may also be properly noticed here, that it belonged to the system of self-defense (if it deserved the name), to which, under God, we looked, as means which he might make use of to overawe our enemies, that all the spies whom we engaged, should bring arms with them.*

*Sec. 1 Sam. 14, 6 and 2 Chron. 14, 11.—It gave us in truth great advantages every way, that we had ourselves been necessitated to engage a guard for our town under the name of spies, and just in the way we did. Through this in particular, the military power, in his own opinion, lost the right which he might otherwise, legally perhaps, have exercised over us, to disarm and remove our Indians at his pleasure. Yet he could not, if he would, (see 17 Sept.) have granted us any such special protection as we had previously asked for, and which might have given him this right; and at same time could not object to the reasonableness of the special request that we had made to him on the subject. When, namely, on the 31st ult., we first formally solicited protection from him for our town, Br. Mortimer asked it in writing as a favor, to be permitted to name to him such persons out of the draft made in this county, as would be agreeable to us to compose a guard of safety here, on account of their being known friends of our Indians. On no other terms did, or could we desire to have any guard of him at all, as our object was, and must necessarily have been, to be guarded by friends, and not betrayed by enemies.

It may assist to give an idea of our situation at this time, to mention that the girl of 15 years of age who was now the hired servant in the family of Br. & Sr. Mortimer, went home yesterday to see her parents, and on her return today, declared, that she could not longer stay with us, as she believed certainly, that we should soon be killed; for, said she, not only some people, but everybody says so. Providentially for us, considering especially our increased house-keeping through our boarding the spies, and the great deal of labor which we had to attend to at this time, her elder sister was very willing to come to us in her place; alleging as the reason for this willingness, that she had found by experience, that she might go where she would, she felt everywhere more afraid than she did with us. —We had made it a rule to tell every one whom we engaged in our service during this time, that so soon as they were afraid to stay with us, they should go away, and we would pay them whatever was due them for all the time that they had spent with us.

Today Br. Luckenbach went to Gnadenhütten and Beersheba. Mr. Cadwallader Wallace of Chillicothe called at Br. Mortimer's on his way home from New Philadelphia, to ask for a copy of our advertisement, to have it inserted in one of the Chillicothe newspapers; which was immediately furnished him.

An encouraging occurrence filled our hearts with thanks and praises to our Lord. Our worthy and discreet friend Judge Roth of Sugar creek, on receiving from Br. Mortimer a copy of our advertisement, had taken a most effectual mode of making it serviceable to us. He went from house to house among his most respectable Christian neighbors, who are Methodists, Lutherans and Tunkers, and after showing it to them, a part agreed to come in a body, to the number of about 9, and assure us, and the Indians here, that they were our warm friends, who very much wished, that for their own sakes as ours, we might not move away from our present settlement. At New Philadelphia, on their way here, they first stopped at the principal tavern, to make known, in the most public manner, the object of their visit to us. They entreated us to give up every idea

of leaving this part of the country; for if we did so, they said, they saw plainly that the whole settlement, in every direction around us, must be broken up and ruined, as was the case near Greentown, when the Indians there were moved away. Not one of them, they observed, would have the courage to remain 48 hours after us in the settlement, in case we should leave it; for they would then expect nothing but murder and destruction to ensue. With tears in their eyes they expressed their humane feelings for our Indians, and their regret on account of the base usage which we had all experienced. As they had understood that we found it difficult to engage trusty guards to stay with us, they offered to assist us therein; and when they were further advanced in their work, they would themselves, some of them, if still necessary, come to stand guard here. Judge Roth had heard of the threatening language that had been used to Br. Mortimer on Sunday last, and particularly requested that complaint might be made to him of such persons, that he might commit them to jail. They observed further, that as our Indians could not hunt now, and would therefore, without extraordinary relief, suffer want; they promised on application, always to be willing, as long as the present state of things continued, to assist them with provisions; whereby they justly noticed, without any inducement thereto from us, that any expense they could be at, in order to relieve our Indians, would be trifling compared with the far greater loss which they themselves must sustain, if we deserted them in the present time of danger. These humane sentiments were not only expressed privately to Br. Mortimer; but the whole company went round to every Indian dwelling, and assured them all of their sincere regard and friendship.

24th., Br. Luckenbach returned from his visit at Gnadenhütten and Beersheba. By every such opportunity, as well as frequently by letter, we were anew assured of the sympathy and prayers of our dear brn. & srs. in those places. We heard through various channels that the fears of the people in the settlements, on account of the hostile Indians, were still increasing. How easily might all this distress, in this part of the country have been entirely avoided! Had only the Greentown In-

dians not been moved away, and in the manner they were, it would not have been known.

25th., Major Kribs of New Philadelphia, the next in command in the army from these parts under Col. Bay, came to assure us that he was our friend. The same had been done a few days before by Capt. Caples of Salem, who is also a judge of the court. The fact was, every person in office in the county, and every man of information and character with whom we were acquainted, was, as far as we could learn, by this time well disposed towards us; and the wish that had been so prevalent, that we might remove from here, became every day less popular.

26th., Some of our Indian brn., by particular desire from New Philadelphia, went a scouting along with our spies, on the road towards Sandusky; but did not, as was expected would be the case, find any tracks of persons who had lately come from thence.

27th., Br. Mortimer kept the public meeting from John 3. 3.

28th., last night a particular use was derived from the circumstance of our spies watching through the night. About two miles from us, some white men who were hunting raccoons, heard a noise frequently repeated resembling the calls of Indians to each other. This was occasioned by other white men, on purpose to alarm these very people, who were very well known for their credulity; and had the desired effect: for they spread a report the next day concerning Indians whom they had heard in the woods during the dead of the night, but could not get a sight of. Our spies could now aver, that none had come into, or gone out of Goshen. The truth of the matter was also soon known. In the evening Br. Hagen, who had spent a considerable time in Gnadenhütten, returned to us again.

29th., it was intimated to us by our friends in New Philadelphia, that they conceived it to be no longer necessary for us to keep spies to watch at nights; and that we might therefore, with safety to ourselves, and perfect satisfaction to the neighborhood, reduce the number from 4 to 2; which after some further enquiries, took place then accordingly.

30th., there were sundry new alarms circulated among our

neighbors today, as indeed the fears of the white people for hostile Indians remained unabated. In the evening at twilight, our Indian brn. & srs. also were put into an unusual fright, in consequence of the relation of one of our srs., that she had seen the hand of a strange man thrust into her house, who without shewing himself, immediately afterwards went off, and could no more be seen or heard of. In consequence of this relation, our spies, and some of the Indian brn., watched throughout the following night, but without making any further discovery.

It may serve to show the excessive terror which prevailed at this time among the white people, to notice, that in a house 16 miles from here not far from Salem, and therefore further from the Indian frontier than we were, 89 persons gathered together regularly every night, out of fear, in order to spend their nights there. A traveller who had stopped at that place, related to us, that it was also his wish, if possible, to lodge there one night; but one of the women, through fright merely as he understood, was taken in labor, and thence so much confusion and distress had ensued, that he was obliged at 1 o'clock in the morning to leave the place, and make the best of his way in the dark to some other house where people were assembled. Another traveller informed us, that when coming up the river, at the distance of 30 miles from us, he was told repeatedly, that if he pursued his journey, he certainly would not arrive alive at New Philadelphia. Many from different quarters who passed through our place during this month, appeared surprized, that the same fear which was visible almost everywhere else, they said, in all directions around us, hardly seemed to be felt by us at all; and yet, it was at same time often acknowledged, no place appeared to them to be really in so much danger as ours was.

Oct. 1st., Judge Roth of Sugar creek came here with a present of a waggon load of bread, wheat, flour, potatoes and pumpkins for our Indian brn. & srs. At his desire we lent him the history of the mission of our brethren among the Indians for his perusal.

2nd., a Mr. Wolgemuth of Sugar creek brought a present of 80 lb. flour for our Indian brn. & srs. Today we reduced the

number of our spies to one. All those whom we had in pay, we dismissed upon the terms, that if they heard at any time that we were in trouble or danger, they should, if possible, immediately come to our assistance, without our first sending for them; for which we would then duly pay them. Other friends also, especially civil and military officers, had kindly made us the promise, that in any emergency here of which they were aware, they would hasten to our relief.

3d., at about 8 o'clock in the morning, 10 armed men on foot, under the command of a self-chosen captain of the name of Wilson, came here from Guernsey and Belmont counties, from a distance of about 50 miles from here; "on a tour", they said, "to look for Indians in the woods and kill them." Their appearance and manner immediately arrested our particular attention, before we heard them speak; on which account our spy, armed, with the brn. Mortimer and Luckenbach, went with them to the first Indian whom they accosted. One of them told us soon, that he believed Indians had lived here long enough; a sentiment which we white br. of course instantly contraverted the propriety of his entertaining. The conversation was however, generally carried on in a friendly manner, our visitors commonly expressing themselves unexceptionably. They were very particular in their enquiries about the Indians here, going into all their houses, speaking with them, and counting their number. Their captain appeared to be anxious too, to enter into Br. Mortimer's house, and see his family, (probably in order to know whether they were all whites or not); and he, and the whole party, after repeated intimations from them to that effect, were willingly gratified herein. On our part enquiry was made too, as occasion conveniently offered, to learn the names, residences, and usual occupations of some of them. By this time three of our spies whom we had engaged to be ready to assist us at any supposed emergency without our sending for them, (see diary 2 instant), were arrived here from Beersheba on horseback, and were soon followed by our nearest neighbor and friend Br. Christian Blickensdorfer, senior, who lives only two miles from here. All came, without mentioning to us their suspicions, straight with their arms in their hands, into Br. & sr. Mortimer's house,

purposely in order to mingle with and strictly watch the strangers. The latter soon after took a friendly leave of us; observing that where they lived, they had heard much evil of our place; but now, after conversing with us and seeing the Indians themselves, they were fully satisfied about everything. On this, at the word of their captain, instead of keeping on the road either up or down the river, as might have been expected they would have done when they left us, if they intended to cross the river on foot; they quickly descended the high ground on which our town is built, and wading the Muskingum where it has a considerable depth, went straight forward into the thickest part of the forest, where there was no road. This singular conduct, after we became better acquainted with the circumstances attending their visit to us, seemed to us to bespeak, that they were conscious that they had so conducted themselves, that there was no cause to pursue and apprehend them; for they took the surest means, by a somewhat circuitous route towards their homes, to elude their being successfully pursued in order to apprehension.

There was in truth much reason to believe that these 10 men set off for our place with murderous designs against us;— at least before they came to us, they expressed themselves to this effect in the most suspicious terms. We were apprehensive, taking all things together, that they might be spies, sent hither by a greater number of persons, who were forming a plan of mischief against us. At parting, their captain said, somewhat significatively, that he expected to see us soon again. We learnt that in the party were near relations of some of the Guernsey militia who had lately been killed by the Indians near Greentown (see diary 19 Sept). Some of them had said with oaths to Br. Asa Walten in Beersheba, who happened to be near the road as they passed by his house, that they were going to Goshen to have revenge, and would kill all the Indians there. Br. Asa Walten, in answer, expostulated sharply with them, on the manifest impropriety of their coming so far to interfere, and seek to disturb the Indians in Goshen, when every sensible man in the neighborhood, who must know that if danger was to be apprehended from them at all, they must be the first sufferers,

was well satisfied that they should remain where they were, and accounted them the very best safety that the country had, against those Indians who were hostile. This he then further explained, agreeable to the arguments used in our public advertisement; (see diary 21 Sept.). In Gnadenhütten they were not quite so bold and daring as Br. Asa Walten had found them; but however declared publickly, that they would kill two Indians who lived with us, whom they named. Unfortunately, as they passed through there, Br. Peter received no information of what persons they were, or the language they used; as had he heard of them they would probably in consequence received such an impressive letter from him, as would have induced them to return home without delay. They were afterwards seen to stop together on the road, as if undetermined what to do. They remained over night at Br. Lewis Knauss's, which is only 4½ miles from us; and here again they received none but favorable accounts of our place. As they uttered no open threats against us in Br. Knauss's house, and the family was ignorant of the threats which they had before expressed, of course they were not urged to desist from their intentions to come to us. Probably, if they really did intend to murder all, or some part of the Indians who live with us—which is very likely—they gave up their intention before they reached Br. Knauss's house, in consequence merely of what they had heard among our white brn. & srs., and especially from Br. Asa Walten.—It may appear almost unaccountable, that no one should have given us previous notice of the approach of such very suspicious persons, who travelled the high road avowedly in the character of murderers, and publickly declared who they were going to destroy. But the fact was, the general panic, even among our brn. & srs., and some of our best friends, was so great, that almost every woman was afraid to have her husband or near relative, appear to be our friend, for fear that they in consequence might have to suffer, perhaps for having merely given us humane information with the view to save our lives. In this trying state of things, Br. Peter Edmonds of Beersheba, whose wife is Sr. Mortimer's sister, and his upgrown sons, and Sr. Mortimer's cousin the single man Daniel Warner, were always our assured friends,

who kindly regarded our case and circumstances precisely as if they were their own, and rendered us the most essential services. The Lord reward them for it!

As soon as the 10 men were gone, we warned our Indian brn. & srs., and their children, not to go into their cornfields to-day, not even to fetch anything to eat, and if our spies accompanied them. We also took every precaution to engage a strong watch for the next night, in case it should be necessary; and sent messages in different directions to give notice among our friends of what had occurred, and to gain information where the 10 men had gone to. Late in the evening we had the satisfaction to learn, that they had been seen at such a distance from here going homewards, that no doubt remained but they had, for the present at least, left our neighborhood.—As Br. Mortimer happened to be well acquainted with Lieut. Col. Beatty of Cambridge, who is the principal commanding officer in the militia of Guernsey and Belmont counties, he addressed a letter to him per post about the affairs; to which he received so satisfactory an answer from that gentleman, concerning the enquiries he had made, and the means he had taken to prevent our being troubled in the same manner again; that it was evident nothing inimical to us, was to be apprehended again from that quarter.

Thus through the mercy of God, were we delivered in another trouble, so that no evil had touched us. (Job. 5-19). This affair of the ten men from Guernsey and Belmont counties, naturally reminded us of the murder of 96 of our Indian brn. & srs. and their children in the year 1782; which took place as is known, (see Loskiel's mission history, part III chap. 10) through an unauthorized association or murderers, who in that case took upon themselves the name of militia; and like these people, came too from a distance, to destroy peaceable Indians. From the threats of unprincipled banditti, who it was still to be apprehended from various reports that we heard, might come hither from a distance, we had now the most cause to expect future alarms to our Indians; but we trusted firmly that our dear Lord, who had hitherto so graciously protected us, would still continue to be our help and our shield (Pi. 33. 20) in every trial.

4th., Br. Luckenbach preached from Mark 2. 3-12. Several of our white brn. & srs. and other neighbors came to see us. Mr. Itzkin, one of the commissaries for the army, applied to the Indian Charles Henry to go for a short time with two of his horses to the frontiers in the service of the United States. In consequence of our interference, the horses only were engaged; but Charles—much to his own satisfaction—pursued the safer course, and remained at home.

5th., Br. Mortimer visited in Gnadhütten and Beersheba.

9th., Br. Hagen did the same. In the evening Br. Mortimer held a meeting to our cont. brn. & srs.

11th., he held the public meeting from the text of the day. In the evening we enjoyed the h. communion blessedly with our Indian brn. & srs.

13th., some of the inhabitants here, agreeable to the custom of Indians when they are gathering in their corn, proposed staying out all night in their cornfields; but we earnestly advised against the step, as being unsafe for them as yet; and they in consequence relinquished their purpose.* At the commencement of the present critical time here through the war, we stipulated with all the Indians under our care, that they should strictly follow all the advice which we should give them for their safety. This they willingly promised to do; and also kept their word. We reminded them on the occasion, as what was the certain from matter of fact, that had the Indian brn. & srs. who went from Sandusky to Gnadhütten in the year 1782 to gather in their corn, followed the plain rules which were then given them by their teachers, not to encamp over night in their corn fields, but to secret themselves in small straggling parties in the woods, and do as much as possible without fires; they could not

*On the 28th of the month the above mentioned lieut. Col. Beatty of Cambridge wrote to Br. Mortimer: "In the mean time I think it would be advisable for those Indians" (the Indians at Goshen) "to keep at home as much as possible, and not venture out in the woods, or out of the immediate neighborhood of their town, as there are many turbulent and ill-disposed persons that would perhaps not stop to kill them, should they see them in the woods, and would excuse themselves by saying they took them to be hostile Indians." Some of the corn fields of our Indians, are at a considerable distance from the town.

have been seized upon as they were by the whites, and murdered to the number of 96. We represented to them, that in the present war, and as inhabitants of Goshen, their only hope of safety, combined with their freedom, lay, under God, in their being associated with their teachers, letting them act for them, and then implicity following their directions.

15th., the brn. Mortimer & Luckenbach went together to pay a visit in Gnadenhütten and Beersheba.

18th., as on the 7th. ult. it was totally out of our power to keep the festival of the married choir; but now everything appeared to be peaceable round about us, we resolved to celebrate it today; and the Lord made it to be to us a day of joy and gladness. Br. Luckenbach kept the morning blessing, with a fervent prayer to our Lord in the Delaware language. Br. Mortimer held a discourse to the choir. Br. Luckenbach kept the public meeting from John 4. 46 ve. At the lovefeast an affectionate salutation from the general help. confe. in Bethlehem to the Ind. brn. & srs. here, which was delivered with particular reference to the late troubles which we had experienced, was heard with great joy. The brn. & srs. were also assured of the sympathizing love and fellow feeling that would be awakened in the hearts of our dear brn. & srs. everywhere, when they would hear of their late dangers & sufferings. They would, with them, be thankful to our dear Lord for having so graciously guarded them by his holy angels, and preserved them from all harm; and would now, with renewed fervency, pray to our Lord in their behalf, that they might show their thankfulness to him for the deliverances which he had wrought for them. by living more to his praise than they had done hitherto. A short address of encouragement was then made to them from the words 1 Sam. 7. 12, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."— Throughout the whole county in which we live, the dreadful fears that had prevailed, of being attacked by hostile Indians, were now fast subsiding.

19th., Br. & Sr. Oppelt and children, and sr. Peter and children, of Gnadenhütten, made us the pleasure of a visit.

20th., Br. Mortimer visited our friends in New Philadelphia.

21st & 22d., we were gratified by agreeable visits from Br. & Sr. Miller and daughter, on their way to and from New Philadelphia.

25th., Br. Hagen went again to Gnadenhütten. In his very infirm state of body, short rides proved salutary to him; and at the recommendation of his physician, he took them frequently. Br. Mortimer kept the public meeting from Luke 7. 41v.

28th & 29th., Br. & Sr. Mortimer and children made a most pleasing visit among our brn. & srs. in Gnadenhütten and Beersheba. In the latter place Br. Mortimer kept the funeral of a child. In Gnadenhütten, on their return, they awaited the arrival of the post, which brought a call to Br. Abraham Luckenbach, who is now here, to take upon himself the care of this congn.; and as he forthwith accepted the same, Br. & Sr. Mortimer were thereby set at liberty to enter on the journey to their destined station at New York, agreeable to the call which they had received in March last.—Br. Hagen was also called to return to Bethlehem.

30th, in the evening meeting, these proposed changes were made known by Br. Mortimer to the brn. & srs., and recommended to their prayers before our Lord; especially that they might receive in love, and as from our Lord himself, their new, already well-known and much esteemed teacher, Br. Luckenbach, and always love and obey him.

31st, Br. Mortimer went to Gnadenhütten and Beersheba on business.

1 Nov., Br. Hagen visited in the same places. Br. Luckenbach kept the public meeting from Math. 22. 21.

During the week Br. & Sr. Mortimer and Br. Hagen were busily employed in preparing for their proposed long journies at this advanced season of the year.

8th, Br. Mortimer kept the public meeting from Math. 13-16. In the afternoon Br. Luckenbach particularly and very affectionately recommended Br. Hagen to the remembrance and prayers of the cong. before our Lord; as he proposed setting off this afternoon by way of New Philadelphia for Bethlehem. He was desirous, on account of his weak state of health, to commence the journey as soon as possible.

13th, this solemn memorial-day in the Brethern's church was celebrated in the usual manner here with a discourse and prayer at 9 o'clock in the morning, in which Br. Luckenbach treated very impressively of our Lord's being of a truth the Head and Shepherd of his people. Afterwards Br. Mortimer went once more to Gnadenhütten and Beersheba, to take leave, in the name of himself and family, of our dear brn. & srs. there.

14th, Br. Hagen returned hither from New Philadelphia, as he found that he could not set off from there on his journey, so soon as he had expected. He and Br. & sr. Mortimer at a love-feast, took leave in brotherly love and friendship of all the inhabitants here, being assured also of their sincere love and regard. At the conclusion Br. Mortimer expressed the very particular pleasure he felt, as he was now called elsewhere in the service of our Lord, at surrendering the charge, under the Great Shepherd himself, of the souls here, to a brother who is so well known and beloved among our Indian brn. & srs., as Mr. Luckenbach is, and who speaks their language so well, Br. Mortimer then held a separate meeting to the communicants.

15th, Br. Luckenbach preached from Luke 8. 43v. In the evening all the comts. here enjoyed the h. comn., blessedly in the nearness of our Lord, during which many tears were shed. At the conclusion an Indian brother stood up quite unexpectedly to us, and thanked Br. & sr.. Mortimer, in the name of the rest for the love they had shewn them during the many (14) years past that they had lived with them, and especially for having remained with them during the late troublesome and dangerous times; whereby, he observed, that Br. Mortimer, from knowing so many persons in the neighborhood, and all the circumstances here, had been enabled to judge better how to act, than another teacher could have done, who was more a stranger here. Every white man, the speaker noticed, had paid all respect to what he said, & no one had ventured to oppose him. (Sister Mortimer's situation was however at the same time extremely difficult here; through frights and overexertion she was several times taken seriously ill.) Also the great thankfulness of the brn. & srs. for having received so very suitable a successor to

him as Br. Luckenbach is, was simply and suitably expressed. —This communion, and all that occurred thereat, especially that we bound ourselves thereby to continued mutual love, though far distant from each other, and to love and faithfulness to our Lord till death; were graciously owned by him.

In these days many of our white brn. & srs. and other friends visited here, to take leave of Br. & sr. Mortimer, and their four children, and Br. Hagen, and to praise our Lord with us for his signal mercies to us all here, and especially for the help that we, and our dear Indian brn. & srs., have always in time of need richly experienced at his hands.

16th, all things were now in readiness for the journey of our travellers; but they had not been able to enter on it as soon as they had wished, on account of high water in the Muskingum, which prevented their being able to cross it with their baggage.

17th, in the morning the waggons that were to convey Br. & srs. Mortimer and their children, and Br. Hagen, to Pittsburg, were got ready for the journey. Before starting Br. Luckenbach convened the Indian brn. & srs. and children in the church, and most affectionately and emphatically, in their name took a tender and solemn leave of them in a short discourse and prayer; which was reciprocated with much emotion by Br. Mortimer. Br. Miller and Br. Edmonds of Beersheba etc. were also present. At about 1 o'clock p. m. the parting took place; which was moving on both sides from long and close acquaintance; and especially to the Indian sisters, from the consideration that they had now no longer a white sr. living among them, to whom they could freely unbosom themselves.

Letter from the Christian Indians at Goshen, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, to the congregations of the United Brethern in Pennsylvania and the adjacent States.

Dear brethern & sisters:

We heartily salute you all, particularly those who are personally known to us, as our dear brethern George H. Loskiel, John Heckewelder, and John G. Cunow, and our dear sisters Magdalene Loskiel, Susanna Zeisberger, Sarah Heckewelder, Anna Senseman and Anna Rosina Gambold. We have not for-

got them yet, but often think of them with much love and respect.

We humbly salute you all: but we are quite unworthy to call you our brn. & srs., because we still daily grieve our dear Saviour so much. We are sensible that it is of his great mercy only, that we remain still at this place, and have not as yet entirely lost that feeling of his grace in our hearts, which we experienced when we first desired to receive the forgiveness of our sins, and this blessing was conferred upon us.

Dear brethern & sisters: We wish to let you know, that we feel ourselves sometimes in many respects, destitute and forsaken, like poor orphans without father or mother, being only few in numbers, and no one among us being duly capable of taking charge of the whole.* Nevertheless we have great reason to be thankful to our Saviour for having, of late especially, safely conducted us through trying and difficult circumstances, in these times of war; so that we are still alive and well.

Dear brethren and sisters: A principal reason why we write to you is, to inform you, that we were very sorry last spring when we first heard that the ministers at Bethlehem had determined to call away from here our dear brother and sister Mortimer. We were then so much grieved on this account, that we were utterly unable to reflect on the subject, in order to give to you, or our brother Mortimer, an answer about it. On consideration, we believed it to be our own fault that we were to be deprived of him, as we were sensible that we had justly deserved to be left without a teacher. Having deliberated together, and considered all our circumstances, we said to each other that we could for the present say and do nothing, but only recommend our situation to our Lord himself in prayer, who we trusted would still be merciful to us.

Now dear brethern & sisters: We are again very much rejoiced, and are thankful to our dear Lord, and also to you, because another teacher is given to us, who will make known to us the goodwill and words of God, namely our dear brother

*This alludes to the loss sustained by the death of brother William Henry, since which time there is no Indian brother left in Goshen, who can properly fill the station that he held as assistant to the missionary.

Abraham Luckenbach. This is quite according to the wish of our hearts; and we will love him, and obey all the good instructions and advice that he may think proper to give us.

Dear brethern and sisters: There is one thing more that we wish to tell you, and to request your assistance about it. During the late troublesome time here arising from the war, many white people threatened to injure us, declaring that we ought no longer to live on this land. We have reason to believe that it was for the sake of the land only, that they spoke so hard against us, as they did not wish us to remain on it. We beg therefore that you would let the great men in the city of Washington know how we have been threatened, that our living here may be made more safe and secure to us, and that bad people may cease to threaten us about the land.

The Christian Indians living at Goshen, and in their name

(Signed) John Henry
Charles Henry
Goshen 16 Nov. 1812. Christn. G. Henry

[This ends the Rev. Benjamin Mortimer's entries in the diary. The Rev. Abraham Luckenback here takes up the narrative in German, of which the following is a translation.]

Nov. 17th, after they had besought in prayer upon their knees in the morning meeting the gracious protection and care of our dear Lord, and the Indian brethern and sisters had taken the heartiest leave of them, whereby tears were shed on both sides, brother and sister Mortimer and brother Hagen left here by wagon for Bethlehem, and stayed over night in New Philadelphia, whence on the next day the wagon in which they had laden their goods drove off in their company. Brother Miller who had been visiting here from Beersheba returned today.

Nov. 18th, Brother Luckenbach betook himself to New Philadelphia on business but did not see the brethern and sisters any more.

But he visited Mr. Clark, county clerk, and requested him to continue hereafter the promise which he had made Brother Mortimer, and to acknowledge himself as a friend and patron of the Goshen Indians, to support them in word and deed, and

when dangerous times should occur, to send them news thereof immediately, which he promised to do. In these days we experienced very rough and cold weather, which reminded us to sympathize with the circumstances which had fallen to the lot of our sickly brethern and sisters upon their journey, and awoke the sighs within us; may the Saviour graciously support them in all experiences.

19th, a school was begun with 12 scholars, who showed the greatest desire to learn, and in whom there appeared to be a wish to go to school and learn verses. May the Saviour give his blessing thereto and keep in their hearts the desire for learning and bless them therein.

21st, Brother Luckenbach went to Gnadenhütten on business and returned home in the evening. The sisters Anna Caritas and the elderly Christina were ill during these days and were visited.

22d, service was held at the usual time at which the exhortation was based upon Math. 25, 31-46.

26th & 28th, a considerable number of militia passed through this neighborhood to New Philadelphia to appear at the court-martial, since they had disobeyed the order to appear at certain designated places. Little is heard of the usual customary threats of the white people; also the alarms of danger from wild Indians have as it were entirely disappeared; and we thank the Saviour from our hearts for the quiet which we are enjoying and hope that he will continue the same out of his grace to us. The Indian brethern now dare to hunt again in the neighborhood, and are so fortunate as to kill a deer almost every time they go out, which is very encouraging for them under the present circumstances, as they have been in great need of meat for a long time, because they dared not allow themselves to be seen in the neighborhood with weapons. An especial care of God plainly appears to lie in this that in other years the deer did not stop in such great numbers or so near to these places as has now for some time been the case.

29th, preaching was held at the usual time; the weekly meetings were kept up uninterruptedly as much as possible. Tobias, an Indian who has now had permission to live for more

than two years, visited Brother Luckenbach and expressed the desire to own a house of his own here, and to stay near the congregation the rest of his life, and to abide by the word of God as he heard it.

Dec. 3d, Charles Henry ventured out 8 miles from the settlement alone in order to get a musket which he had hidden, and toward evening returned safely home again without having met any evilminded persons.

6th, the sermon in the service was based on Luke 21, 25-36.

8th, Brother Luckenbach went with Charles Henry to Colonel Bay at New Philadelphia on business and had the opportunity to become acquainted with him, and to talk with him about several things concerning the Indian congregation. In these days we had very cold weather.

11th, Christian Henry was very kindly but earnestly spoken with, as he had secretly indulged himself too much in brandy at New Philadelphia, and was implored to guard himself, especially in the present dangerous times, against the misuse of strong drink.

13th, in the meeting especial stress was laid upon the fact that the word of God is a power of God to make all who believe on it happy, and which proves itself so up to this very day to every faithful heart. The Indian Tobias together with his wife Beade who had betaken themselves secretly to New Philadelphia and had become intoxicated, were spoken to in the presence of several Indian brethern very earnestly, and the danger to body and soul which they could bring through such a life was impressively shown them, and also the disgraceful result which would come upon our place during the present war time. They promised to repent and to keep from doing the same in the future. Because of the present great cold and because several sisters were sick, the meeting was held from now on in sister Zeisberger's former house, so that the meetings could be held more regularly, because there was a stove there, and school was held there, which was evident to the Indians sisters and children.

20th, preaching was held at the usual time upon the text for Sunday, John 1, 19-28. In the evening three white persons

passed through here, who had stopped for some time about 9 miles from here on a hunting expedition, and who were bringing several horse loads of deer meat home with them. They are not near neighbors of ours, but they are people whose company has always tended to harm for our Indian brethern and sisters, and they were on this occasion the cause of several of our Indian brethern and sisters associating with them in the woods against permission, and hunting with them. Brother Luckenback asked them to betake themselves no longer in the future into the woods with our brethern when they were hunting, since in the present dangerous times a great misfortune might arise for the latter and new suspicions might be aroused.

24th, the weekly and monthly budgets arrived together with a letter from Brother Cunow from the Helper's Conference and formed a pleasant Christmas present. From the last letter it was learned that at the writing brother and sister Mortimer and brother Hagen had not arrived in Bethlehem which showed us that it had occurred to them through the cold weather that delays must be made. In the evening the Indian congregation held a blessed lovefeast in which we considered, with blessing for our hearts, the immeasurable love of our dear Saviour for us poor fallen children of man, which he has made known to us in such a remarkable and convincing manner, that he became a man to our everlasting salvation, and clothed himself in our poor flesh and blood, for which we, in our poor part, brought him our weak thanks upon our knees, and prayed to the Christ child in the manger as our Lord and Saviour and praised him anew in our hearts. At the conclusion the school children, 12 in number, recited the Christmas verses, which gave the parents and those present the greatest satisfaction, whereupon to their great joy wax candles were given to the children, with which as it was a calm night, they went home happily. An especial blessed feeling of grace was awaked and perceptible in this meeting, and the little brown number appeared to be rightly affected.

25th, Christmas, preaching was held at the usual time, in which the exhortation was based on the gospel of the day, Luke 2, 1-14, and especially on the joy which every child of God finds

in his heart because a Saviour has been born for him. In the evening a preparatory service was held for the communicant brethern and sisters in preparation for the coming communion.

26th, in the individual interviews many of the communicants bewailed their backsliding and said that the anxious thought often occurred to them as to whether they would remain faithful to the Saviour to the end, which awoke in them a desire to come into a closer communion with the Saviour and forever to put aside what made them so weary in their lives. In the evening we enjoyed the flesh and blood of our Saviour in the holy communion to the awakening of our poor souls, at which a sister could not be present because of sickness. Her share was given her the following evening on her sick bed, for which she declared herself very thankful and said that nothing in the world exceeded her joy in the Saviour and his word. So long as she had improved she had willingly neglected no meeting, now, however, she was so weak that she could no more go to the Holy Communion and could think about nothing else, whereat she began to weep. She was comforted by the fact that the Saviour knew from experience all our weaknesses and had unbelievable patience with them, and these should not separate us from him but draw us so much the closer to him.

27th, the preaching was based upon Luke 2, 33-40 and especially upon the benefits and blessings which lie for us in the childhood of our Saviour and the weakness he took upon himself so graciously for us.

29th, Brother Luckenbach visited in Gnadenhütten and Beersheba and returned in the evening.

31st, toward 12 o'clock we gathered at a lovefeast at the close of the year, and remembered with thankfulness the many benefits within and without, and especially the gracious and mighty help of our faithful Lord in the danger which had approached so near to this place because of the restlessness of war, and commended ourselves to him anew—in prayer upon our knees to his gracious protection and guidance, in the knowledge of our poverty, weakness and backsliding in that which we should do for him—during the coming new year, in the lively hope that he would continue to be gracious to this little flock of

souls taken from the heathen and would bring them to the end to the glory and honor of his name. They are with all their poverty within and without his once dearly bought property and although their sins and backsliding are great yet his compassion and faithfulness is greater and surmounts everything.

During the year one person has gone to her eternal home, the late sister Anna Benigna.

There are living her [in Goshen]

3 married people	6 persons.
2 widows	2 persons.
1 bachelor and 1 single man	2 persons.
1 single woman	1 person.
3 great boys	3 persons.
1 great girl	1 person.
4 boys	4 persons.
7 girls	7 persons.
Total	26 persons.

Of these 25 have been baptized; of whom 7 are communicants.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

Abraham Luckenbach, born May 5, 1777, in Lehigh county, Pa. Educated at Nazareth Hall, Nazareth, Pa. Became a Moravian Missionary to the Indians in 1800 and so labored for forty-three years. Died at Bethlehem, March 8, 1854. Edited and translated some Moravian religious works into the Delaware language.

John Joachim Hagen, a Moravian Missionary, joined the Goshen Mission about 1804. He had previously labored among the Creeks and Cherokees of the South.

Simon Peter, David Peter and Dorcas Peter. David Peter and John Heckewelder in October, 1799, reinterred the bones of the Moravian Indians massacred at Gnadenhütten. Dorcas Peter seems to have been one of the early settlers at the Salem Mission, where he took charge of the society's store.

William Henry Gelelemend, grandson of Netawatwes; William was one of the most distinguished of the Moravian Indian converts. His father was chief of the Turtle tribe of the

Delawares. In succeeding his father as chief Gelelemend became known as Killbuck, Jr., and under that name signed the first Indian treaty ever concluded by a tribe with the United States. It was made at Fort Pitt, September 17, 1778. He joined the Moravians, at Salem, in 1788. In baptism he was given the name William Henry. He was a great man, always a firm friend of the whites. He died at Goshen in 1812.

Ska (Levi) was a Delaware convert of the Moravians and acted as an assistant to the missionaries.

Oppelt, probably a German, a young missionary who led a colony from Fairfield, Canada, and set up a station on the Pettquotting, near New Salem.

Beersheba, a small Moravian Mission situated on the west side of the Tuscarawas, in what is now Clay township, Tuscarawas county.

Brother Miller, same as George Godfrey Mueller, one of the German Missionary founders of Beersheba.

John Henry, chief of a small band of the Mohawks, converted by the Moravians.

Peter Edmonds, one of the first settlers on the Tuscarawas reservation and a faithful missionary.

DEDICATION OF THE LOGAN ELM.

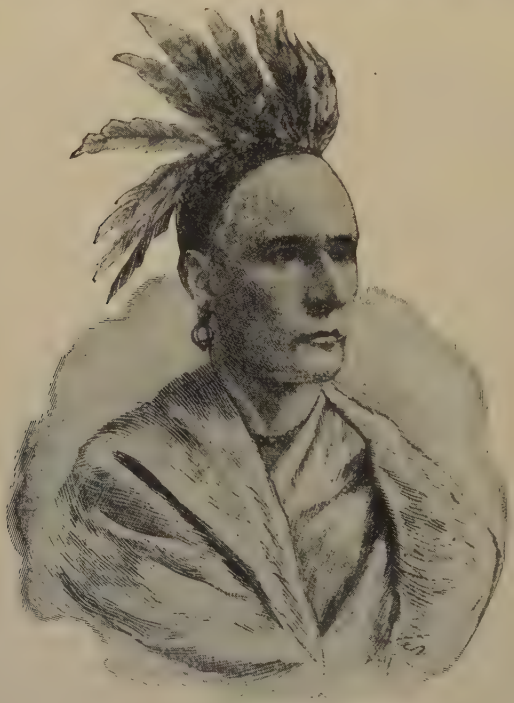
BY MISS MAY LOWE, CIRCLEVILLE.

The second day of October, 1912, marked an epoch in the history of Pickaway county, Ohio, for that day witnessed an event unusual even in the history of a nation. This was the transfer, with appropriate ceremonies, of the famed "Logan Elm," which, with the turning over of certain papers at the hands of the President of the Pickaway Historical Association to the President of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, passed forever from the county to the state.

For a number of years some of the residents of Pickaway county had regretted the fact that many objects which played an important part in the early history of the region were being ruthlessly destroyed, one by one, or were carelessly left to pass into oblivion, unmarked in any way which would show future generations that this locality, "more than any other in the West deserves to be called classic ground."

One of these objects (our most important landmark, in a certain sense) was the Logan Elm—that grand old monarch of the forest, which stands seven miles south of Circleville, and which was a witness of some thrilling deeds enacted in that bloody prelude to the drama of the American Revolution (the Dunmore war), and whose leaves, rustling in the Autumn breeze, first heard the utterance of those impassioned words which, being repeated to the gifted Thomas Jefferson, were pronounced by him to be a production unsurpassed by any single passage of either Demosthenes or Cicero, and which, transcribed by the statesman in his "Notes on Virginia," were preserved for future generations as "Logan's Speech." But the Indian chief gave expression to these words, not as a speech but as an expression of feeling, leaping from his heart to his lips, and in explanation of his refusal to join in a conference between Lord Dunmore and his officers and the Indians of the Pickaway Plains, with a view to discussing terms of peace.

Much has been written as to the Mingo chief, Tah-gah-jute, called John Logan in honor of the Secretary of Pennsylvania, who was a friend of the Indian's father. This latter was Skikellimus, chief of the Cayugas, and a man of great strength of character. He bequeathed to his son nobility of mind and a personality which was a mingling of gentleness and dignity, which



Logan, the Mingo.

influenced his actions to such a degree as to earn him the title "Friend of the White Man," after his coming from the place of his birth to the Ohio country, where he freely mingled, not only with the Shawnees, with whom he allied himself, but also with the white settlers. The events of the Dunmore war, and the subjugation of the Indians of the locality, and also the story of the misfortunes which led the noble chief, Logan, to change his attitude toward the whites, have been fully written, and it is un-

necessary to dwell upon them here except to bring out a few points to illustrate the topography of the region.

The council in question was held at Dunmore's headquarters, Camp Charlotte, on the bank of Scippo creek, and one-half mile distant from the place where, later, a hamlet called Leistville, sprang up. The conference was called at the request of Chief Cornstalk, whose village, Cornstalk's Town, stood on the exact spot now occupied by the residence of D. E. Phillips. Cornstalk had, from the beginning, disapproved of war, but he saw that they had gone too far to withdraw unless immediate and absolute peace be made. As Dunmore and his army were marching upon the Indian villages and when within fifteen miles of the same, they were halted by a flag of truce in the hands of a white man, named Elliott, who informed Dunmore that the Indians requested him to halt and send in some person who understood their language. Dunmore moved on, pitching camp when he came to a suitable place, in the meanwhile sending in Colonel John Gibson to treat with the Indians. A council was arranged upon, and, several days later, met, Cornstalk and eight other chiefs and about five hundred warriors being present. Although it is generally believed that the red men really desired peace, they carried out their part of the proceedings with admirable diplomacy, assuming absolute indifference as to the outcome of the business in hand. As an indication that they had no choice as to whether it should be peace or war between themselves and the whites their faces were painted one-half red and one-half black. All the chiefs attended the council except Logan.

The story that one generally hears is that Dunmore insisted that Logan should be present and sent Gibson to ask the chief to come or send a reason for his refusal; that Logan was found in his cabin at Old Chillicothe (later, Westfall), on the Scioto; that at first he declined to talk, but, at length, motioning to Gibson to follow, he went into the forest and sat down under a tree and explained his refusal to go to the council. Even if there were no documental proof of the erroneousness of this version of the Logan story one point alone is enough to show its unreasonableness. Old Chillicothe was on the other side of the river, and at least four miles from the spot where the tree stands,

under which, tradition says, Logan's words were spoken. For the fact that the words were really spoken we need not depend upon tradition, for we have authenticated records, coming down from the time, that bear out the story. Of these is the sworn affidavit of Colonel Gibson, who states that the words were

Map of Locality of Logan Elm.

spoken to him and relates the incidents leading up to the speech, and also states that the words spoken to him by Logan were, on his return to camp, delivered to Dunmore, and that they were substantially the same as related by Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia," he having heard them through some of Dunmore's officers.

Gibson's encounter with Logan and the delivery of the speech occurred when Dunmore sent him, at the request of the chiefs, to talk with them, upon the first arrival of the whites in the vicinity of the Indian towns, and not after the warriors had assembled in council, as is usually stated. And we are not dependent upon tradition or supposition as to the place where Gibson met Logan and the incidents of that meeting, for in his sworn statement we read that on his arrival at the towns, Logan came to where he (Gibson) was sitting "with the Corn-Stalk and the other chiefs of the Shawneese" and asked him to walk out with him; they went into a copse of wood and sat down upon a log (and according to one Williamson, one of Dunmore's officers, beneath an elm tree), "and Logan, after shedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the speech."

It is worthy of note that Gibson says the Indian towns, and not Old Chillicothe. He without doubt referred to Cornstalk's Town and Grenadier Squaw's Town, which were the official headquarters of the Shawnee chief, and where it might be supposed that he waited with his chiefs about him, for the messenger sent from the white commander. He would have had absolutely no object in being at Old Chillicothe, but it is reasonable to think that he awaited the interpreter at his town nearest the camp of Dunmore. Thus it may readily be seen that as Logan came "where Gibson was sitting with the Corn-Stalk and the other chiefs of the Shawnees" the meeting between the two was at Grenadier Squaw's Town, only a little over half a mile from the Elm. How the story that the messenger sought Logan at Old Chillicothe ever came into existence is no less remarkable than that it has survived to the present day. For even a slight study of the locality involved shows the futility of such an assumption.

It was in commemoration of the events thus briefly related, and to perpetuate the life of the tree so intimately associated with these events, in the minds of students, that some of the residents of Pickaway county sought to create a public sentiment in favor of the preservation and care of the Logan Elm. The Boggs family, who, for several generations, owned the farm upon which the tree stands, took the initiative in the matter, a number of years ago, when a monument was erected to com-

memorate the building, in 1798, of the cabin of Captain John Boggs, which it is claimed was the first house built by a white man upon the Pickaway Plains.

This marble column bears upon its four sides inscriptions which are interesting, not only as a family record, but are also important as county history.

One of these inscriptions reads: "Under the spreading branches of a magnificent elm tree, near by, is where Logan, the Mingo chief, made his celebrated speech."

The Boggs monument stands on a slight elevation, this be-

Bronze Plate on Boggs Monument.

ing one of the points named in determining the exact spot upon which Logan's speech was delivered. The information leading to the identification of the place was furnished to Captain John Boggs by Captain Williamson, before mentioned, who stated that Logan sat beneath an elm tree which grew a short distance southwest of a mound which lay in the middle of a small piece of prairie, about thirty acres in extent, the mound and tree being close to Congo creek, and about a mile above Camp Lewis.

This description enabled Captain Boggs to locate the tree, very readily, and he and his descendants were careful to preserve its identity thereafter. The monument was erected, as previously stated, upon the mound mentioned, and overlooking

the beautiful stream, which, though at times of freshets, becomes a raging torrent, usually flows peacefully along over clean pebbles, its shallow water, of a pale green tint, reflecting, with microscopic exactness, the branches and foliage of the ash, elm, and sycamore trees which arch overhead.

When, in 1888, the Boggs farm passed from the possession of this pioneer family to Samuel Wallace, of Chillicothe, and

Elm Tree, Showing Mound in Front as Described by Captain Williamson, With Trees on Right Along Bank of Congo Creek.

later to his widow, it was feared by some persons that by coming into the hands of those whose interests were centered in Ross rather than in Pickaway county the sentiment which enveloped this landmark might be doomed to lapse. But this apprehension was groundless; for while the new owners did not feel justified in expending time or money in the care of an object in which, as residents of another county, they had, of course, no especial interest, they were very considerate of the feelings of their neigh-

bors across the county line, and gave free access to all persons who wished to visit the spot. The kindness of this can be appreciated only by those who realize that, for a number of years, pilgrims singly and in parties have taken their way to this historic shrine, often to the detriment of the growing crops through which they passed on their way thereto. For several years past it was a matter of anxiety to those interested in the tree that the owner of the farm might, at last, tire of the injury to her crops

Congo Creek Which Passes Close to the Logan Elm.

and land which resulted from her generous impulses and withdraw the privilege of using a portion of her farm as a highway, or that she might even put an end to what must, of necessity, be an annoyance, by destroying the tree.

With these considerations in view, some members of the Pickaway County Centennial Association discussed the matter and decided to take some steps looking toward the acquisition of the landmark, or if that proved unfeasible, toward its preservation, this being deemed a fitting contribution to the celebration of

the county's centenary. The Woman's Committee of the Centennial Association, with Mrs. Howard Jones as chairman, undertook the selling of a specially-designed Centennial badge and a set of plates bearing views illustrative of the history of the county. Special committees, appointed by the chairman, had charge of this work, and the money raised from these sources, after the necessary expenses were paid, was laid away as the nucleus of a Logan Elm fund.

With the celebration of the Pickaway County Centennial, in the first week of October, 1910, the need of a Centennial Association lapsed, and it was decided to resolve it into a Pickaway County Historical Society, which should interest itself in such matters as usually pertain to such an organization and which should, especially, give renewed attention to the question of the Logan Elm. The Society was formed by the adoption of a constitution and the election of officers, on October 28, 1910, and Mrs. Howard Jones was chosen President by the unanimous vote of all present.

It was quite a disappointment to those who had the matter at heart to find that so few persons in the county seemed to be interested. It was fondly hoped that at least all those who were members of the Centennial Association would come, as a matter of course, into the new organization, but they failed to do so; and though it was repeatedly urged that all residents of the county take part in the meetings and the proposed work so few responded that it seemed almost impossible that any good results might be accomplished. But those who came to the initial meetings were so much in earnest that it was decided to continue the work, even if no others came forward. But the effort to have others join was not given up yet, notwithstanding this, the Pickaway County Historical Society never numbered beyond a dozen members. They were: President, Mrs. Howard Jones; Vice-President, Mrs. C. F. Lutz; Secretary and Treasurer, Miss Clara C. Littleton; Mrs. E. B. Beeshy, Mrs. John Henry, Miss Alice Pedrick, Mrs. M. A. Sweetman, Mrs. Charles Will, Miss May Lowe, and Mr. Harry E. Weill. (Upon the removal of Mrs. Lutz to Columbus, Mrs. Henry was selected as Vice President.)

These had all contributed materially to the success of the

county's Centennial, several of the ladies having served on the special committees which had in charge the accumulating of the Logan Elm fund. Of these indefatigable workers were Miss Littleton, Mrs. Beeshy, and Mrs. Lutz, and they now renewed their efforts, side by side with the President and the other members to make the work of the new society a success.

Not long after the organization of the Historical Society it became known that the Logan Elm had begun to decay, and it was decided that immediate attention should be given it. A call was made through the newspapers for contributions to pay for having the tree "doctored," and the school children were asked to add to the fund for this purpose. During the entire time that the question of restoring and purchasing this historic landmark was being agitated the newspapers of Circleville (the Democrat and Watchman, the Union-Herald, and the Circleville Herald) and, also, the papers throughout the county and the Frankfort Sun, of Ross county, were all untiring in their efforts to assist in the project. All notices sent in by the Historical Society were printed gratuitously, as well as many long articles written by members of the editorial staffs, all calling attention to the importance of preserving this historic relic. Then, when the means for the preservation of the Elm was an accomplished fact it was felt, more than ever, that it should be acquired, by purchase, with at least sufficient ground to afford ingress to the tree.

With this in view, Mrs. Jones entered into negotiations with Mrs. Wallace, the owner of the farm, with the ultimate result that a proposition was made for the purchase of several acres of ground, including the tree. A short time before this, Mr. Frank Tallmadge, of Columbus, and Hon. Chase Stewart, of Springfield, had made an effort to buy the Elm, with the intention of turning it over to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, but the plan was given up before the result was accomplished.

When it was found that the owner of the tree was willing to enter into an agreement for its purchase it was decided that the best plan would be to ask the State to take over the Elm and assume its care and the care of such a tract of land as might be

bought with it. Relative to this purpose, Mrs. Jones held several conferences with Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, with the result that the proposition was approved by the Executive Committee of the State Society, on July 17, 1912, the agreement being that the Pickaway County Society was to restore the tree to perfect condition, as far as possible, before turning it over to the State. To this end competent tree surgeons were employed, who treated it with a preparation of cement, trimmed away the dead branches and otherwise restored the forest giant to a prolonged lease of life. The results of the surgeon's skill is shown in the fine detail picture given below.

As soon as it was assured that the State Society would assume the perpetual care of the Elm a renewed effort was made to raise the money for the purchase of a tract of ground, embracing 4 and 6/10 acres, extending from the pike to Congo Creek, a distance of some 500 feet. For this the sum of $125 an acre was agreed upon, and a deed was drawn up, which set out the various provisions entered into by the parties to it, and which reads as follows:

DEED OF LOGAN ELM.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENT: That we, Mary Jones, and Howard Jones, her husband, of Circleville, Pickaway county, Ohio, in consideration of the sum of One Dollar ($1.00) and other valuable consideratons, to them paid by The Ohio State Archaeological & Historical Society, a corporation duly organized and established under the laws of the State of Ohio, with headquarters at Columbus, Ohio, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, do hereby grant, remise, release and forever warrant and defend unto the said The Ohio State Archaeological & History Society, its successors and assigns, the following described real estate, situated in the County of Pickaway, and in the Township of Pickaway, State of Ohio, and more particularly described as follows:

Being a part of the south half or Section No. 19, Township No. 10, Range No. 21, W. S. Beginning at an iron pin in the public road and in the south line of said Section No. 19, from

which a stone, the south-east corner of the southwest quarter of said section bears N. 85 degrees, 30′ W. 67 links distant. Thence N. 53 degrees 00′ W. 12 49/100 chains to an iron pin. Thence N. 5 degrees 00′ E. 2 chains to an iron pin. Thence N. 62 degrees 30′ E. 1 93/100 chains to a cottonwood tree on the

Logan Elm as Treated by the Tree Surgeon.

southwest side of Congo Creek. Thence up said creek, near the waterline, S. 50 degrees 00′ E. 5 59/100 chains to an iron pin, S. 76 degrees 30′ E. 1 39/100 chains, S. 43 degrees 30′ E. 1 77/100 chains, S. 67 degrees 15′ E. 1 30½/100 chains, S. 28 degrees 45′ E. 5 57½/100 chains to an iron pin in the public road. Thence N. 85 degrees 30′ W. 2 65/100 chains to the begin-

ning, containing 4 60/100 acres of land, more or less. Being the same property conveyed to the grantors herein by Mary A. Wallace, by deed dated March 6, 1912, recorded May 13, 1912, Vol. 89, page 535, Recorder's Office, Pickaway County, Ohio.

To Have and to Hold said premises with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging, to the said The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, its successors and assigns, to their use and behoof forever.

And the said grantors, for themselves and their heirs, executors, adminstrators and assigns, do hereby covenant with the said grantee, its successors and assigns, that they are lawfully seized of the premises aforesaid; that said premises are free and clear from all incumbrances whatsoever, excepting taxes due and payable in June, 1912, which the grantee herein assumes and agrees to pay as part of said consideration; and that they will forever warrant and defend the same, with said exception, with the appurtenances, unto said grantee, its successors and assigns, against the lawful claims of all persons whomsoever.

It is understood and agreed by and between the parties hereto that the said grantee, its successors and assigns, shall erect and forever maintain a sufficient and lawful fence between the aforesaid land and the remaining lands of the original grantor, i. e., Mary A. Wallace.

It is also understood between the parties hereto that the said conveyance is for the purpose of preserving the said real estate herein conveyed to the State of Ohio and the citizens thereof, as a historical site, and it is mutually agreed between the parties hereto, their respective heirs, administrators, executors, successors and assigns, and this conveyance is upon the condition that if at any time hereafter said lands should not be so preserved or used, or if the same should be sold for any purpose, other than aforesaid, then the grantors, their heirs, or assigns, shall have the right and privilege of purchasing said real estate from any person holding the same for the same consideration paid the said grantors therefor, as hereinbefore expressed.

In Witness Whereof, The said Mary Jones and the said Howard Jones, her husband, who hereby releases his right and

expectancy of dower in said premises, have hereunto set their hands this 22nd day of November, A. D. 1912.

MARY JONES,
HOWARD JONES.

Signed and acknowledged in the presence of:
MRS. FANNIE STAGE,
FRED L. FICKWARDT.

STATE OF OHIO,
PICKAWAY COUNTY. } ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED that personally appeared before me T. P. Brown, a Notary Public in and for said county, this 22nd day of November, A. D. 1912, Mary Jones and Howard Jones, her husband, the grantors in the foregoing deed, and acknowledged the signing of the same to be their voluntary act and deed for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my notarial seal on the day and year last aforesaid.

(SEAL.) T. P. BROWN,
Notary Public in and for Pickaway County, Ohio.

In compliance with one of the agreements entered upon, a wire fence was built around the tract, the conformation of which is admirably shown in the photograph. The Logan Elm and Boggs monument appear toward the back of the picture, the entrance, opening upon the public pike, being in the foreground, near the large tree.

The money to pay for the ground and the necessary expenses incident to the transfers (between $700.00 and $800.00) was raised by contribution, the greater amount being solicited by Mrs. Jones, the county society's presiding officer. She was so fortunate as to secure, almost at the outset, a check for $500.00, the gift of a Circleville lady, who requested that her name might not be made public. Other persons, also responded very generously, and the sum required was soon collected. Among those who took an interest in the matter were a number of persons who formerly

lived in this county, and who, seeing the matter exploited in the newspapers, sent contributions to the Logan Elm fund.

One of these was a lady now living in Kansas, Mrs. Harriet Louise Ricards, who was particularly interested because, in her youth, she had been a member of the Boggs household. Besides the money contribution which she sent to the Secretary of the Society she at the same time submitted to the Circleville Union-

Land Embraced in Logan Elm Park.

Herald the following poem, which beautifully and touchingly portrays her memories of the family and the cherished landmark. The verses were published in that paper on August 9, 1912. The "white-haired, kind old man" refers to Major John Boggs, and the "brown-eyed maid with flaxen braids" was his daughter, Miss Mary Boggs, who later, became the wife of John Davenport, who died not long after her marriage.

LOGAN ELM.

They tell me, dear old tree, that 'neath your shade,
A brave once pleaded, for his people, with an alien race.
I only see a merry group of children, playing "tag";
I see each well known form, each bright young face.

I know that warriors gathered oft beneath your boughs,
And smoked the pipe of peace with pale-faced foe.
And, yet, I can but see a noisy bunch of boys and girls;
Swinging from those boughs, a laughing, bare-foot row.

They talk of Red Men camped along your stream.
Of stern old chieftains, decked with paint and spear.
I only see a white-haired, kind old man,
To whom your every leaf and twig was dear.

In vain they paint a pageant rare and old,
Where war-steeds prance, and sabers flash and gleam.
I only see a brown-eyed maid with flaxen braids,
Who sits amid your boughs and dreams her dream.

The purchase of the Logan Elm, so long ardently desired, was now an accomplished fact, made possible through the untiring efforts of Mrs. Jones and her co-workers, and the thoughtful generosity of one whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold on the hearts of all who care to preserve the fast-disappearing landmarks of the State, and whose name would be gratfully recorded in this paper were it not for her wish to the contrary, expressed to the president of the County Historical Society. Nothing remained now but to turn the tree over to the State. At first it was thought that this would be done without any special ceremonies and with only the officers of the two societies present.

But the fact that the National Association of American Indians would hold its second annual convention in Columbus, in October, 1912, seemed to point the way to a more formal presentation, including a public demonstration and a grand celebration, in which a number of the Indians would be asked to assist.

Wednesday, October 2d, was the day set apart for the ceremonies incident to the presentation and acceptation, and a suit-

Logan Elm and Crowd of Spectators.

able program was arranged. It seems a striking coincidence that this celebration, which was the grandest single event in the history of Pickaway county, was held on exactly the same day and month (October second) that ushered in the Pickaway County Centennial.

The day was an ideal one, and all Pickaway county seemed to turn out. A train of special cars over the Scioto Valley Traction line was run from Columbus and Circleville, under the auspices of the two Historical Societies, and all the public and many of the private conveyances from the latter town were brought into requisition, all persons owning carriages and automobiles being most kind in inviting others to share them. Carloads of people came up, also, from Chillicothe and Kingston, and it was said that farmers and their families came from a radius of ten miles to join in the pilgrimage. A band was also hired by the Pickaway County Society. When the crowds left the cars at Elmwood station and means of transportation over to the tree, a mile and a half distant, were considered, it soon became apparent that the remainder of the way would be, for many, a pilgrimage on foot. There were assembled about five thousand people and the means of transportation were wholly inadequate. This oversight, which could not, probably, have been forestalled, is much to be regretted and is the only thing which in the least degree marred what was, otherwise, a most happy occasion. But the day was balmy and fine and that good-natured crowd was not to be discouraged by a slight inconvenience. So packing all available space in the conveyances with the older people, those who felt better able to walk took their way, right merrily, toward their destination. Some went across the fields and others, who did not care to risk possible climbing of fences, tramped the highway, taking, with perfect equanimity, the dust of the flying vehicles. And any little annoyance which may have existed was forgotten when the goal was reached.

A hay-ladder, draped with American flags, was placed adjacent to the tree and served as a platform for the speakers, it being found more convenient than a stationary platfrom, as it was moved into the shade of the Elm when the sun's rays struck it. The platform was occupied by the officers of the Ohio

Archaeological and Historical Society and their guests, red and white, and by Mrs. Howard Jones, President of the Pickaway County Historical Society. There were included:

Dr. Frederick Wright, of Oberlin, president of the State Archaeological and Historical Society; Hon. E. O. Randall, Columbus, secretary; E. F. Wood, Columbus, treasurer; W. C. Mills, Columbus, curator; Hon. Chase Stewart, Springfield; Frank Tallmadge, Columbus.

First Arrivals at Scene of Celebration.

The Indians were: Miss Rose LaFleshe, Chippewa, Michigan; Miss Angel DeCora Dietz, Winnebago, Nebraska; Miss Calvert, Sioux, South Dakota; Miss Emma Gonlette, Sioux, South Dakota; Fred E. Parker, Mingo, New York; Miss Lelia Waterman, Seneca, New York; Miss Gennette Tappan, Osage, Oklahoma; Miss Anna Houser, Cheyenne, Oklahoma; Mr. Griffiths, Cherokee, Oklahoma, and Charles E. Dagenett, Oklahoma, now in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

The program began at 2 o'clock. Hon. E. O. Randall presided, and after a very brief preliminary address introduced Mrs. Jones, who read the following paper:

PRESENTATION SPEECH OF MRS. HOWARD JONES.

One hundred and thirty-eight years ago this October, momentous events were happening in this beautiful valley of the

Crowd With Platform and Speakers.

Scioto and history was being made in this fertile Pickaway plain-land.

East of us about seven miles, at Camp Charlotte, were about fifteen hundred men under the command of Lord Dunmore, the English governor of Virginia; while near where we stand was the victorious but angered army, of about equal number, of General Andrew Lewis.

General Lewis' army represented the southern division of Lord Dunmore's recruits, which he had organized to exterminate

the Indian tribes in the Ohio country. It was flushed with the victory over the great Chief Cornstalk which was dearly earned at Point Pleasant. Lord Dunmore had promised to meet General Lewis at Point Pleasant, but, changing his mind, he had taken a short cut across the country for the Scioto river. Before he had reached the Pickaway plains, however, he was halted by overtures of peace from the Indians. Probably ignorant of the defeat of Cornstalk, he encamped on the high ground at the present site of Leistville and named the camp Charlotte. Here he began arrangements for a treaty of peace with the Red-men.

General Lewis, after his victory at Point Pleasant, did not wait long for his superior, Lord Dunmore, but, crossing the Ohio river, he made for the Indian settlements in the Pickaway Plains. Upon learning of the advance of General Lewis, Lord Dunmore sent a messenger with orders for him to return with his army to the mouth of the Kanawha river. This Lewis refused to do, and continued his advance up the valley, to about where we are now standing, and went into camp.

Lord Dunmore was sorely tried. He was negotiating peace with the very Indians General Lewis had just whipped with great sacrifice, and this much desired peace could not be obtained unless General Lewis obeyed his order and the influential Chief Logan, who was sullen and non-committal at his home at Old Chillicothe, now Westfall, about five miles to the north-west of here, would lend his presence at the council. Accordingly Lord Dunmore himself came here, to General Lewis' camp, to compel him to return to the Kanawha river and there await his coming.

While this act was being played by Lord Dunmore and General Lewis, John Gibson, who had either been sent by Lord Dunmore for Logan, or who had volunteered to go after Simon Girty had failed to have Logan attend the council, was returning from Old Chillicothe with Logan's message to the white-men, and, here under this great elm, tradition says, it was read by Gibson to Lord Dunmore. John Gibson later, in a sworn statement, said that he took down the speech as it was made to him by Logan, while sitting in a thicket near by where he had just been talking with Cornstalk and other noted chiefs of the Shawnees.

Thus was born the epic which fascinated the scholarly Jef-

ferson to the degree that he declared it compared favorably with any speech of Demosthenes or Cicero. It matters little if this is not the exact spot where Lord Dunmore received the oration. It could not have been far from here. But, tradition, coming down through several reliable families whose representatives still live near here, says this magnificent old elm, the largest in all the land, which then and for many years after had a fine spring flowing from its roots, is the very same elm under whose branches, spreading then as now, the message was delivered. It was then, is now and ever will be, a great message. It has been translated into many languages, and is known by every school-boy and school-girl throughout the land. It is a message filled with fervor, kindness and love, yet, it bristles with righteous anger and fearless revenge. It is filled with pathos and philosophy, and ends in a sentence which is masterful in depicting the extreme sorrow of a great mind.

It is then fitting that these acres of land and this old elm which were silent observers of the epoch making event which brought peace to the Indians and opened this fruitful country to the new civilization, should be preserved to posterity. Such landmarks are lost all too soon and are too little treasured.

Mr. Chairman, Pickaway County, Ohio, is proud of being instrumental in preserving this historic place, and with confidence that the State of Ohio, through her Archaeological Society will preserve it, I hand you the deed on behalf of our County Society. In another few hundred years this tree may be forever lost, but the site shall remain, and, let us hope that posterity may suitably commemorate with a monument of bronze the world famed speech of the great Mingo Chief, Logan.

Dr. G. Frederick Wright, President of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, received the deed from the hands of Mrs. Jones, and made a brief but fitting speech of acceptance.

One of the distinguished Indians present, Mr. Charles E. Dagenett, of the Peoria tribe, was then introduced and spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF CHARLES E. DAGENETT.

In the early days of Pennsylvania, the country around the falls of the Susquehannah was assigned by the Six Nations as

a hunting grounds for the Shawnees, Conoys, Nanticokes and Monseys and Mohicans, and Shikellamy, a Cayuga chief, was sent by these Six Nations to preside over the tribe that dwelt on the level banks of the Susquehannah near where Sunbury now stands.

When in September, 1742, a party of missionaries, accompanied by two friendly Indians, after their tedious journey through the wilderness entered this beautiful valley of the Shamokin, Chief Shikellamy was the first to step forth and welcome them, and after the exchange of presents to promise his aid as a chief in fostering the white man's religion among the tribe. This good and friendly Chief Shikellamy performed many embassies between the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Six Nations and attended many important meetings at Philadelphia. His was a particularly boisterous and drunken tribe.

To this Good Chief, thus grown up in mingled fear, love and admiration of the whites and in the midst of bad associates, was born in 1725, a second son celebrated as the author of the famous speech that has been repeated by every American School boy as a specimen of Indian eloquence and Indian wrongs—Logan.

In his young manhood Logan stood several inches more than six feet in heighth; was straight as an arrow, lithe, athletic and symmetrical in figure; firm, resolute and of commanding presence.

About the time of Braddock's defeat in 1755 Tah-gah-jute, meaning Short Dress, who was named Logan after William Penn's secretary, James Logan, whom his father knew and loved, disappears from the scene and we have few historical or biographical anecdotes of his early life.

In the spring of 1769, Wm. Brown with other companions were hunting along the Juniata near where Lewistown now stands. Following a hard chase after a wounded bear Brown was quenching his thirst at one of the beautiful springs along that stream and as he bent over the clear, mirrowing water, he beheld, on the opposite side, reflected in the pool a tall shadow of a stately Indian with rifle in hand, and with intensive energy

Brown sprang to regain his weapon and as he seized his rifle to face the foe, the Indian threw open the pan of his gun, scattering the powder, and extended his palm in token of friendship and both weapons were instantly grounded, and the men who a moment before had looked on each other with distrust shook hands and refreshed themselves from the gurgling brook. That vision at the spring was Logan,—the son of Shikellamy—no chief at

Boggs Monument with Indian Party and Escort From Columbus.

that time but a wanderer sojourning for a while on his way to the West.

Logan is well remembered and favorably described in the legends of the valley of the Susquehannah, for he was often visited in his camp by the whites. Upon one occasion, when met by Missionary McClure at the spring which is even still known as Logan's spring, a match was made between the white and red man to shoot at a mark for a dollar a shot. In the encounter

Logan lost four or five rounds, and acknowledged himself beaten. When the white men were leaving, the Indian went to his cabin, and bringing as many deer-skins as he had lost dollars, handed them to McClure who refused to take them, alleging that he and his friends had been Logan's guests, and that the match had merely been a friendly contest of skill and nerve. But the courteous waiver would not satisfy the Indian. He drew up himself with dignity and said in broken English: "Me bet to make you shoot your best—me gentleman and me take your dollars if me beat", so McClure was obliged to take the skins or affront his friend whose sense of honorable dealing would not allow him to receive even a horn of powder in return.

Deer hunting and the dressing of skins and selling them was the chief occupation of Logan and on one occasion he sold some skins to a tailor, receiving in pay some wheat which, when taken to the mill, was found to be so worthless that the miller refused to grind it. By this time the law and ministers of justice had made their way to this secluded country and Logan's friend Brown had been honored with the commission of a magistrate. When the judge questioned Logan as to the character of the grain, Logan sought in vain to find words to express the precise character of the material with which it was adulterated and said it resembled the wheat itself. "It must have been *cheat*," said the judge, "Oh!" exclaimed the Indian, "It is a very good name for him," and the decision was forthwith given in Logan's favor.

When one of Judge Brown's daughters was just beginning to walk, her mother expressed sorrow that she could not obtain a pair of shoes to give more firmness to her infant steps. Logan stood by but said nothing. Soon after, he asked Mrs. Brown to allow the little girl to spend the day at his cabin near the spring. The cautious and yearning heart of the mother was somewhat alarmed by the proposal, yet she had learned to repose confidence in the Indian, and trusting in the delicacy of his feelings, consented to the proposal with cheerfulness. The day wore slowly away and it was near night and her little one had not returned, but just as the sun was setting the trusty Indian was seen ascending the path with this charge, and in a moment more the

little one was in its mother's arms proudly exhibiting on her tiny feet a pair of beautiful moccasins,—the product of Logan's skill.

His kindly old pioneer friend, Judge Brown, summed up his acquaintance with Logan in the following words: "He was the best specimen of humanity, white or red, I have ever encountered."

For awhile we again lose sight of Logan whose life was soon to be changed and who was doomed to become envolved in inevitable conflict with the whites who were as they termed it "Extending the area of Freedom" and the rest of his life was chequered with horrible crimes and maudlin regrets, but never were fully effaced the kindly deeds and nature of his earlier years.

In 1772 when the missionary, Heckewelder, met Logan on the Beaver River, Logan told him that it was his intentions to settle on the Ohio below the Big Beaver where he might live in peace with the white man. Logan at this time confessed to the missionary his unfortunate fondness for the white man's "fire water". In 1775 the missionary McClure met Logan, but the brave, open and manly countenance he possessed in his earlier years was now changed for one of martial ferocity. The fire water of the white man had began to do its deadly work upon all the elements of a noble character in the heart and mind of an untutored savage.

Let us pass over the intervening time so throughly filled with slaughter on both sides, darkened by deeds both of treachery and bloodshed, to the concluding scene of this bloody drama. The Americans and Indian chiefs were assembled at the council fire to conclude peace but one of the daring and relentless actors in this same bloody drama was absent. Logan was not there. He was not satisfied, though he had taken perhaps some thirty scalps. The cause of his murdered relatives was scarcely appeased in the spirit land. Logan's answer to the repeated summons from the council fire was that he was a warrior and not a councillor, and would not come. Accordingly John Gibson was sent as a messenger and met Logan in his camp. It was at this meeting that Logan delivered himself of that piece of impas-

sioned eloquence known as the speech of Logan, which was told to Lord Dunmore at the council fire.

It matters but little now who murdered or instigated the murder of Logan's family, the fact remains that they were killed and the resultant bitterness implanted in the breast of Logan thereby was simply human and not because he was an Indian.

We find Logan from time to time in a friendly attitude toward the whites and again all the ferocity of his nature bursting forth in an effort to avenge as he believed, a wanton slaughter of his relatives. We find Logan at times a shadow of his former and noble self, and again the victim of the white man's accursed fire water with the resultant ignoble deeds, at times resorting to his old occupation of scalping or at least taking prisoners and again using his powerful influence in protecting and befriending the whites.

Logan was now well past fifty. Following the council at Detroit in 1780 Logan was killed by his nephew or cousin, Tod-kah-dohs, through a misunderstanding—Logan supposing that his nephew sought to avenge cruelty shown Logan's wife who was a relative of Tod-kah-dohs. Thus passes to the happy hunting ground our Indian hero Logan of whom the poet Campbell wrote:

> "Gainst Brant himself I went to battle forth:—
> "Accursed Brant! he left of all my tribe
> "Nor man, nor child, nor thing of living birth!
> "No!—not the dog that watched my household hearth
> "Escaped that night of death upon our plains!
> "All perished—I, alone, am left on earth
> "To whom nor relative, nor blood remains,—
> "No! not a kindred drop that runs in human veins!"

Today the spirit of Logan looks across the intervening unknown from the Indian's happy hunting grounds which lie in the pleasant prairies of the spirit land, and knows that there are those of his friend and enemy, the white man, who wishes to atone for the wrong done this child of nature—he knows *now* that there are those who do mourn for Logan.

To those friends who have made possible this tribute to Logan—to the Indian race—the very presence of these repre-

sentatives of that race, from such widely scattered sections of this great country—the ancestral home of that race you honor today — give you thanks more appropriate and fully than any words I might utter. The Indian thanks his friends with his heart and his heart has no tongue.

Another Indian, Mr. Fred E. Parker, of New York, was then introduced and responded with an eloquent address. As it was not committed to writing, but was entirely extemporaneous, it is regretted that what Mr. Parker said can be recorded only briefly. The appended thoughts from his speech formed a part of the report of the proceedings as taken down by Harry E. Weill, local editor of the Circleville Union-Herald:

"The Indian was the original Roosevelt man. He was the first and original trouble maker. The story of the Indian should stir the heart blood of every American citizen. If a foreign foe should invade this land you would fight just like the Indian for your scalps. You look at our countenance; it is a sad and stern one I'll admit, it has been transmitted down to us thru the ages. Chased from pillar to post, driven from our homes and hounded to death, we inherited the vengeance of our ancestry and it is depicted in our faces.

"It is the Iroquois, a tribe of the famous six nations from whom I am descended, that saved this country to English-speaking people. General W. T. Sherman said, 'The only good Indian is a dead Indian.' I am glad to say it was a relative of mine, General Eli Parker, who inaugurated the policy that forced General Grant to treat the Indian and place him on the same footing as any other American citizen enjoys. But it is time for us to bury the past. We must forget and forgive.

"The hope of the Indian tribes is in that great factor the public schools; the greatest institutions in the United States will take the Indian and make him a good American citizen."

After the applause that followed Mr. Parker's speech had subsided, Mr. Randall came forward, and addressing Mr. Dagenett, a representative of the same tribe to which Logan belonged, presented to him a mallet made by Mr. T. B. Bowers, from the wood of the Logan Elm, the handle being made from a branch of a tree which grew on the grave of the Wyandotte

chief, Leatherlips, who lies buried on the spot where he was killed, about fifteen miles northwest of Columbus.

A significant feature of the program was an address by Mr. Frank Tallmadge, of Columbus, a lineal descendant of Colonel Cresap, the man that Logan believed to be responsible for the massacre of his family. Mr. Tallmadge sought to show that the Red Man was mistaken, and spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF MR. FRANK TALLMADGE.

"Roll back—my soul—to the times of my Fathers. * * * There comes a voice that awakes my soul—It is the voice of days that are gone—They roll before me with all their deeds."—Ossian.

Colonel Thomas Cresap was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1702. He emigrated to this country at the age of fifteen, and first settled on the Susquehanna near what is now Havre de Grace. He became a surveyor, espoused the cause of Lord Baltimore, and is said to have surveyed the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania. He moved shortly afterwards to what was then the frontier, to a place in western Maryland that he called Skipton, after the town of his nativity, but now called Old Town, situate a few miles above the junction of the north and south branches of the Potomac on the north fork. He acquired fourteen hundred acres of land, and became an Indian trader. He was one of the members of the first Ohio company together with Colonel George Mason and General Washington, which company made the first English settlement at Pittsburg before Braddock's defeat, and it was through his means and efforts that the first path was traced through that vast chain of mountains called the Alleghenies. Colonel Cresap, with the assistance of a friendly Indian named Nemacolin, surveyed a road from Cumberland to Pittsburg. It was this road that General Braddock used with his army, and it was afterwards known as Braddock's road which does not materially differ from the present National Road.

It was this first Ohio company that had the promise from the king of Great Britain, of a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, and this land was actually surveyed

in 1775, but the war of the revolution prevented the consummation of the title.

Thomas Cresap was Colonel of the Provincials from 1730 to 1770. Most of this time he remained friendly with the Indians, so much so that they called him the Big Spoon as he invariably set out for them when they passed his way, a kettle of soup. His house was built like a fort surrounded by a stockade. This proved to be a wise move, as in October, 1755, the Indians went on the war path, and Governor Sharp ordered out the militia to assemble at Colonel Cresap's. Again in July, 1763, the Colonel wrote a letter to Governor Sharp, stating that his fort was filled with distressed families who had fled to him for safety, and they were in hourly danger of being butchered unless relief was afforded.

In October, 1765, when the Provincial Assembly adopted resolutions against the Stamp Act, the Sons of Liberty were organized under the leadership of Colonel Cresap, who was also a member of the House of Burgesses. General Washington, in his diary, speaks of having stopped all night at Colonel Cresap's when he visited the Ohio country.

The Colonel's youngest child was Michael, born in 1742, and educated at Baltimore. He had much experience in border warfare, also had absorbed from his father a military training, but he chose to become a merchant, opening a store at Red Stone, Old Fort, now Brownsville, Pa. In the spring of 1774 he became interested with several gentlemen in lands on the Ohio River, and with a few associates he established a camp at what is now Long Reach, Tyler County, West Virginia.

At this time Ebenezer Zane had a party of surveyors at the mouth of Big Sandy River. George Rogers Clark was with a party numbering ninety at the mouth of the Little Kanawha. The Indians beheld their fate at the occupation by white men of their hunting grounds. Three prospectors for land near the mouth of Lawrence Creek, now in Mason County, Kentucky, were taken prisoners by a band of Shawnees. A little later a party of surveyors in Kentucky nearly opposite the mouth of the Scioto River, killed several Shawnee warriors. An engagement also occurred with the Indians near the mouth of the Little Kanawha,

and these men joined Cresap's men, and all proceeded up the Ohio to Wheeling. George Rogers Clark states in his letter to Doctor Samuel Brown, that they knew Michael Cresap was on the river fifteen miles above them engaged in settling a new plantation. Cresap was sent for and unanimously chosen to head the party to destroy the Indian towns on the opposite side of the river, but to their astonishment their captain was a person to dissuade them from the enterprise, remarking that while appearances were suspicious, there was no certainty of war. They, however, went on to Wheeling in a body under Captain Cresap, and there on the 21st of April, Cresap received a letter from John Connolly, of an inflammatory nature, announcing that the war had begun. Connolly was then at Pittsburg as agent of Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia. He called himself the Royal Commandant of the district of West Augusta. Cresap called a meeting on the 26th, reading Connolly's letter, when the white men voiced a declaration of war against the Indians. The following day two canoes were pursued by Cresap's party to the mouth of Pipe Creek, about fifteen miles below Wheeling, where a battle ensued in which three Indians were killed and three whites wounded. The next day, the 28th, Captain Cresap started on his return trip to Red Stone, Old Fort. This is certified to by Doctor Wheeler, a prominent citizen of Wheeling.

Logan's brother and sister were killed April 30th,* by Daniel Greathouse, and two men associated with him by the name of Tomlinson and Sappington, at the home of one Joshua Baker, who kept a house of entertainment and sold rum, the location being on the West Virginia side opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek.

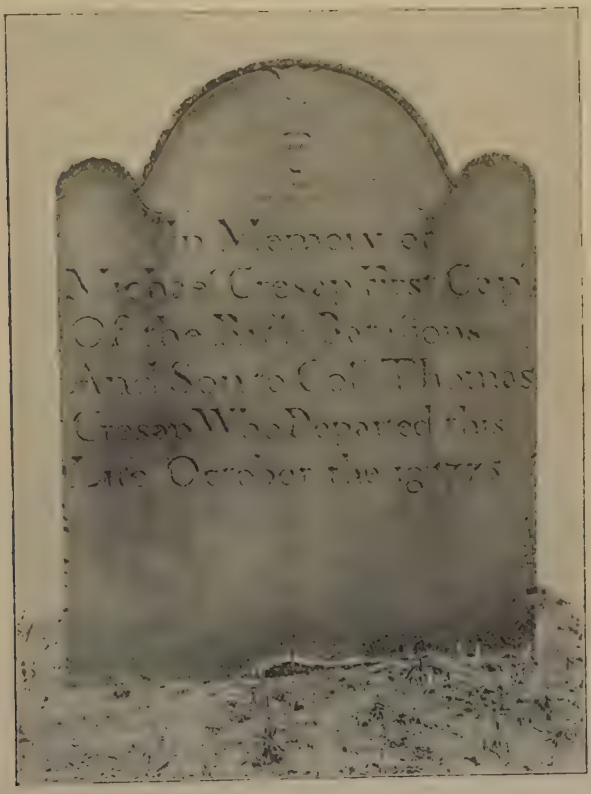
Lord Dunmore sent a Captain's commission to Michael Cresap, dated June 10th, 1774. Many petitions had come to

---

* Valentine Crawford in a letter to General Washington, now on file in the State Department, Washington, dated May 7th, 1774, refers to the date as Saturday last, which the almanac of 1774 makes April 30th. Crawford, who was Washington's land agent, in this letter says "and on Saturday last about twelve o'clock there was one Greathouse and about twenty men fell on a party of Indians at the mouth of Yellow Creek and killed ten of them, and brought away one child a prisoner."

Cresap from various sections of the frontier to come to their aid. He, therefore, accepted, and raised a company, joining Major Angus McDonald's command, and marched with them to attack the Indians at Waccatomica, on the Muskingum, which was only partially successful, and Captain Cresap again returned to his store at Red Stone, but again he was not permitted to remain long, for by the last of August Dunmore had organized his expedition against the Ohio Shawnees, having failed to bring about a peace understanding between the Cornstalk Confederacy and the Virginians. A flotilla of one hundred canoes and other boats holding seven hundred men, descended the Ohio with George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, Simon Kenton and Simon Girty as scouts and guides moved down the river to the mouth of the Hock Hocking. They were headed directly for the Pickaway Plains. Lord Dunmore had ordered General Lewis, who had just closed his battle at Point Pleasant, to meet him. Dunmore with his army had advanced within four miles of the Shawnee town when he received a proposition for peace from the chiefs, and a peace conference was held and consummated, known as the Dunmore Treaty. Logan did not attend, and he was sent for by Lord Dunmore. John Gibson, the husband of Logan's murdered sister, probably figured closer in connection with Logan's alleged speech than any other one man. On the 4th day of April, 1800, at Pittsburg, Gibson made oath that the speech was delivered *nearly* as related by Mr. Jefferson in his notes on Virginia, but that he told Logan it was not Colonel Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son, Captain Michael Cresap, who was with the party who had killed a Shawnee chief a few days before, yet he was not present when his relations were killed at Baker's. Benjamin Tomlinson, heretofore referred to, makes his statement at Cumberland, April 17th, 1797, to the effect that Logan's brother was killed by Sappington; that neither Captain Michael Cresap nor any person of that name was there nor anywhere in that vicinity. He further states he was at the Treaty, and heard the Logan speech read three times, twice by Dunmore and once by Gibson; that he was Officer of the Guard, and stood near Dunmore's person, consequently, heard and saw

all that passed. He states that Simon Girty went to Logan's cabin two days before the Treaty, and on the day the circle was formed, upon Girty's return, he saw John Gibson get up and go out of the circle, and talk with Girty after which he, Gibson, went into the tent, and soon after returning into the circle, drew



Captain Michael Cresap's Grave Stone, Trinity Church Yard, New York.

out of his pocket a piece of clean, new paper on which was written in his own hand-writing, a speech for and in the name of Logan.

Greathouse died of the measles in 1775. The remaining man of the trio, John Sappington, states that he knew Cresap was generally blamed for the murder, but he really had no hand in

it. Further, that he knew that Cresap despised and hated the Greathouses ever afterwards on account of it. Samuel McKee, a Justice of the Peace, taking Sappington's testimony, states that he, Sappington, was the man who shot the brother of Logan.

Referring again to George Rogers Clark. He states that he was intimate with Cresap, and better acquainted with Logan at that time than any other Indian in the western country, and had a knowledge of the conduct of both parties; that Cresap had decamped and taken the road to Red Stone before the murder at Baker's; that when the speech of Logan was read at the Treaty, the army knew that it was wrong so far as it respected Cresap and afforded an opportunity of rallying that gentleman on the subject. Clark discovered that Cresap was displeased, and told him he must be a very great man; that the Indians shouldered him with everything that had happened. Cresap smiled, says Clark, and remarked he had a great mind to tomahawk Greathouse about the matter.

Bancroft, the historian, makes no mention of Cresap in connection with the Dunmore Treaty and the speech of Logan. Caleb Atwater, who once lived at Circleville, states in his history that Logan was mistaken in charging the murder to Michael Cresap. Henry Howe exonerates Cresap. Theodore Roosevelt in his Winning of the West, does the same thing, and our own Randall and Ryan, in their History of Ohio, prove an alibi for Cresap.

You may ask how the speech of Logan became so famous. It was first published in the press of the country, and but little attention was paid to it. Thomas Jefferson, in 1787, published the first edition of his notes on Virginia. He gave the speech much prominence in his book. It was copied into our school books at home and translated into several languages in Europe.

Jefferson had been a suitor for the hand of Michael Cresap's daughter, and had been rejected. She afterwards married Luther Martin, Attorney General of the state of Maryland, and one of the counsel for Aaron Burr. Jefferson was a Democrat; Martin was a Federalist, and became very much incensed at Jefferson, writing him several communications on the subject of Cresap's innocence of the charge. These letters Jefferson ignored ex-

cept to write a letter to Governor Henry, of Maryland, in 1797, making feeble excuses for himself, repeating the charges against Cresap, promising, however, to do justice to his memory in case he found he was wrong. This Jefferson failed to do in the face of overwhelming proof, though he lived until 1824.

I have heretofore referred to the contents of a letter of George Rogers Clark to Doctor Samuel Brown which was dated June 17, 1798. This letter was sent by Doctor Brown, by express, to Monticello, yet the edition of Jefferson's notes of 1800, made no mention of the Clark letter.* This edition, however, published the declaration of John Sappington, Charles Polke, Harry Innes, John Gibson and Ebenezer Zane, all of which exonerated Cresap.

Again Captain Michael Cresap was not allowed to remain at home very long, for in 1775 the following year he was placed in command of one of the companies of the Sons of Liberty, and marched at their head to Boston, after the Battle of Bunker Hill, where he received another commission, but this time it was a Colonel's. The trip was made in twenty-two days, the men subsisting upon the fruits of their rifles. In October of this year Michael Cresap was detailed to go to New York City where he was taken with a fever and died. He was buried with military honors in Trinity Church Yard. When you are walking down Broadway, go in the open gate and turn to the right. Just opposite the north transept door you will find this hero's grave next to the walk, and if your experience should be like all of mine, you will find fresh flowers upon the monument.

The Cresap descendants, now scattered from ocean to ocean over this broad land, desire to extend their thanks to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society for this opportunity in protecting the fair name of a brave soldier who died to save this country from Britsh rule; they believe the present generation is not moved by affairs of the heart or by political preferences to the extent that history is perverted. They do not blame poor Logan, who inspired the message, as he doubtless did not expect

---

* This letter together with one of Doctor Brown of September 4th, 1798, transmitting it to Mr. Jefferson are on file with the Jefferson papers in the Department of State, Washington.

it to go beyond what is now the confines of Pickaway Township. Further, the Cresaps of the present are of the opinion that Logan should have been consistent with the words of his message, by his attendance at the Treaty when only six miles distant, notwithstanding his threatening note of July, 1774, to Captain Michael Cresap tied to a War Club, and left in the house of Roberts after Logan had massacred the family. Also Logan was inconsistent again in appealing for sympathy for the killing of his brother, when eight years thereafter he is recorded as murdering his own wife.

The Cresap blood has followed the flag wherever it has floated. Captain Michael took to Boston, as members of his company, his nephews of Michael Cresap, Jr., Daniel Cresap, Jr., and Joseph Cresap. It flowed on the "Essex" upon the sea; it was with Grant at Vicksburg, Shiloh and Appomattox, and with Sherman to the sea. The old Colonel's love of the cause of liberty flowed on even to the seventh generation, for up San Juan hill was heard the voice of Jules Gansche Ord, son of General Edward Otho Cresap Ord. "All who are brave follow me", just before that voice was stilled forever.

Hon. Chase Stewart, the original legislator to introduce laws in the Ohio General Assembly for the purchase of historic grounds, was called upon and gave an address upon Historic Tree.

ADDRESS OF HON. CHASE STEWART.

The large attendance here this beautiful October day is evidence of the fact that the people of Pickaway and Ross Counties are not indifferent to the importance and significance of this occasion for they all seem to be present.

The preservation of this historic spot is assured by the acceptance on the part of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society of the deed delivered today. The tract of ground conveyed includes the magnificent old elm whose generous shade we are now enjoying.

Several centuries have passed since its growth began and for one hundred and thirty-eight years it has stood as a faithful sentinel over the spot which is given marked distinction because

of the completion of the Peace Treaty between the last Colonial Governor of Virginia and the Red Men of this region in October, 1774.

The adoption of a tree as a means of perpetuating and identifying the location of an important place or event is not uncommon and the Elm has performed this service for our countrymen in several well known instances.

Great interest has been centered in the tree known as the Washington Elm at Cambridge, Massachusetts, for it was under it that George Washington took command of the Continental Army, July 3, 1775, and because of this circumstance the tree was preserved and it was guarded with unceasing diligence. A majestic elm on Boston Common became historic.

The stately elm under which the famous treaty was concluded between one of the noblest of Pennsylvania colonists, William Penn, and the Indians, stands out prominently in the history of the Colonial period, and is given additional significance because of the faithfulness with which the treaty was kept by both the white and the red men, for it remained unbroken.

The elm is not as long lived as the yew tree, the cypress, or the oak. It is said there are yew trees growing in Great Britain more than 3,000 years old, and that one of the most attractive and interesting in England, was the one under which in October, 1750, Thomas Gray completed his immortal Elegy. It is claimed that for seven centuries this tree has stood as a guard and protector over "the venerable church, the monuments to crusaders and the beautiful churchyard of Stokes Pogis".

While the longevity of the elm is not so marked as that of some other trees the Logan Elm has lived long enough to assist us in locating the place that became historic over a century ago.

The companions of the old elm have long since disappeared. It has seen them fall upon the advance of the white man in this section. It has withstood the destruction of the forest about it, and if this old tree could think and speak and give utterance to its thoughts in the presence of this assemblage no doubt it would express its appreciation of the efforts made by former owners and especially the Boggs family in protecting it from injury and in saving it from the fate of its associates.

The community and the State can well afford to have removed from cultivation the amount of ground included in the deed delivered today and to have this tract of 4.60 acres set apart, beautified and properly maintained in order that our own generation and especially those that are to follow may have before them a record or monument of an event that was one of the first in which the white man participated in the region lying north and west of the river Ohio.

The benefit to be derived from this source far exceeds that to be obtained from other uses to which it could be put.

In the city of Nagoya in Japan there stands a castle surrounded by a moat, embrasures and escarpments and several acres of ground. It was used as the dwelling place of a Daimyo, or provincial governor, during the period when a feudal form of government prevailed throughout the provinces of Japan, and was so constructed as to offer opportunities for defense in case of attack.

Castles of a similar character have long since disappeared for Daimyos and Shoguns are no longer in evidence in the Empire. And notwithstanding the great value of tillable land in Japan and especially that upon which this Castle was situated, with what might be termed a proper appreciation and regard for future generations, the Japanese government decided that the Castle and surrounding ground should be taken over by the Imperial Household Department, and be preserved as a monument of historic interest. Not only has this course already been highly appreciated by the Japanese themselves, but foreigners and tourists traveling through the Empire recognize it as one of the interesting relics of past centuries.

With equal if not greater propriety does it become the duty of the State of Ohio through the Historical Society which has accepted the deed for this historic place today, to see to it that it shall be kept intact and preserved, for it represents a day and age in the history of territory now forming a part of our state worthy of recollection and of perpetuation.

In doing this not only is an obligation to our own generation fulfilled, but it especially involves consideration and regard for

those who are to follow, and whose interest in the early historic landmarks will become more intense the farther removed they become from the time and event sought to be perpetuated.

The opportunity was presented to make this conveyance and dedication possible and that it was taken advantage of will be a source of satisfaction and pleasure to those who have participated and were instrumental in bringing about the exercises of this day.

In conclusion permit it to be said that all things animate and inanimate are compelled to yield to the attacks of nature. It is, of course, understood that the Logan Elm will be no exception and that in time it will decay and will no longer be in evidence for the benefit of that portion of mankind who may be interested in this spot.

When that time arrives the words that were used long ago by the venerable Judge Peters, the esteemed friend of Washington, can be appropriately adopted here. The words were written of the "Treaty Elm", so called, after the conference between William Penn and the Indians, and were as follows:

"Let each take a relic from that hallowed tree,
Which, like Penn, whom it shaded, immortal shall be;
As the pride of our forests let *Elms* be renowned,
For the justly prized virtues with which they abound.

* * * *

Though Time has devoted our tree to decay,
The sage lessons it witnessed survive to our day;
May our trustworthy statesman, when called to the helm
Ne'er forget the wise treaty held under the Elm".

Mr. W. C. Mills, Curator of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, expressed his pleasure in the occasion.

He spoke briefly but earnestly of the work of the State Society in its endeavors to secure and preserve archaeological and historical sites.

An appropriate and pleasing portion of the exercises was the reading of Logan's Speech, by one of the Indian guests, Miss Calvert.

LOGAN'S SPEECH.

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his camp, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as I passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man'. I had even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but don't harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

At the conclusion of the program the officers of the State Society, with their guests, Indians and whites, grouped themselves about the Boggs monument and a fine photograph was secured.

They then moved over toward the Logan Elm, where they were joined by the Pickaway County Historical Society; and, overshadowed by its giant branches, the three organizations, to all of whom the event was a most auspicious one, were photographed together. Could there be one in that group who did not feel this reunion of Red Men and White beneath Logan's tree, to be a fitting ending to a memorable day?

Logan Elm—Diameter 7 ft., Spread of Branches 150 ft.

MARKING THE OLD "ABOLITION HOLES."

BY FELIX J. KOCH, CINCINNATI.

A quadroon girl, in Sunday best, strolled down the quiet little main street of Ripley, in southern Ohio, not long since, and coming to the crest of the bluff, whence the long descent begins to the river, she rested her arms on an immaculately white monument, set to the famous old abolitionists of Ripley,—the place where Eliza crossed the ice, in the story—and waved a handkerchief, in signal to some dusky paramour on the other side.

Behind the girl there lay, as back-ground to the picture, the quiet by-ways of Ripley; behind these, in turn, rose a ridge of hills, the banks these of the prehistoric Ohio.

Crowning this crest and visible by day from afar for a flag and staff recently set there, and by night for a lantern hoisted on that same flagpole, from the portico of an old homestead other folk were waving to kin, likewise in Kentucky, and that these, too, understood and heeded was made evident by the ferry crossing, shortly after, and bringing them to this side.

So simple, so easy, today, this crossing of the Ohio on the filthy ferryboat there at Ripley; but what a trip it was to the ancestors of the same quadroon girl, to whom the Ohio shore spelled liberty, and freedom! With what eager eye, too, by way of contrast did old man Rankin and his stalwart sons, watch, from that home there on the heights, the negroes working their way, by aid of some staunch log more frequently than not, 'cross the river and to the shore; there to be helped by one friendly to their cause and come up here, to be sped on to Sandusky and the North. Just recently a son of Ripley, who went out in his early youth and who is now established at Cleveland, having returned for its centennial home-coming week, commemorated his visit by erecting a series of tablets, here, there and elsewhere about the town, and a flagpole there on the heights, upon which

every night a lantern is now lighted, much as it was to guide the fugitive slaves a half-century before.

What a climb, too, they must have had of it, for even now it is all that a man can do, of a warm summer's day, to take the trail, and this without fear of bloodhounds at his heels.

Homes, gardens, fences prevent one getting there directly. From the main street paralleling the rover you turn up one square, cross the railway tracks, and pass along backyards of

A Convenient Landing Place.

residences to the second street parallel. Here cheaper homes, in yards set above the street and screened by trees, succeed; and while the streets are oiled today, tradition has it that once their mud made slow the crossing. From here the flagpole is plainly seen on the heights while from this second thoroughfare already that hill slopes up, to terminate eventually at the Rankin homestead. Scattered little homes of colored folk, descendants, for the most part, of fugitive slaves, are 'round about here. Piccaninnies flock out to watch the train returning to Cincinnati,—

it is 2:10 in the afternoon now,—and you, who would continue the climb realize that there is no returning for you save by that miserable ferry into Kentucky and then the railway ride on that side, later on.

Disheartened, you continue to the attack of the hillside. In

The Start of the Trail and the Old Slave.

a little garden hundreds of watermelons and nutmegs are ripening, and tempt you to purchase and taste. Squares of olden time, cheap frames trend away here, hardly a one but hid its slaves in its time. At a cross street the old trail to the top has its start here,—huge, foot-wracking boulders, being set in the weeds be-

neath thorny acacia tree. An old negro of the village loiters in the shadows,—Henry Hoster his name, "an' it please you sir". —He and two or three others fled to the Union army when they were recruiting at Maysville, during the War, and thus he obtained his freedom.

A picturesque darky town is encountered at this point. Out before the negro shanties, piccaninnies crow in their cradles. A quaint old church of brick too rises from the trees. Grass grown,

Raising the Light.

what was once a highway leads across, flanking small gardens, edged with corn.

But, you're already feeling the results of the climb plus the heat and the elevation. Your heart is beating wild and as you come to the fourth cross-street you stop,—for excuse that you'd look back at the river and the church towers you're about level with. Sweltering as it is, there were just such days when slaves dashed hot-footed up this same hill.

Your way, though, is blocked by the topography of the hill-

side. You'll have to turn down about half a block, through a path at the side of the hill and winding through fields fairly torrid. Only semi-occasionally a negro hut is edging this way,—the white house at its end seems to grow always more distant.

Reaching this goal the Hundred Steps then reward you. Again through sun-baked meadows, and corn-fields and, finally, forest they ascend, straight as can be,—and it seems, from below,

The Landing Monument.

as if they make their way onward and upward to the flagpole and the door of the Rankin homestead itself.

But, hillsides along the Ohio are always deceptive, and so is the seeming unbrokenness of the stairs. There are places where the path-finding is actually FIERCE,—as you pick your way from one to the next of the rocks! How fugitive slaves could ever get up it, especially with men armed with guns at their heels,—you fail to comprehend, the more that you all but faint on your climb,—and you take it in easy stages.

From one tree to the next you scurry, to leave sunshine for

shade, and, instinctively you wonder if these "100 Steps" should not really be called the "500".

All things must end, and so with this trail. It comes to its end at a flight of new wooden stairs ascending in three laps to the top. Where they start,—again dallying,—you've a splendid view up the river to where there's a bend, almost hidden by flat Ohio farmland, and down to another fine bend in the hills. Just

The Ferry at Ripley.

below, Ripley bakes despite its shelter of trees, and the two church towers seem to melt in the sunshine.

On, on, on, to the top you keep going! That climb is terrific:—you fear again you will faint.

Finally at Excelsior, you fling yourself down, 'neath a tree and survey the prospect, the far-famed Rankin homestead. It resolves itself into an old prosaic one-story brick, with roof sloping to rear, and the front facade broken alternately by window, door, window:—door, window. A crumbling old portico is at mid-front, and here the morning glories climb up one pillar.

A flock of brown chickens rests in a flower bed,—you remark too be-flowered shades in the windows of the many small panes. Trees are few up here, the place is set right out in the sun, and, at rear, fields of corn and tobacco promise no better. Off at one side there's an orchard, the other surveys a rolling meadow.

By this time you've regained your equanimity somewhat; your heart is no longer pumping so wild,—the perspiration comes

The Wharf-Boat.

a little less freely. You're ready to enjoy this glorious view at the front,—though you doubt if even it repays such a climb.

A handy bench and a bit of restorative fit you to stop and jot down the impressions, and take pictures.

Meanwhile the present tenant relates how, at the Centennial, they put this flagpole here and had services down in the town. Yes, he would get in the picture,—he raised the lantern here every night. And, wouldn't we drink from his well before starting the long downhill trip back to town? It was the same well

from which the fugitive negroes refreshed themselves on arrival.

Then, as we sat there, they recounted incidents of old slave days down in Ripley. Every house of any moment in connection with speeding on run-away negroes has its tablet now, thanks to this Clevelander's gift. We could ferret these out, in a stroll on the main street, when we got back down below.

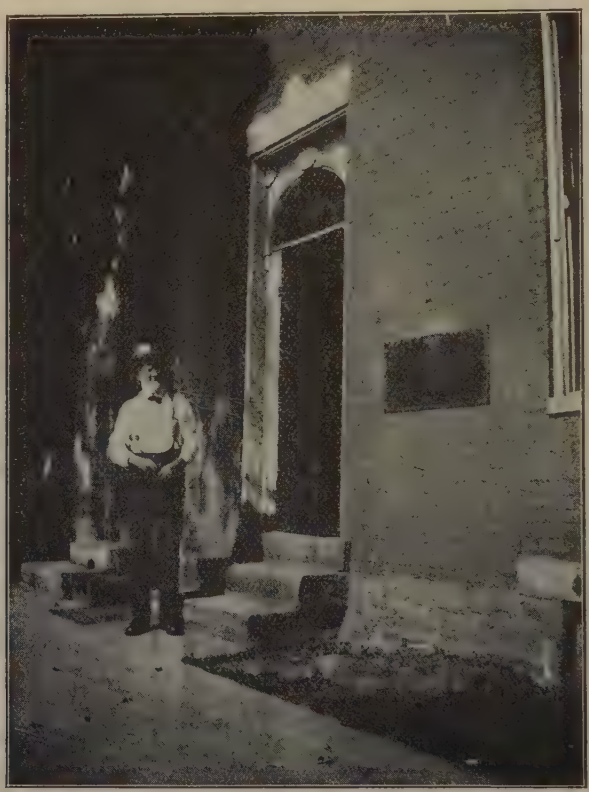
The Rankin Homestead.

But, meanwhile they spun the story of the old dwelling as it was told by Captain R. C. Rankin, one of the abolitionist's seven sons, some years ago. "My father's prime service to the fugitives," he said, "was to furnish food and shelter."

"His sons, of whom there were nine, did the conveying away. Some attempts were made to search our house from time to time. In March, 1840, for example, four men from Kentucky and one from Ripley with two bulldogs, came to the house and were met on the porch by mother, of whom they inquired the

way to Mr. Smith's,—a neighbor of ours. On being directed, the spokesman, Amos Shrope, said:

"'Madam, to be plain with you, we do not want to go to Mr. Smith's, but there was a store broken open in Dover, Ky., and we have traced the thief to this house:—we want to search for the goods and the thief.'



One of the Tablets.

"Mother replied: 'We neither harbor thieves nor conceal stolen property, and you are welcome to come to look through the house.'

"On starting for the door, my brother, Rev. S. G. Rankin, now of Glastonbury, Conn., took down the rifle from over the

door, cocked it and called out: 'Halt! If you come one step farther I will kill you,' and they halted. My brother David and I had not yet returned home from conveying the fugitives to the next station North, but were soon on the scene, when word was sent to town and in a short time the yard was full of friends.

The 100 Steps.

The slave-hunters,—for such they were,—were not allowed to pass out at the gate, but were taken by each arm and led to the fence and ordered to climb,—and *they climbed!*

"In the early days of abolitionism, my father was lecturing to an audience in a grove at Winchester, O., when a mob of two

hundred men, armed with clubs, marched to the place; and their leader, Stivers by name, came down the aisle and up on the stand, drew his club over father and called out:

"'Stop speaking, or, damn you, I will burst your head'!

"Father went on as though nothing had happened, when Robert Patten, a large and powerful man, sprung forward and seized Stivers by the back of the neck and led him out,—and that ended it.

"On another occasion father was hit with a goose-egg, it struck the collar of his coat and did not break until it fell,—when out came a gosling.

"He frequently came home with his horse's mane and tail shaved, when he would calmly remark: 'It was a colonization reply to an abolition lecture.'

"On one occasion I was sent to the house of a lone widow, being told that there were three men in her house, hunting runaways. I buckled my revolver under my vest and proceeded thither. I knew one of the men, a desperate character, who had killed one man at Hamilton, O., and had waylaid and shot another near his home in Kentucky. I approached him first and asked him to leave the house; after waiting a few moments and seeing he was not disposed to move, I put my hand on his breast to gently urge him out, when he ran his right hand in his pocket and grabbed his revolver; but I was too quick for him and had mine cocked within three inches of his eyes and shouted:

"'Now if you draw your hand out I will kill you'!

"He believed it and so stood, when one of his companions stepped up and slipped into his left hand an Allen self-cocking, six-shooting revolver. I exclaimed: 'That will do you no good, for if you raise your arm I'll put a bullet through your brain.' He also believed that. In this position we were found by a colored citizen of Ripley who came in with a double barrelled shotgun. In a short time a crowd gathered and the hunters were taken before the mayor and fined $60 and costs."

Old Rankin left eight sons and two daughters to survive him and perpetuate the memory of the famous old "abolition hole" there on the hill.

FORT HILL INDIAN CEMETERY.

BY FELIX J. KOCH.

Antiquarians and others interested in the lost races of this continent have been delighted, recently, at the news of the discovery of still another Indian burial ground on Ft. Hill, at the

Among the Mounds.

mouth of the Big Miami River, in the very southwest corner of Ohio.

Workmen, building a road through the territory, found arrow-heads and other Indian implements such as to indicate the proximity of a pre-historic cemetery, and, proceeding with care, the great burial-ground was unearthed. The site is not only near several other Indian burial grounds and mounds, but is one already made historic for these earth-works as well.

Ft. Hill derived its name from the fact that even to this time there survives here an ancient fort, erected by the mound-builders. This citadel stands on a high hill which at one time was part of the vast estate of General William Henry Harrison, the President. The fort, however, for one reason or another, has never been well known, possibly because of the difficulty of access even from Cleves, the nearest village. Harrison, himself, described it in 1803 and the description still tallies greatly. The

On the Mounds Above the River.

hero of Tippecanoe took great interest in these remains, claiming for Ft. Hill that as a citadel it was more elevated than the Acropolis at Athens.

Technically the large space of ground at the lower end of Ft. Hill was enclosed by walls uniting with the Ohio. A part of the western wall is yet visible. The land enclosed here is about 300 acres. When one thinks of the amount of work necessary, even today, to enclose 300 acres of land with a large embankment, having a solid stone foundation, as this has, and recalls that that

early race had no implements, to speak of, one must marvel at the wonderful energy of the lost race of mound-builders.

Great as this work may seem to us, however, it is not to be compared with the fortification on the top of the steep hill overlooking it. Upon the sides of these hills there have grown many great oaks and other trees, covered with mistletoe and moss. The walls can be plainly traced, since, during all these years, the plow-share has not disturbed their form.

A Mound in the Forest.

The hill is nearly 250 feet high, the sides are well wooded and rocky, and the summit itself is flat. The rear wall is higher than the other three. It runs in the form of a semi-circle, having a mound of stone at each extremity. The two gateways extend out from this curved wall. They are very narrow, allowing only three men to walk abreast. In front of each gate the earth is levelled off to form a plateau, with a low mound in the center of each. The space enclosed is covered by small trees and shrubbery, in the center of which a small spring is found.

THE SANDUSKY FORTS.

BY CHARLES A. HANNA, NEW YORK.

Several addresses on "Old Fort Sandusky," and the inscriptions on the monument erected last spring near the site of one Sandusky Fort, were printed in the October, 1912, number of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society's *Quarterly*.

Some of these addresses and inscriptions are so full of inaccuracies, misleading statements, and incorrect inferences, that they should be corrected.

The bronze tablet on the west face of the Harrison-Perry Embarkation Monument—erected under the direction of the Ohio Historical Society—reads as follows:

> "FORT SANDOSKI. 1745-1748. 1750-1751. 1761-1763. The First Fort built by White Men in Ohio, erected by British Traders from Penna. and Va., in 1745, under the protection of the Huron Chief, Nicolas; and destroyed by him after his defeat by the French in 1748, prior to his removal to the Illinois Country.
>
> "Rebuilt by British in 1750, and 'usurped by the French in 1751.' Again rebuilt by British soldiers in 1761, after the surrender of Quebec and French Sovereignty in America." etc.

The tablet on the south face of the monument recites that DeLery landed near the spot on which the monument stands, "and discovered the ruins of the Old Fort, Fort Sandoski, 1745-1748, 1750-1751."

The first and only Fort erected near this spot, or on the north shore of Sandusky Bay, was built by the French in the winter of 1750-1751, as stated in John Pattin's *Narrative* (Wis. Hist. Colls., xviii, 145), and in DeLery's *Journal of 1754* (*Wilderness Trail*, ii., 168). The Britsh never built a fort on the north side of Sandusky Bay. No fort on either side of the bay was built by the British in 1750.

The first British Sandusky Fort was built on the south side of the Bay by a Company of British soldiers and artisans under

command of Lieut. Elias Meyer, who wrote to General Bouquet September 1, 1761, that he had arrived at *Lake* Sandusky, and had "fixed on a spot for a Block-house, three miles from a village called by the Indians, Canoutout, where all the traders unload [their pack-horses] and load [into boats] their goods for Detroit. It is almost in the middle of Little Lake Sandusky." (*Calendar of Bouquet MSS., Canadian Archives,* 1889, p. 190.) Lieutenant Meyer wrote Bouquet again from "*Fort* Sandusky," November 29, 1761: "The Block-house, palisades, etc., are now finished."

The late William Darlington, in his *Christopher Gist's Journals,* states that this English Fort Sandusky stood at the mouth of Mill's Creek, and cites as his authority a letter in the Canadian Archives from Bouquet to Amherst, dated December 2, 1761. A "Fort Destroyed" near the "Little Portage," on the north side of the bay, is marked on a small sketch of the bay, made by an officer in 1761, and now with the Bouquet MSS. in the library of the British Museum. This manuscript map also shows the location of the Indian villages and the British block-house on the south side of the bay.

The correct location of this fort is also shown on Thomas Hutchins's map of 1764, published with his account of the Bouquet Expedition. Lieutenant Hutchins visited this fort in the summer of 1762, and knew whereof he wrote.

In all probability there never was a fort built by English Traders, either on the north side or south side of Sandusky Bay. The assumption that there was such a fort is based on the erroneous account of the conspiracy of Chief Nicolas, published by Mr. Goodman in his *Journal of Captain William Trent.* The principal incident in the rebellion of Nicolas was the murder of five French traders in the spring of 1747, during their return from the White River to Detroit. Mr. Goodman, following the editor of the *New York Colonial Documents,* erroneously identified this White River with the White River of Southern Indiana, a tributary of the Wabash; while it was really the Cuyahoga, and close to Mr. Goodman's own home. Nicolas and his band did not retire to the Illionis country, as Mr. Goodman thought, and as stated on the inscription quoted above; but they fled to

the Muskingum, and with the co-operation of George Croghan, built a town which they called Conchake, near the north bank of the Tuscarawas, just above its mouth. A town built some years later by the Delaware Indians, a mile or two lower down, on the Muskingum, was given a Delaware form of the name of the Wyandot, or Huron, town which it succeeded, and has ever since been known as Coshocton.

These facts are mostly set forth in DeLery's *Journal of 1755.*

Until some authority can be produced for Mr. Goodman's assumption that English traders built a fort for Nicolas at Sandusky in 1745, that statement cannot be accepted as a fact; and it is a pity that the fiction should be perpetuated in bronze.

Nicolas's band of Hurons (now called Wyandots) seem to have settled on the south side of Sandusky Bay in the summer of 1740. "The 16th of September, 1740, Monsieur de Noyan writes that the third chief of the Hurons, named Angouirot [Orontony, or Nicolas, was the great chief of that nation], had just arrived from Sandoske, where he had left nearly all his brothers, cutting down trees to extend their fields." (French manuscript from the Canadian Archives, printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* xvii., 286).

De Lery's *Journal* and maps show that the fort of Nicolas was built on the south side of Sandusky Bay, and the *Journal* states that it was built by the Hurons themselves.

The Pennsylvania traders did build a fort for the Miami Indians at Pickawillany, in Ohio, before 1750; and this fort may have been the "first fort built by white men in Ohio." It is certain none of the Sandusky forts were.

It is not improbable that the site of Nicolas's village and fort was identical with that of Junundat (the Ayonontout of the French). DeLery gives its name as Aniauton, or Anioton. This was also the name of another Huron chief, an ally of Nicolas, and the village probably took its name from this chief. Hutchins locates Junundat three and one-half miles to the south of the English Fort Sandusky in 1762, and four and one-half miles to the north of the Cold Spring at Castalia. DeLery does not locate the village with exactness; but from the fact that Anioton was the first Indian village south of the bay on the Conchake

Trail in 1755, the location agrees with that of Junundat, as given by Hutchins in 1762.

From the record as given above, it would seem that the "Fort Sandoski" tablet on the Harrison-Perry Portage monument contains at least seven untrue statements and suggestions, all of which are set forth as historical facts, and all of which are false. This is indeed a new way of "making history."

As a member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the undersigned wishes to register his vigorous protest against that society standing sponsor for the Fort Sandoski tablet.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE OHIO-ERIE BOUNDARY.

BY REGINALD C. M'GRANE,
D. A. R. Fellow, University of Cincinnati.

The question of "boundaries" has always been a source of trouble. Nations have been arrayed against each other, wars have been fought, diplomats have argued, and demagogues have harrangued over such disputed points. Sometimes Providence in its unaccountable way, has helped to solve the question by placing natural limits between race and race or between nation and nation, but where nature has failed to do so, all the cunning, strength and greed of the different parties has been brought into play in the proper defining of their respective spheres of action. Whether it be the case of the Visigoth struggling with the Roman for the integrity of his lands, or the German with the Frenchman, or the American with the Englishman about the just limitation of their claims, the final adjustment has been the result of a long series of events. The explorer, who first opened the new country, the colonizer who rapidly followed in his footsteps to plant the flag of his nation, the settler who began to develop the country and the soldier who fought for his rights — all these were factors in the settlement of the question. Thus the fixing of a definite line between nation and nation is not the work wholly of the diplomats who sign the ultimate agreement. It is the conclusion of many years of effort during which time these various elements have gradually evolved a distinct idea as to the justice and extent of their claims, and their determination to fulfill them. And if European countries can furnish us with classic illustrations of the gradual evolution of different boundaries, the New World can do so as well. Therefore it will be the purpose of this paper to show the gradual working out of this plan in one of our own localities.

In defining the limits of the Ohio-Erie country no natural conditions seem to present either a source of hindrance or advantage to its delimitation. Certainly no obstacle is placed in

the way of creating a definite section, for these factors — the Ohio River and its significant tributaries, Lake Erie, the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi — are more aids than bars to its definition. But as we study carefully the history of this region three rather distinct periods appear in the course of its growth. In the first period — which for convenience let us call the period of Discernment — we find the explorer penetrating the region, noting the points of vantage of the new land and relating these to his superior officers. He, in turn, is followed by the colonizer who likewise reports home what he finds here. Yet during this first period, although there may be more than one nation penetrating this portion of the country, little mention is made to restrict the bounds of either. However near its close the colonizer does begin to grow more emphatic in his desire to secure certain points of importance. In the second period — that of Delineation — a rather distinct outline seems to have been agreed upon by the parties involved and the necessary steps are taken to carry out this scheme. In the third period, therefore — that of Disposition — we have the final adjustment of these claims and the region clearly marked out.

It is natural to expect the factors in these different periods to change; and this is the case. In the first, the principal elements are the French and English explorers and colonizers; in the second, the English and the Indian; and in the last the English and American diplomats with the Indian as a subordinate member in the controversy. Let us now then examine more in detail the history of these periods and see the actual working of these forces.

The period of Discernment—which extends from 1615 to 1751—opens with the work of that hardy French pioneer—Samuel de Champlain. Impelled by his desire to trade with the natives, to carry to them the gospel, and to aid his comrade Le Charon, Champlain plunged into the wilderness in 1615 and after many difficulties reached Lake Huron. Here he seems to have been checked in his career to the westward and to have turned his attention to other affairs. His geographical knowledge about the land was vague for as late as 1632 in his maps he depicted the

Niagara River somewhat elongated, leading from the outlet of Lake Huron to Lake St. Louis (Ontario).[1] But the importance of his work lies in the fact that he encouraged others to go farther than he had done. The followers of his race quickly took up the work he had laid down. Flourishing missionary stations were soon established in the country of the Hurons. Moreover extensive expeditions were now fitted out to explore this region. In 1641 the Jesuit Raymbault reaches the falls of St. Mary's and returns reporting favourably of the natives; in 1654 another party makes a journey to Green Bay; and in 1660 a corps of fur traders ventures into the lake country and returned laden with furs. Thus from 1654 to 1660 the French push steadily westward until in 1668 Father Marquette establishes a settlement at St. Mary's. But it is not until 1670 that the French really enter the region we are at present studying. In that year we have the formation of that unique expedition of LaSalle and the Sulpitian missionaries Francis Dollier de Casson and Rene de Biehart de Galinee for the Far West. The history of this attempt is well known; the meeting with Joliet at the Grand River, the separation of the parties, the priests reaching Lake Erie, their wintering on its shores, and their final journey to Sault Ste. Marie. At the same time the priests were having these experiences LaSalle was exploring the head waters of the Ohio; but owing to a series of unforseen circumstances he also was forced to abandon his work. Accordingly, for a few years there is a lull in French endeavor but as soon as LaSalle is again restored to power, interest revives. This time we have the direct entrance of the French into the Lake Erie region by the building of "The Griffin" by Tonty and Hennepin and its launching at Fort Conti.

La Salle brings the period of French exploration to a close; and at the same time ushered in the era of colonization. The task of settling in the new land which had previously been carried on in a rather desultory and scattered manner, now assumes definite form. In 1671 the French have a settlement at Michilimachinac;[2] and in 1687 Governor Denonville erects a

[1] Hanna, C. A.: Wilderness Trail, Vol. I, p. 7.
[2] Blanchard, R.: Discovery of the Northwest, p. 74.

fort on the site of LaSalle's old blockhouse at the Niagara river;[3] and in 1701 Antoinette de la Motte founds Detroit.[4] Thus by the beginning of the eighteenth century the French are well established in the new land; but not alone, for their ever present rivals—the English—have kept strides with them.

Coincident with the advance of LaSalle to the west, we hear of the English being in the same region.[5] But, as was thoroughly characteristic of English policy in the New World, for many years nothing was carefully planned with respect to the opening up of the west. It is not until 1671 that any pretentious expedition is sent out to explore this land. In that year Major-General Abraham Wood sets out "for ye finding out of the ebbing and flowing of ye water behind the mountains in order to discover the South Sea"—[6] which resulted in the latter's reaching the Kanawha River. Nothing exact seems to have been gained by this journey and for a time interest in the west died out; but this was again revived under the able administration of Thomas Dongan when English agents were started up the lakes with the purpose of establishing trading posts.[6a] However, in 1716, under the guidance of that peculiar character, Governor Spotswood of Virginia, the English do turn their attention to the west. This time they appear to have been aroused to the worth of the country and strategic importance of securing certain sites for we read of Governor Spotswood's advice to plant settlements on Lake Erie for commercial reasons; furthermore, as he states, the English "might be able to cut off or disturb the communication between Canada and Louisiana if a war should happen to break out."[7]

With the expedition of Governor Spotswood the first half of the first period is completed. Both nations now bend their efforts towards colonization. With this more definite expan-

[3] Wisconsin Historical Collection, Vol. XVI, p. 128, note.

[4] Blanchard, R.: Discovery of the Northwest, p. 71.

[5] I. J. Cox: Journey of La Salle, Vol. I, p. 38.

[6] Darlington, Wm. A.: Journal of Christopher Gist, Intro., p. 20-21.

[6a] Blanchard, R.: Discovery of the Northwest, p. 69.

[7] Spotswood's Letters: Virginia Historical Collection, 1st series, Vol. II, p. 297. 298.

sion there naturally develops a strong feeling of antipathy between the two parties involved. The French and English soon perceive that a struggle is impending and each begin to make preparations for the inevitable. Both turn to the Indian—the original owner of the land but the one who had been utterly ignored up to this time—to aid them in the coming strife. Here the English profiting by the mistakes made by the French, gain the confidence of the Indian and although in the preliminary struggles of these years—namely those about Sandusky[8]—the English and their allies are worsted in the conflict, the Englishman has gained an important ally who in future years will be a source of great strength to him in striving with another foe.

At the same time this struggle is going on in the west new agencies are being created in the east to cope with the situation. England and the colonies have at least realized the importance of holding the western lands and now they intend to strain every nerve to accomplish their object. Great projects are set forth —such as that of the Ohio Land Company (one of the leading companies engaged in this work)—to settle "within the next seven years at least one hundred families in this region". But a new type of man—one who is thoroughly conversant with the conditions in the West must be employed to carry out these schemes; and it is in the perfecting of this plan that the West at last comes into its own. Such men as Conrad Weiser, a shrewd native German in the employ of the Pennsylvania council, George Croghan, the Irish trader, Andrew Montour, the half-breed,—all these must be put to work to save the English establishments by gaining the faith of the Indians. Moreover an accurate survey of the new land must be made for the new colonizing companies, and this work is left to that intrepid frontiersman and surveyor Christopher Gist. Besides, the struggles which were then going on between the rival colonies—Pennsylvania and Virginia—over their various claims to these western lands were all contributing to arouse interest in this section. Therefore it is small wonder the journey westward of this frontiersman was watched with much interest by the men of his day;

[8] See account of this struggle in Ohio Archaeological and Historical Soc. Publ., 1909.

and the careful journal kept by Gist (which furnishes us with a fund of information) bears witness of the exactness with which the observations were made. Setting out in 1750 with his purpose clearly before him Gist plunged into the Indian country concealing his real designs from all those who sought to learn them. When at last, however, he met George Croghan and Andrew Montour he threw aside this cloak of mystery and began actively to gain the friendship of the Indians. The account of the combined efforts of Croghan and Gist in conciliating the latter and in strengthening the bonds of friendship between the most powerful tribes and the English as detailed in Gist's journal presents a remarkable record of successful frontier diplomacy. The account shows us the careful examination that was made and the emphasis placed upon the importance of retaining it for the English. Thus we see that at the close of this first period the country has been thoroughly developed by both the English and French and that now since settlements are beginning to encroach upon each other, the necessity of expelling the one or the other or of placing a definite boundary between the two seems just beginning to take root. Thus the first period of our story comes to a close with the journey of Celeron through this country planting plates and taking possession of the land in the name of the King of France, and with the English sending Gist westward while preparing at the same time for the oncoming strife.

Taking up now the period of Delineation, we find that the scene has shifted. During the intervening years from 1751—the last tour westward of Christopher Gist—and 1763 the French have been driven from their possessions. In this struggle the region we are studying does not take an active part although much mention is made of proposed expeditions against such places as Detroit, etc., all of which come to naught.[9] The English do, however, gain possession of the principal sites during the course of the war. In 1758 Fort DuQuesne changes its name to Fort Pitt, in 1759 Niagara is taken, and the English have already planted settlements upon these old French locations when we again take up the thread of our story. Conditions have

[9] Wisconsin Historical Collection, Vol. XVI, XVII.

changed greatly within these few years and have wrought corresponding changes in the policies to be pursued in connection with these western lands. The French have been eliminated; but a new factor has appeared in the presence of the ever omnipresent Indian; and it is in dealing with the latter that we have the gradual evolution of a boundary for this region. All the cunning and guile of the Indian is now pitted against the bulldog determination of the white man to hold what he has already. New methods must be chosen and another set of men must be called upon to bring this to completion. The struggle is a noble one and for the next five years the West occupies the attention of the British officials in their endeavor to restrict the areas of the combatants.

The proposal to mark out a definite line with regards the west comes, of course, as a result of the harassing actions of the Indians upon the whites. The necessity of having such a boundary to limit the actions of the Indians and the whites had been felt and had been expressed as far back as 1757[10] but nothing was actually done as regards this until 1763. By this time establishments were of sufficient size and importance to command some attention from the colonial governments and from the mother country. Therefore, when Sir William Johnson in the latter part of 1763 proposed "that a certain line should be run back of the Northern colonies beyond which no settlement should be made until the whole Six Nations should think proper of selling part thereof"[11] we are not surprised that the English government adopted this policy. Furthermore such a scheme was in direct accord with the imperial tendencies of Great Britian during the eighteenth century — namely first neglect and then sharp control.[12] The primary purpose therefore of the proclamation of 1763 as it was finally issued by the British government was to centralize the authority in control of Indian affairs.[13] Some recent writers have asserted that an ulterior motive was to

[10] New York Colonial Doc., Vol. VII, p. 302.
[11] Ibid, Vol. VII, p. 578.
[12] Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. 36, p. 35.
[13] Ibid, Vol. 36, p. 25; Farrand: Indian Boundary Line.

restrain the growth of the colonies,[14] but this, upon closer examination, seems without foundation.[15] At any rate, Sir William Johnson's proposal gained a ready hearing in the mother country and when it was strengthened in the early part of the following year by a similar request from George Croghan[16] no time was lost in bringing it to completion. So by the beginning of 1764 a rather definite boundary line has been set up between the whites and the Indians; thus bringing into relief a more exact sketch of the western land.

But the proclamation of 1763 was soon found to be inadequate in certain respects. The French and Spanish officials had in the meantime tampered with the Indians and were urging them to take up arms against the English giving them assurances of powerful assistance.[17] The Indians had in the start desired such a boundary line hoping that by such measures the encroachment upon their lands would cease; but too much time had intervened between the proposal and the actual settlement and the Indians were now becoming restive.[18] Therefore in the face of an impending Indian war the Board of Trade on December 23, 1767 agreed that a line should be immediately established; and orders were sent to America to that effect.[19] A series of treaties were made with the Indians—namely at Fort Stanwix (1768) and later one at Lochabar (1770)—by which a continuous boundary line was run "back of the Appalachian Mountains, around the coast of Florida and through the southern part of east and west Florida almost to the Mississippi River."[20] By these treaties—especially that at Fort Stanwix[21]—the Ohio river was agreed upon as part of this boundary line between the whites and the Indians; and it is by the settlement upon the Ohio river

[14] Ibid, Vol. 36, p. 33.
[15] N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. 8, p. 94, 95.
[16] Ibid, Vol. 7, p. 602-607.
[17] Ibid, Vol. 8, p. 123.
[18] Ibid, Vol. 8, p. 152.
[19] N. Y. Doc., Vol. 7, p. 1004, and Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Pro., 1908, p. 175, 176.
[20] Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1908, p. 175, 176.
[21] Text of treaty in Pennsylvania Colonial Records, Vol. 9, p. 554-555; Vol. 10, p. 257, and N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. 8, p. 158.

as a part of this line that this section begins to assume a political community life. With the Ohio river as a southern boundary—although it was supposed to mark out only a division line between white and Indian settlements—and the Great Lakes to the north separating the newly acquired lands of Canada and those of the former British colonies—we have the gradual transformation of this indefinite mass of land to the westward into something definite in shape.

The West—or as we can now more adequately call it the Ohio-Erie area was now a particular region in the minds of those who were controlling the destinies of these lands. Its northern boundary was not yet determined upon but the importance of holding the Great Lakes as such a line was quite evident to both the settler and the people in the colonies. Therefore it is not strange that as the American Revolution begins to take hold in the colonies to the eastward, the men in charge of affairs quickly turn their attention to this land for the purpose of retaining and checking the advance of the English. In this struggle the Indian again enters as a principal factor.

Some recent writers[22] have declared that the American policy during these years tended towards securing Indian neutrality quoting in support of their argument a speech prepared for the Six Nations early in July 1775. But instead of trying "to keep the hatchet buried deep" it seems to the writer that the Americans were quite willing to employ and to instigate the Indians to action. As early as April 29, 1776 we read of the committee in charge of Indian affairs being instructed to prepare an expedition against Fort Detroit.[23] The report as rendered by the committee was, it is true, postponed,[24] but in the following year the project was again brought forward and this time it is stated that the "Indians were to be induced to surprise Niagara" but to do so "with secrecy and prudence".[25] The next day after this proposal was made, December 4, 1777, the idea was

[22] Wisconsin Historical Soc. Proceedings, 1909.
[23] Secret Journals of Congress, Vol. I, p. 43.
[24] Ibid, p. 43.
[25] Ibid, p. 57.

again expressed in Congress and this time the commissioners were authorized to give "money or goods" to the Indians.[26]

The necessity, however, of securing the northwest was too serious to leave to the whims of savages; so accordingly in 1780 after George Rogers Clark had gained control of the Illinois region, it was deemed best to fit out a regular expedition to secure this land for the Americans. To such men as Washington and Jefferson the reduction of Detroit[27] was imperative and so in this year the final arrangements were made for George Rogers Clark to move against this post. Clark was overjoyed by the prospects of "putting an end to the Indian warfare on the frontier"[28] but this daring scheme was doomed to an early death because owing to the lack of funds and of men the expedition had to be abandoned soon after it had got under way. But the interesting thing to note about these intervening years is the rising importance of this land—due most probably to its strategic and commercial position. Therefore it is small wonder that in the final peace arrangements in 1783 the northern boundary of this region should be claimed by the Americans as that of Lake Erie. By their instructions the American representatives had been directed to obtain a line running from the point where the 45th parallel crossed the St. Lawrence, directly west to Lake Nipissing, and thence to the Mississippi.* Such a line disregarded natural features, and when the British commissioners proposed as an alternative the present line following the middle course of the Great Lakes and finally terminated in the Lake of the Woods, the American commissioners readily accepted the change.†

Our period of Disposition ushers in a new series of events. The northern boundary was now the direct cause of the strife. The English had refused to comply with the desires of the American officials to abandon their stronghold upon the Great

[26] Ibid, p. 30.

[27] Mississippi Valley Historical Assoc. Pro., Vol. III, p. 301, 302.

[28] Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publ., Vol. XVI, p. 281.

* Cox, I. J.: Indian as a Diplomatic factor in the Northwest, published in Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications.

† Ibid.

Lakes because they wanted to secure the fur trade and so trouble was impending. Besides the encroachments of the whites upon the Indian lands were arousing the latter to hostility. The immediate cause of the Indian's rage was, however, as set forth by Secretary Knox's report in 1792 "the unprovoked aggressions of the Miami and Wabash Indians upon Kentucky and other parts of the frontiers, together with their associates—a banditti formed of Shawanese and outcast Cherokees, amounting in all to about 1,200".[29] At any rate three expeditions were sent out to subdue these tribes—General Harmar, General St. Clair and General Wayne—the last being the only one that proved successful and the only one we are interested in for this study.

A detailed account of this expedition under General Anthony Wayne is unnecessary. All that we need recall as regards the expedition is that General Wayne by deceiving the Indians succeeded in advancing far into the Indian country before the latter were fully aware of his utimate destination; that he met the Indians and successfully defeated them in the Battle of Fallen Timbers; that he had a slight tilt of words with the British officers in charge of the fort in the vicinity in which the latter was decidedly worsted; and that the campaign finally concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Greenville between Anthony Wayne and the Indians.[30] The signing of this treaty, however, on August 3, 1795 was of great significance to the west. The fact that the British had intrigued with the Indians during this campaign was quite evident to the American leaders[31] and therefore they determined to secure the friendship of the Indian for all times and to settle all disputes in this Treaty of Greenville. Furthermore a precise boundary line was established at this time between the lands of the United States and the lands of the Indian tribes and the southern boundary of the Ohio-Erie country was again stated as that of the Ohio River—while the northern limit was to be Lake Erie. A few years later a second Treaty of Greenville was signed by which the Indians became

[29] Annals of Congress, Vol. III, p. 1048.
[30] See American State Papers, Indian Affairs.
[31] Am. State Papers, Foreign Affairs, Vol. I, p. 484.

the allies of the Americans and agreed to help them against their old friends—the British.

But this treaty was not looked upon by Great Britain as very binding.[32] So at her first opportunity she strove to evade it. Thus when the war of 1812 breaks out England regains and holds the northern posts and to all intents and purposes proposes to do so for some time to come. Fortune however was not very bountiful to her in this struggle. In the beginning the British gained possession of such military posts as Detroit but this was lost during the course of the war, and so, when the negotiations for peace opened at Ghent, the Americans, now in actual control of these strongholds, were in a good position to reassert their claims to the limits of 1783.

Here at last we find the question in the hands of those whom we should naturally expect to settle such disputes—the diplomat. In the preceeding periods the diplomat had played but a minor part in the transactions, the men on the frontier doing most of the work. But now at last it has reached the diplomat; but not one set of diplomats—but three. For the British officials in addition to their role as representatives of their own government have assumed the pose of agents in behalf of the distant Indian. This latter pose of the British seems almost ludicrous. To think that the one who had so forcibly driven the red man from his land should now step forward as his champion seems almost incongruous; but such is the case. Almost at the first meeting of the delegates the British members presented their claims that since the Indians had been their allies in the late war they were resolved that they should receive fair treatment at the hands of the Americans; and they demanded for the Indians a "status quo ante bellum" which they declared was their "sina qua non" [33] The Ameican delegates were at once enraged over this proposal. At first they claimed not to be able to treat of this matter because they did not have instructions to that effect; but when they saw the futility of so evading the question they stated em-

[32] Many American officials seem to have held this idea; see Wharton: Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, Vol. V, p. 87.

[33] American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, Vol. III, p. 706.

phatically their refusal to acquiesce to any such terms as set forth by the British—namely to create a barrier Indian state between the possessions of the British and those of the United States even though the boundary was to be almost the same as that set forth in the Treaty of Greenville. Some of the members of the American delegation might have been willing to comply with the wishes of the British[34] but Henry Clay,[35] representing the West, refused most decidely to support such a proposition and so by dint of much wrangling the British were finally forced on October 25[36] to abandon their position and to take up the one other question that has to deal with our subject—namely the evacuation of the northern posts (Mackinac and its dependencies). Here again some of the American members were disposed to view somewhat mildly the designs of the British in retaining these posts[37] but again the new American spirit of nationality exerted itself and the forts were handed over to the American government. In the same manner the British proposals that Americans should forbear from arming vessels on the lakes or erecting fortifications were quickly rejected by the American delegates and the commerce of the Great Lakes was left open to both nations.

So concludes the early history of the Ohio-Erie country. The main forces at work in the gradual evolution of its boundary had been the white man and the Indian—respective representatives of civilization and savagery. Whether it was the English and French settlers or later the English and American diplomats quarreling over this region, the ultimate goal in view had been the driving of the red man from this region and its settlement and adjustment by the white man. And though it may seem cruel that the original owner was at last driven from his home the later history of this section will, I think,

---

[34] Life of John Jay; William Jay, Vol. II, p. 363, 364.

[35] Memoirs of J. Q. Adams, Vol. III, p. 68, 103.

[36] American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, Vol. III. p. 710. The news that a second Treaty of Greenville had been signed between the Americans and Indians was a direct incentive for the English to relinquish their claims.

[37] Ibid, Foreign Affairs, Vol. I, p. 486.

make us feel that perhaps it was for the best.* But, we who live in this section of the west must not forget that:

"Not with the bold array
of armies dread"

was the Disposition finally brought about but:

"Thru a long warfare rude,
With patient hardihood,
By toil, and strife and blood,
The soil was won."

---

* In the preparation of this article I wish to acknowledge the many valuable suggestions of my instructor, Professor Isaac Joslin Cox of the University of Cincinnati.

PROTECTION OF PREHISTORIC MOUNDS AND VILLAGE SITES.

In late years institutions for archaeological research located outside of the State of Ohio have come into the state and largely encroached upon the field of study and investigation which should be reserved for the purposes of home (state) exploration. To give such societies as The Ohio State Archaeological & Historical Society, as is justly due them, the right of way in this matter, the 80th General Assembly on April 19, 1913, enacted the following law:

A BILL.

To permit incorporated associations to acquire prehistoric monuments and sites.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

SECTION 1. Any incorporated association or society maintained by and operating for and on behalf of the state of Ohio, having for its purpose the preservation of prehistoric monuments or the exploration or examination of such prehistoric monuments with the view of collecting and preserving all relics or artifacts found in such monuments, for educational and scientific purposes and for the use and benefits of the public by being permanently placed in a state museum, may acquire and hold any real-estate in the state of Ohio which is the site of an prehistoric mound, earth or stone works, or prehistoric village site. In the event that such incorporated association or society seeking to acquire such real-estate and any owner of such real-estate sought to be acquired are unable to agree upon the price to be paid for acquiring or holding of the real-estate desired, such association or society may acquire such real-estate by proceedings in a proper court in the manner provided by law for the appropriation of private property by a municipal corporation of this state.

THE EARLY FRENCH SETTLEMENTS ON THE GREAT LAKES.

JOHN M. BULKLEY.

The French emigrants scattered along the northwestern frontier previous to the year 1760, were chiefly from the provinces of Picardy and Normandy in France. Without aspiring to the aristocratic rank of the noblesse, who had congregated in the region of Quebec and Montreal, they were accustomed to reverence the authority which had before been exercised over them under the French monarchy in their native land.

The French colonies upon the shores of Michigan had been founded for the purposes of extending the dominion and prosecuting the fur trade into the Indian territory. The Frenchmen who were sent out from the headquarters of the Colonial government were expected to undergo the hardships of the forest in accomplishing their objects. They consisted of the commandants of these posts, merchants, Jesuits, priests, traders, soldiers and the peasantry. A small part of the population was local. The inhabitants belonged to a system of machinery in religion and trade, which was constantly being moved from post to post. The most important individuals at the trading posts, next to the Commandants, were the French merchants, who generally had their houses near the forts, and the half-breeds, the offspring of the rangers of the woods and the Indians. The old French merchant at his post, was the "head man" of the settlement. Careful, frugal, without much enterprise, judgment or rigid virtue, he was employed in procuring skins from the Indians, or traders, in exchange for manufactured goods. In the absence of any better form of government, the merchants were revered as the patrons of their settlement. Their policy was to exercise their influence with paternal mildness so as to prevent rebellion, to keep on good terms with the Indians in order to secure their trade, and they frequently placed themselves in the position of adviser and confidential friend.

The *"Courier de Bois"* or ranger of the woods, were either French or half-breeds, a hardy race, accustomed to labor and privations, conversant with the character and habits of the Indians from whom they procured their cargoes of furs. They were equally skilled in propelling a canoe, fishing, hunting, or trapping. If of mixed blood, they usually spoke the language of both parents, French and Indian, and knew just enough of their religion to be utterly regardless of both. Employed by the aristocratic French for companies of voyagers as guides, they were constantly accustomed to the severest training in propelling their canoes, transporting goods and in outdoor occupations of various kinds, and were many of them, nearly perfect specimens of physical development. These men knew every rock and stream, island and shoal of these western waters. The half-breeds were demi-savages in their dress, as well as in their character and appearance. They sometimes wore a sort of surtout, of heavy blue cloth or made from the coarse blankets used by the Indians or French, reaching nearly down to their knees; elk or deerskin leggins, the seams of which were trimmed with fringe, a scarlet woven sash tied around their waist, in which was stuck a large knife to be used in their hunting expeditions; a cap or toque made of the same material as the coat or knitted from scarlet yarn, completed the costume.

Affable, gay, shrewd, these men were employed by the French merchants as guides, canoe-men, steermen or rangers to advance in their large light birch canoes, far into the remotest wilderness and to traffic their European goods for peltries, depositing them at the several French depots on the lakes whence they were transported to Quebec and Montreal.

The peasantry, or that portion of the French population who devoted themselves to agriculture, maintained the habits which were brought down from the provinces whence they emigrated, their costume did not differ materially from that just described. This singular mixture of character was made still more strange and grotesque by the Indians, who loitered about the posts, the French soldiers with their blue and white uniforms and by the numbers of black robed priests and Jesuits who had their stations about the forts. Agriculture was but

little encouraged or promoted either by the policy of the fur trade or the industry of the inhabitants. It was limited to a few patches of corn and wheat which were cultivated in profound ignorance of the principles of husbandry, and amid obstacles which would be regarded by our farmers of today as insurmountable.

The forest gave them abundance of game, while the lakes and streams were thickly peopled by the trout, bass, pickerel, muscallonge and sturgeon.

The Mackinaw trout were of enormous size, and the toothsome white fish, of which Charlevoix writes: "Nothing of the fish kind can excel it," were very abundant.

The social condition of the French upon the lakes, was of a less ambitious cast than the colonial establishments at Quebec and Montreal. At those places were collected all the noblesse, the bishop, the colleges of the Jesuits: there was concentrated all the pomp and splendor which belonged to the French government in this part of America, and all that was imposing in the Canadian state as well as the Church. The emigrants in the lakes were of more humble origin, who were dispatched to these posts to build them up and arranging convenient depots for the trade as it circulated through the whole extent of the northwestern waters. The volatile and migratory disposition of the French people increased by the moving habits incident to the fur trade, was under the rigid surveillance of the Catholic Clergy.

The Jesuits and the priests exercised an almost unlimited power over every class of the little commonwealth, upon the lakes, and the community became thus subjected to their influence which was artful, though mild and beneficent, and in the absence of any other restraining law-power save that of the military, the effect upon the morals was uniformly good.

The priests and Jesuits, however, it would seem, had anything but an agreeable relationship with the savages. By them, the Clergy were deemed "medicine men" and jugglers. If a silver crucifix, a carved saint, a rosary, or the satin vestments of the priests embroidered with flowers, sometimes came before their eyes, they were believed to be implements and insignia of

incantation, by which the souls of those on earth, were to be spirited away, but not to the "happy hunting grounds." There is an instance of an Iroquois warrior, who threatened the life of a Catholic priest while ministering beside an aged savage, on the verge of death, unless he should preserve the dying Indian's life.

The contrasts presented by the peculiar state of things in those early days was extraordinary and striking. The lonely altar, erected from rough stones, under the clustering boughs of the forest trees, adorned with rude candle sticks, crosses and censers often wrought from the copper of the upper peninsula was often surrounded by the Indians arrayed in the rough though not unpicturesque garb of their tribes, the wrought skin of the elk, the deer and the buffalo, with the cincture of the war eagle, only worn by warriors of eminence, crowning their heads, with necklaces of bear claws, and other trophies while richly embroidered moccasins covered their feet, and they gazed with awe, mingled with dread and suspicion at the strange scenes before them, or listened to the chant of the mass or requiem, amid the howling of the wolf and panther. The influence of religion acting upon the rough and savage features of barbarism stamps the scene with a wild beauty springing from contrast. No sculptured marble adorned the soil, no golden lamp flamed upon polished column of grand old cathedral, attesting the presence of luxury and art: but the solitary log chapels of the missionaries surmounted by the cross, looked out upon a domain of forests, prairies, streams and lakes.

> "The breeze like music wand'ring o'er the boughs,
> Each tree a natural harp, each different leaf
> A different note, blent in one vast thanksgiving."

Another feature, which seemed to further impress with force the singularly interesting character of Michigan at that period was the Indian mythology of the western lakes.

Whether this Indian mythology was founded in the circumstance that the region of the lakes had long been the central point of the Algonquin power, where their systems had been organized for ages; whether it sprang from the bold and solitary

features of the lake scenery, inspiring the savage mind with superstition; or how far it had since been moulded with the instructions of their teachers, which often assumed the form of allegory in order to impress the savage minds,—is not now clearly known. There is no doubt, however, that this mythology did exist, and has been transmitted to the present time. The rocks, streams, islands, groves and waterfalls in the wilds of Michigan had each their presiding genii, good or evil, and the Indian legends, not only accounted for the creation of the earth and every prominent object in nature, but also peopled the stars with spirits. Fairies of the land and the water danced through the forests and floated along the streams. Spirits or "Manitous" of darkness performed their orgies and incantations amid thunder-storms upon the shores of the great lakes to whom they offered sacrifices. When Charlevoix visited this region in 1721, he was told by the Indians that Michabou, was the Manitou of the lakes, the God of the Waters; that the island of Mackinac was the place of his birth, and that he it was who formed all the lakes and streams of the country. Sacrifices were at this time offered by the Indians to Lake Superior, as it was believed to have been created by the deity in order to permit the savages to catch beaver and they believed that the fragments of rock which broke the Falls of St. Marys and the other rapids in that quarter, were the remains of a causeway he had erected, to dam the water of the rivers.

If these forest gods were appeased by the savages, then they were entitled to the Celestial regions, beyond the mountains; but if they neglected them, they would be consigned to wander forever amid the dreariest solitudes under the care of "monsters a hundred feet in height" and to be stung by mosquitoes as large as pigeons. It is not certainly known, but the suggestion is entitled to consideration, that the mosquitoes of New Jersey are lineal descendants of the above.

La Point was one of the trading posts, and here, at one time, the Chippewas assembled to receive their annuities from the "GREAT FATHER" the President, in exchange for the untold acres ceded to the government by this tribe. The sum then allotted to each was four dollars in money, one blanket and

a sufficient quantity of cloth to make a pair of leggins, together with a few yards of high-colored calico; this was all, yet many of these poor wretches had paddled their canoes hundreds of miles to obtain this meager allowance. The number congregated in the summer of 1846 according to Lanman was about 3,000 Chippewas. The great majority had reached the Point in a state of destitution and in many cases of starvation, so that they were immediately compelled to transfer their money into the open hands of the American Fur Co., for pork at $50 per barrel and flour at $15 per hundred. It was generally understood, however, that when the red barbarians should start for their distant homes, the traders would furnish them with sufficient provisions to take them a day's journey.

Of the countless Indian legends, the most singular and universal have reference to a noted personage named Men-a-boujou, who was generally believed to have been created by Manitou for the special purpose of acting as ruler of men, and guardian of Lake Superior in particular, while some affirmed that he was Manitou himself. The Indians described him as of immense size, who could stride across the widest rivers and grasp the lightning in his hands, and whose voice was like the roar of Superior in a storm. They also say that he excelled in all the arts of war and the chase, that the Chippewa nations are his lineal descendants, and that he died at the somewhat advanced age of a thousand winters. There is not a headland of Lake Superior or a river emptying into it which is not hallowed in Indian story by his wonderful exploits. The revolving seasons were at his command. He covered the earth with snow and fettered the streams with ice. At his mandate the mountains were covered with verdure and northern flowers bloomed in surpassing beauty. In fine, the attributes of this legendary personage were as numerous as they seem incongruous and heathenish. These glimpses into the mythology of the aborigines have always an interest and a certain fascination, but which considered with other characteristics of the red man, seem the most strangely paradoxical of anything in their nature, or their wild and savage life. But the changes wrought by the coming white man were soon noticed, and gradually the sense of security felt by

the settlers gave place to distrust of their dusky neighbors, and the feeling that the open declaration of enmity and hostility could not be far distant. Some of the more timid left the country to return to the Canadian provinces or the better protected districts near military posts. Those who remained discreetly employed conciliatory measures and friendly modes in their intercourse with the Indians.

But in spite of all their precautions and care the clouds gathered. In the darkness of midnight, in the silence of the wilderness, the tomahawk and scalping knife were forged for their work of death, and the war song echoed along the shores of lakes, where had never been heard the footsteps of civilized man. Then followed the horrors of war, and in the beautiful valley of the Raisin, which Charlevoix described as one of the most charming on earth, were enacted scenes of savage cruelty and barbarism, the details of which make one's blood run cold, and which for a time defied further attempts at increasing or extending the settlements on that frontier. This was quite in accordance with the wishes if not actually instigated and brought about by those unscrupulous emissaries and agents of yet more unscrupulous principals, whose policy it was to prevent and destroy all white settlements in the northwest, and continue it rather as a trading oligarchy, for the prosecution of their bartering schemes hesitating at nothing to accomplish these ends.

There is nothing on record to surpass in wickedness the atrocity of some of these agents, the very mention of whose names even at this long interval is sufficient to arouse our borders to a glow of anger.

It was not the policy of those who controlled the trade of this region to keep the British Government advised of its wealth and importance; and its remoteness and the exclusion of inquisitive settlers made it easy to conceal the true state of things. But the result was unexpected; for although we had never gained any strong foothold here, no serious difficulty was raised against making the lakes our national boundary. But as soon as it was discovered what a mistake had been made, pretexts were sought for evading the treaty, and intrigues were begun to win back to the British rule the country which contained the

source of their great profits and the hordes of their savage allies.

The results of this intriguing and the failure of Great Britain to perform its promises, was the war of 1812; and with it came the train of evils to the inhabitants of this great northwestern territory,—and which delayed its settlement many years.

THE TAMMANY SOCIETY IN OHIO.

SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

The Tammany Society was organized in the City of New York in the year 1789, and was designed to counteract the combined influence of the Federalists and the Society of Cincinnati. The latter was looked upon as a species of aristocracy and hostile to democratic institutions. Fears were entertained that its members might consolidate power in their own hands, though they were certainly as loyal to the infant republic as were their opponents. That society was established to promote the mutual friendship of those who were associated together as chief actors in the American revolution, and to perpetuate the remembrance of their efforts to secure the independence of the United States. General Knox and Baron Steuben were its earliest promoters; and as such men as Washington, Lincoln, Nathaniel Greene, Arthur St. Clair, Moultrie, Gates, and Alexander Hamilton were its officers, no fears needed to have been entertained of their patriotism and loyalty.

As the Society of Cincinnati sprang from the officers of the army, so the Tammany Society sprang from the people. The credit for its foundation is due to a citizen of Irish extraction, William Mooney by name, who belonged to the Whig school of politics, and was one of the "Sons of Liberty," or "Liberty Boys," as the rebels and rebel sympathizers were called, as distinguished from the Tories. After the war he was an upholsterer in New York city—first on Nassau street, afterward on Maiden Lane, and then on Chatham street. He finally became keeper of the Alms House, in which office he died. Mooney was not a man of high position in the community, nor did this society at first attract men of influence and standing. It soon gained favor, however, and many rising politicians were glad to be-

come members. It has been thought that Aaron Burr was the leading spirit of the new order, and was its real founder. Certain it is that he was on terms of intimacy with Mooney, and owed him large bills for upholstery; but he does not seem to have become an open member, though he may have been a counselor and confidant.

The organization was first called the "St. Tammany Society, or Independent Order of Liberty." This name was derived from an Indian chieftain who was held in the highest repute by the earlier American Colonists. He belonged to the tribe of Delawares, and was famous for his wisdom, prudence, virtue, hospitality and humanity. He was distinguished no less for his endurance in the chase than for his bravery in battle. He was known to the white settlers as Tameud or Tameneud; and in 1776, when Major George Morgan was sent from Princeton to treat with the Western Indians, they admired him so much that they conferred upon him the name of their great warrior, knowing no greater honor to bestow. Many legends gathered around the history of Tameneud, and by the superstitious he was supposed to have had communion and intercourse with the Great Spirit. Indeed, there was a tradition that he had personal conflicts with the Evil One; and the story goes that in one of these, which lasted for several days, our own Sandusky plains were despoiled of their timber by his Satanic Majesty, in his efforts to escape the blows of the dusky saint. His appellation of "Saint" is said to have originated with John Trumbull, the author of "McFingall," to ridicule the propensity of the people for calling their social clubs after St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, and other foreign saints, in this new land of liberty. The title took; and "Saint Tammany" was inscribed by the Pennsylvania troops upon their revolutionary banners in opposition to those of the royal line, which bore the name of their patron saint, the hero of the dragon, "Saint George" of Cappadocia.

The society in the second year of its existence dropped the title, "Independent Order of Liberty"; and instead it was proposed to substitute "Order of St. Columbus." Here was still a hankering after the word "Saint." But to this suggestion it was replied that Columbus was a foreign adventurer, and repre-

sented foreign ideas, while they were Americans. Not long after the appellation of "Saint" was omitted from the name, and when the society was incorporated by the State of New York in 1805, it was designated as "The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order."

Though it admitted all ranks to membership, only native born citizens were eligible to its offices. It soon attracted to its membership such men as Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Cadwallader C. Colden, John and Robert Swartwout, Benjamin Romaine, Stephen Allen, John D. Broome, Daniel D. Tompkins, and others of political note. Its affairs were managed by the most astute and capable politicians, and it was thus able to capture the shrewdest found outside of its own organization. The chief power was confined to a small circle, however; for though it was democratic in its principles, it was eminently aristocratic in its practices. To its inner councils only a trusted few were admitted. They constituted its advisers and directors; they dictated its policy, prescribed its action, and were "a wheel within a wheel," giving motion to all its machinery. Thus the power was retained in the hands of a "ring"—and Tammany has been essentially a ring in all of its political maneuvers. The most capable politicians of any party have been members of Tammany; and it is no small compliment to say that when Tammany smiled, victory was certain, when it frowned, defeat was sure.

The object of the society, as expressed in its constitution, was to "connect in the indissoluble bonds of patriotic friendship citizens of known attachment to the political rights of human nature and to the liberties of this country." The society early espoused democratic principles, and of course antagonized Hamilton and the Federalists. In 1800 Burr and Jefferson were both candidates for the presidency. Only the year before, the Federalists had carried the State of New York; this year Tammany went in strong for Burr and secured the State for him, thus producing a tie in the electoral college between Burr and Jefferson. Through the influence of the latter, branch societies of Tammany were established in all or most of the original states, but its headquarters were in New York. Here its meetings were

first held in Barden's City Tavern on Broadway; then in Mantling's "Long Room" in an old wooden building on the corner of Nassau and Spruce streets, where the Tract house now stands—a place contemptuously called "The Pig-pen.'

The first Tammany Hall was built in 1811, where the office of THE SUN now stands, corner of Frankfort and Nassau streets. It was a plain brick building, three stories high, with a steep roof. Subsequently a fourth story was added, and the roof built flat. The cornerstone was laid on Monday, the 13th of May in that year, with imposing ceremonies, by the Grand Sachem, Clarkson Crolins. In this hall the Sons of Tammany met for nearly fifty years, and vacated it only in 1860 to occupy larger quarters farther up town. This was the scene of many a wrangle, and witnessed many a stormy debate. Here candidates were made and unmade; elections were determined, tickets nominated, votes arranged for, and spoils of office distributed in advance among the faithful.

In promotion to place, Tammany was once almost omnipotent; it put down one man and set up another. Of late years its power has somewhat waned, though it is still an important factor in state, and especially city, elections. Tweed was a heavy weight for it to carry. Mozart and Irving Hall compelled it to divide its honors, and the breach between rival factions was not entirely healed; but as it survived the feuds of the anti-Masons, the Know-Nothings, the Old Hunkers and Barn-burners, the Hards and the Softs, we are not yet ready to pronounce its funeral oration. Its later movements indicate a strong vitality, even with Croker at a distance.

In the constitution of the society, there was preserved a little Indian sentiment, and a few of the Indian characteristics. Thus it was divided into as many tribes as there were states, and each of the state tribes was named after some animal. New York was the Eagle tribe; New Hampshire, the Otter; Massachusetts, the Panther; Rhode Island, the Beaver; Connecticut, the Bear; New Jersey, the Tortoise; Pennsylvania, the Rattlesnake; Delaware, the Tiger; Maryland, the Fox; Virginia, the Deer; North Carolina, the Buffalo; South Carolina, the Rac-

coon; and Georgia, the Wolf. We fail to see the significance of some of these names, though there is a reason for calling Michigan the Wolverine State and Wisconsin the Badger State.

When a member was initiated into the society, he indicated what tribe he would join. In public parades, each of the tribes carried its own banner, preceded by its own sachem. The halls of the several branches were called "wigwams," and their calendar began with the "Year of Discovery," 1492, when Columbus first set his foot on American soil. Their year also began with the 12th of October, which was denominated the month of "Traveling"; and the successive months thereafter were named "Beavers, Games, Colds, Snows, Worms, Plants, Flowers, Heats, Horns, Fishes, and Corn."

INTRODUCTION INTO THE STATE.

The first wigwam of the Tammany Society in the State of Ohio was established at Chillicothe, on a dispensation sent from the Grand Sachem of Pennsylvania to Thomas Lloyd, empowering him to build it. Mr. Lloyd called together a few of the citizens known to be of the same political principles as himself, and duly initiated them into the mysteries of the order, agreeably with the constitution thereof. We give the names of those who, with Mr. Lloyd, founded the first wigwam of the Ohio tribe, as several of them are well known in our state history:— Thomas Scott, John Hamm, William Williams, Samuel Swearingen, David Kinkead, William S. Hutt, Nimrod Hutt, Carlos A. Norton, Samuel Williams, John Hutt, John Thompson, Joseph S. Collins, John Wiley, John Wood, James T. Crockwell, John Pickens, Edward Scott and Benjamin Hough. After organization the order increased rapidly and included among its members Thomas Worthington, Edward Tiffin, Ethan Allen Brown, Winn Winship, Preslay Morris, Jesse Spencer, and others of the highest standing in society and leaders of public opinion both in State and National politics.

The dispensation granted for the purpose of erecting the new wigwam runs as follows:—

"In the name of the Spirit of Tammany, to you, Health and Prosperity:—Sago, sago, sago.

"*To* THOMAS LLOYD *at Chillicothe in the State of Ohio*:

"I, Michael Leib, Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, No. One, in the State of Pennsylvania, do by these presents, in pursuance of the power in me vested by the Constitution, and in conformity to a resolve of the said society passed on the fourth day of the month of Colds in the year of Discovery Three Hundred and eighteen [January 4, 1810], authorize and empower you, the said Thomas Lloyd, to build up and open a Wigwam at Chillicothe, in the State of Ohio, to be governed by our Tammanial Constitutions, and to be invested with all the same and equal powers and privileges of initiating sons of freedom into this illustrious Order, and to grant dispensations for extending the chain of amity throughout your State.

"I have to recommend to you an attachment to and uniformity with your elder brothers in your language, ceremonies and laws, a sacred remembrance of the cement, and a burial of the tomahawk.

"Given under my hand this fourth day of the month of Snows, in the year of Discovery, Three hundred and eighteen [Feb. 4, 1810.]

"M. LEIB, *Grand Sachem.*

"Attest: JOHN L. BAKER, *Secretary.*"

At the time of granting this dispensation, Dr. Leib was United States Senator from Pennsylvania.

The society in Ohio drew to itself attention from the character and influence of the men composing it, and being a secret organization it was very cautious in the admission of new members. It was provided in the Constitution that if any person wished to unite with the society, he must signify his desire in a letter, and be recommended by two members. In that case the Grand Sachem appointed a committee of three other members to make all needful inquiries into the morals and political sentiments of the applicant, and to report at the next meeting. If the report was favorable, the society proceeded to ballot for the candidate; and if, on counting the ballots, it was found that there were two black balls to every sixteen white ones, the Grand Sachem pronounced him not elected. But if otherwise, he was declared elected, and was eligible to be admitted the same evening. If any member elect did not claim his right within six months, he was not admitted without a new vote in his favor.

If any person was wrongfully rejected on account of falsehoods maliciously circulated, or through any mistake in the committee reporting, he might be brought again to the notice of the society and balloted for anew; but one who in the judgment of the society was rejected was rejected on good, clear and satisfactory evidence could never be balloted for a second time.

In matters political the society made itself felt at the public elections in towns where a wigwam was established, but elsewhere in the State it does not seem to have had much influence. Partisan rancor was as bitter then as now, and the issues that divided the Republicans and Federalists were as sharply defined as any of later days. It is amusing to read in the journals of the period the charges and rejoinders of political opponents; and if we may believe half that was said, we must come to the conclusion that

> "Corruption boiled and bubbled
> Till it o'erran the stew,"

as it erst did in Vienna. Those who quote with admiration the good old days when men were honest should read the papers.

The society was accused, perhaps justly, of holding secret caucuses and deciding what was to be done in the ensuing elections. In this they only imitated their elder brothers in New York and elsewhere. They used circulars and employed runners, had their heelers at all the polls, kept up a system of espionage, and conducted an extensive correspondence. In the general election of 1810, their candidate for governor was Thomas Worthington. In the opposition was Return J. Meigs. Both were worthy citizens, and both deserved well of the people. Charges of corruption were freely brought against the candidates on both tickets by their opponents. Mr. Meigs was denounced as a Federalist, even by men who had sustained him in a previous political contest as a Republican. He had received three years before a majority of the popular vote for governor, but was debarred from assuming office on account of an alleged incapacity—he had not been a resident of the State, as required by law, four years next preceding his election. Possibly the voters of Ohio now generally deemed this a mere technicality;

for he was elected, by a decisive vote over his popular opponent. The canvass of the State was a heated one, and there was no end of crimination and recrimination. Governor Meigs made a gallant and patriotic executive, and his services in the war with England received from the general government substantial recognition.

So bitter were the animosities between the two leading parties that members of the same religious communion sometimes became alienated, while one portion endeavored to disfellowship the other. A notable instance of this occurred at Chillicothe, the headquarters of the Tammany Society in Ohio. Being the seat of government, the contentions of political partisans were unstinted. Many aspirants for official position resided there, and mutual jealousies begot mutual strife. In the Methodist Church the leading spirit in 1811 was a Federalist. He was a genuine ascetic, and had gathered about him a coterie of kindred spirits who dominated both the spiritual and temporal concerns of the pastoral charge to which they belonged. Even the preacher was under their influence, and what they dictated was the law which he was bound to execute. Like Diotrephes in the New Testament, they desired in all things "to have the pre-eminence." These men can not be charged with ungodliness or lack of piety, but their zeal ran away with their judgment. They were particularly opposed to their Tammany brethren, against whom they entertained strong prejudices on account of their political preferences. It was not contrary to church order and discipline, however, to vote the Tammany ticket, and the Tammany brethren could not be called to an account on that ground. But an occasion came at last. In this year, 1811, the society celebrated its anniversary with a parade, a "long talk" by Governor Tiffin the Grand Sachem, and a banquet. Immediately an accusation was laid against the Tammany Methodists by some of the Federalist clique, for violating the rules of the church and for sinful practices; and a committee was appointed by the preacher having charge of the circuit embracing Chillicothe, to examine into and try the case. Whether through accident or design the persons appointed on the trial committee were men

whose prejudice against the Tammany Society was known to be unrelenting.

Among those arraigned for trial was Governor Tiffin, who was at the same time a local preacher. Seven or eight others were also brought to trial, and the principal crime alleged against them was *"Idolatry"*—a crime expressly forbidden by the word of God. The specification under this head was, "In being members of a society designated by the name of a heathen, and celebrating the anniversary of an Indian chief, Tammany, on the 13th day of May last!" How the specification justified the charge, or how the testimony proved it, we can not tell, but the committee decided that an act of idolatry had been committed, and the result was that the offending members were expelled from the communion of the Church! To such a length did political differences carry good men. It is pleasing to know that a higher ecclesiastical authority reversed the decision of the committee which tried the case, and restored the expelled members to the Church. For the sake of peace several of the Tammany members then quietly withdrew from that order, or ceased to attend its meetings; but they did not give up their principles, and continued to vote the Tammany ticket so long as the society had an existence.

ORGANIZATION AND METHODS.

The officers of the society consisted of a Grand Sachem who acted as president, and as many sachems as there were states in the Union; who, exclusive of the Grand Sachem, formed a council and appointed one of their number as "Father" of the council; a secretary and a treasurer. These officers were elected annually by ballot on the first Wednesday in May. In addition, there were appointed to serve for three months two introducing and one initiating sagamore, and a Wiskinki who acted as doorkeeper. The duties of the Grand Sachem were such as usually pertain to the office of a president; and in case of an application from any number of citizens, not less than the number of States in the Union, for permission to build up for themselves a Wigwam, it was his duty, with the consent of a majority of the Council, to grant a dispensation for that purpose.

The word sachem, in the Indian language from which we have adopted it, signifies "old man," senator or councilor. Sagamore designated a tribal chief of secondary rank, and Wiskinki means a servant or attendant. As such these terms were employed in Tammanial history.

When the society held its sessions, after the Grand Sachem had called the members to order, the secretary opened the business of the meeting by repeating the following invocation to the Great Spirit, the members all standing: "The sun having, by command of the Great Spirit who rules and reigns the monarch of the world, retired from our horizon, and having finished the private cares of the day, the Sons of Tammany, assembled by special agreement in this their great wigwam to deliberate upon the state of their affairs, having formed the grand chain of union [by standing in a circle] in peace and brotherly love, implore the Great Spirit to preserve amongst them that harmony and decorum worthy brothers of their Order." Then giving a signal with a tomahawk, each member stamped with his left foot once, resumed his seat, and the business proceeded.

After the work of the evening was concluded, and an adjournment ordered, the secretary dismissed the society with these words: "Having finished the deliberations of the wigwam, and again formed the grand chain of union, the Sons of Tammany implore the protection of the Great Spirit until he shall next favor them with a meeting; and the Grand Sachem is pleased to allow every brother to retire to his own wigwam, severally to give his attendance at this, our Great Wigwam, on the [first] Wednesday of the month of ——, year of Discovery, three hundred and ——."

The "state of their affairs" upon which the society was accustomed to debate was not of matters solely connected with their own order. Questions of public interest were discussed, and speeches were made by the members upon the attitude of the government toward foreign powers, internal improvements, domestic manufactures, tariff, tax, and the interminable subject of finance and banking. As some index of the sentiments entertained by the Tammany Society in the first decade of the century

we give the following resolutions which were considered in one of their meetings:

"*Resolved,* That we view with sensations of heartfelt pleasure the rapid progress and improvement made by the United States in domestic manufacture, and the flattering prospect before us that at no distant period this Nation [they spelled nation with a capital N] will become in the fullest sense of the word really independent.

"*Resolved,* That we will give every encouragement and support in our power to the manufacturers of our own country, and will also discourage by precept and example the purchase, use or wear of any article that is not the growth, produce or manufacture of the United States.

"*Resolved,* That at the approaching anniversary of our National independence, each member of this Society shall appear dressed in clothing altogether the growth and manufacture of the United States, and in the making and trimming of which no one article or part whatsoever shall be of foreign importation."

In this last particular the society resolved to copy after the example of Washington who was inaugurated as president in homespun clothes. Many of the fathers of the republic followed the same fashion, and the members of Tammany at that period were, during their childhood and youth, their contemporaries. From them they learned patriotism; some of them had formed their personal acquaintance; and the lessons taught them by the venerable Revolutionary fathers were not lost on them or their children.

The mode of initiation into the society was simple, and the ceremonies were, according to our apprehension, somewhat childish. On the evening appointed, the Grand Sachem presiding over the Wigwam, directed the Introducing Sagamores to bring the candidate in. They accordingly went to an ante-room for that purpose, and having brought him to the door of the Wigwam, one of them put to him this question: "Will you give us your solemn promise to support the constitution, reputation and harmony of this society, and to preserve inviolably all its secrets?" On receiving an answer in the affirmative, the other Sagamore then gave three loud raps upon the door, which were repeated on the inside by the Wiskinki, and the door was opened. The first Sagamore gave the sign and passwords and all

three entered. The Wiskinki thereupon announced to the society, "A stranger"; upon which all the members arose to their feet, and remained standing, with the exception of the Grand Sachem, until the ceremonies of initiation were completed.

The two Sagamores then advanced, with the candidate between them, a certain distance, where they were met by the Initiating Sagamore who approached from a table by the side of the Grand Sachem, holding an uplifted tomahawk. With a menacing voice and a stern countenance, and brandishing his weapon as if aiming a blow at the stranger, he cried out "Sago, sago, ailo." The following colloquy was then had:

Initiating Sagamore. "Does this man love freedom?"

Introducing Sagamore. "Et-hoh" [yes], in a guttural voice.

Init. Sag. "Can he bear fortune and adversity like a true born American?"

Introd. Sag. "Et-hoh."

Init. Sag. "Will he unbury the tomahawk hid under this our great wigwam before his country's good requires it?"

Introd. Sag. "Raugh-taw" [no].

Init. Sag. "Advance."

Thereupon the candidate led by the two Sagamores approached to within a short distance from the table, when the initiating sagamore thus addressed the Grand Sachen: "This stranger has given us full assurance of his sincere intention to support the constitution, harmony and reputation of this society."

Grand Sachem. "Initiate him, brother."

One of the Introducing Sagamores now placed on the head of the candidate a cap of liberty made of red velvet or flannel, and the initiating sagamore turned to him and said: "Friend, the favorable report given us of your character and intentions has recommended you to the acceptance of this society. Therefore, bearing this cap of liberty, you will diligently attend while I repeat to you the solemn obligation which cements our grand chain of union. What is your name?"

Candidate. "A. B." (giving his name).

Sagamore. "Repeat after me: 'I, A. B., do most solemnly

declare that I am not a member of any other Tammany society in the State of Ohio; also, that I will support the constitution and laws, reputation and harmony of this society, and preserve inviolably all its secrets. For my sincerity in this, I call to witness the guardian genius of Freedom, my country's truth and justice, and these my countrymen, friends and brethren; and finally for my true performance of this, I pledge my most sacred honor.'"

This done, the Sagamore resumed: "It now remains for me to disclose to you the sign and grip, without the knowledge of which you can not gain admittance into this or any other Wigwam established upon the same principles. First, when you come to the door of a wigwam, which is kept by an officer whom we term Wiskinki, you will give three loud and distinct raps, which will be answered from within. The door will then be opened, when, laying your left hand on your left breast, you will say, 'Liberty is our life.' The Wiskinki responds, 'May you ever enjoy it,' and you will then be allowed to enter. You will know a brother by your shaking each other with the left hand, forming this grip," showing him the grip by holding the hand something like a reversed J.

Turning to the members of the society, the Sagamore asked, "Are you willing to lose this brother?" To this they all responded, "Raugh-taw." Then the Sagamore again addressed the new member thus: "I now pronounce you a Son of Tammany, a member of the Columbian Order; and may you in peace and harmony ever enjoy so honorable a station. You are our brother, and the Grand Sachem will congratulate you on behalf of the society." He was then conducted to the Grand Sachem who rose from his seat and took him by the hand, saying, "I congratulate you, brother, as a member of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order." The cap of liberty was now removed from his head, the society formed a "chain" by standing in a circle around the room, and on a signal by the initiating sagamore, each member stamped three times with his left foot.

The ceremony was concluded by the members resuming their seats, and the new member affixing his name to the Constitution, which was enrolled on parchment or a large sheet of

heavy paper, and paying the required fee to the secretary. This fee was never less than two dollars, nor more than ten.

ITS ANNIVERSARIES, AND SENTIMENTS.

The Tammany Society celebrated its anniversaries on the 12th day of May, or on the day following if the 12th fell on Sunday, this being regarded as the birthday of their patron saint. The festivities usually consisted of a parade, a "long talk" delivered by one of the members, and a banquet. On the morning of that day the society met at their wigwam where they were formed into a marching procession by one of the sagamores. At the head of the column was placed a brother lifting the cap of liberty on a wand, and immediately in his rear was the Grand Sachem, attended by the secretary bearing a scroll. Behind these officers marched a sagamore bearing the calumet. The other sagamore who acted as marshal had for his badge of office a brandished tomahawk.

Following the officers enumerated marched the members of the society divided into their several tribes, beginning with New Hampshire, and so proceeding from East to South and West. At the time when the order flourished in this State, Maine had not been admitted into the Union. Each tribe was headed by its own sachem, bearing the tribal flag. These flags were of white silk, usually about a yard square, with simply the name of the State painted or gilded upon it. The wiskinki brought up the rear of the procession, bearing a large wooden key, gilt.

Upon arriving at the place of celebration, the "council fire" was kindled, and the society "danced" around it. If the place where the long talk was to be delivered was a public hall, the dance was omitted. The Grand Sachem presided, assisted by the Father of the Council. To the banquet none were admitted except members, and at its conclusion they returned to their wigwam where they were dismissed with the usual formula.

In their public celebrations the members were not clad in uniform, but all were required to wear a buck-tail on their hats. It was with reference to this peculiar badge that some of the Pennsylvania troops during the late civil war were denominated

"Bucktails"; and Fitz Greene Halleck commemorates them in one of his humorous effusions:

> "There's a barrel of porter at Tammany Hall,
> And the Bucktails are swigging it all the night long;
> In the time of my boyhood 'twas pleasant to call
> For a seat and cigar 'mid the jovial throng."

The Tammany Society heartily espoused the Republican cause, and had no sympathy with the members of the "Hartford Convention." Hence they co-operated with Mr. Madison in his administration of the government, and gave him their cordial support. In the war with Great Britain they furnished a large quota of troops for the defence of the Western frontiers, and favored the protection of the manufacturing interests of the country as against that power. Many of them carried their sentiments into practice, and made use of domestic goods only for their clothing. In one of their public anniversaries at Pittsburgh it is mentioned with pride by the society there established, that of those who sat down to dinner—a company of two hundred—more than half were entirely clad in homespun fabrics! When Governor Tiffin was Grand Sachem of the order in Ohio, he addressed the following letter by direction of the society to the President. Carlos A. Norton was chairman of the committee appointed to prepare it, but as the report is in the Governor's own handwriting, he probably wrote it himself without suggestion or help from others:

"CHILLICOTHE, June 14th, 1811.

"*To* JAMES MADISON, *President of the United States,*

"SIR:—

"The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order of Wigwam No. 1, whence the other four branches in the State of Ohio have originated, unanimously request leave to address you at the present momentous crisis of our public affairs. They have not been indifferent spectators of the trying and difficult scenes through which you have had to pass as executive of the National government. The unjust and destructive edicts passed by the two great belligerent powers of Europe against our neutral commerce and rights; the repeated insulting aggressions committed on our coasts, and even in our own waters; the diplomatic finesse practised by

accredited ministers, and the apologists for such outrages in our own country, have all tended to make your situation peculiarly embarrassing; but this numerous society of democratic Republicans have viewed with the sincerest pleasure the promptness with which you have met pacific overtures, the firmness with which you have contended for the rights of your countrymen, and the forbearance which the spirit and genius of our government dictated.

"Judging from the past they are impelled to express their entire confidence in, and reliance upon, your wisdom, firmness and patriotism as Executive of the United States in this trying season; and they are firmly determined to support with their lives and fortunes such necessary measures as the government of their country may adopt for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and the promotion of the National welfare.

"Signed in behalf of the Society,

"EDWARD TIFFIN,
"Grand Sachem."

To this patriotic and eloquent letter, the President returned the following answer:

"WASHINGTON, June 23, 1811.

"SIR:—

"I have received the letter of the 14th instant which you have addressed to me, in the name of the Tammany Society of Wigwam No. 1 in the State of Ohio.

"The circumstances in our national situation, to which you refer, could not but render it peculiarly embarrassing to those entrusted with the national rights and interests. Whilst justice, however, continues to be the basis of our policy, and the great body of our fellow citizens remain firm in sentiments and determinations such as are expressed by the Society of which you are the organ, our country will be found adequate to every trial to which it may be exposed. The approbation which the society bestows on the share I have had in the public transactions, and its confidence in my further efforts for the public good, are entitled to my thankful acknowledgments; to which I add a tender of my respects and my friendly wishes.

"JAMES MADISON.

"EDWARD TIFFIN, ESQ.,
"Grand Sachem."

The Governor in his letter makes mention of four additional wigwams in the State, but there were soon added three others, making in all eight. Besides the parent organization at Chillicothe, wigwams were built up in Zanesville, Cincinnati, Xenia, Lancaster, Warren, Hamilton and New Boston (Cham-

paign County). As a matter of local interest we give the names of those who signed the petition for a dispensation to erect one in Cincinnati. The petition, dated September 25, 1810, was written by Daniel Symmes, and is signed by himself, Hugh Moore, Elias Glover, Thomas Rawlins, Thomas Henderson, John O'Ferrall, Jacob Felter, Leonard Sayre, James Matson, John Riddle, C. Walker, John Shally, James Conn, Jacob Fowble, James Silvers, Stephen Wood and John Cleves Symmes. The matter was acted on in the council of Sachems, and a dispensation was accordingly granted to the first petitioner, January 16, 1811. How large a membership the Order had in Cincinnati, we do not know, nor are we informed whether any of its records are still preserved. From the names attached to the petition it may be inferred that some success attended its establishment, especially as Messrs. Symmes, Glover and Moore traveled all the way to Chillicothe, probably on horseback, for the purpose of being initiated.

That the order did not spread more widely throughout the State may be accounted for, partially, by the triumph of the Republican principles, and especially by the breaking out of hostilities with Great Britain. This was a matter of deep concern at the time, and party politics became lost in patriotism. Besides, it was expensive to keep up the organization; and, as there was no State charter incorporating the society, there was nothing to conjoin the members except questions of public economy; and these could just as easily be advocated and voted for outside of a secret society or party as in it. Ohio soil did not then seem congenial to "rings," whatever it may have been since; there were but few whippers-in of voters to carry the polls, and the spoils of office were not given as a reward for the dirty work of roughs and bullies. There was corruption enough, but it developed itself in other forms. Graft is not a new thing in Ohio.

To show the state of feeling which existed between the Federalists and the democratic Republicans of Ohio, we give an extract from a letter written by the builder of the Xenia wigwam, Jacob Smith, to the parent Wigwam, No. 1, at Chillicothe. His letter is dated March 23, 1811. He says: "A few

of the Sons of Columbia met at Xenia and kindled a fire in our own wigwam, but we are not as yet completely organized. Great threats are thrown out against us by the enemies of Columbia, and they go so far as to say that they will tar and feather all of us at our next meeting. But we shall not desist from assembling on account of threats like these."

In an address to the branch society at Zanesville, the Chillicothe Wigwam says: "Brothers, these times are full of danger. We have sat longer around our council fire than you have, and we will tell you our minds freely. We will not say, beware of the Federalists; for you know them of old. But we will say, beware of wolves in sheep's clothing; beware of pretended Republicans who act in the dark, who are really Federalists, but have not the courage or policy to avow it. The intrigues of such characters have bred much confusion. They say they are staunch Republicans; they speak well of the general government; they praise and flatter many of our public characters; 'honey flows from their lips, but deceit dwells on their tongues.' Brothers, you little dream of the hypocrisy and insatiable ambition which lie lurking under the gravity of their long beards and robes."

And then, after cautioning their younger brethren not to admit as members those of whom there was any doubt, the address thus continues: "Let us all show, by the correctness of our conduct, the purity of our hearts. Can an impure fountain send forth pure waters? If our institution be fraught with disorganization and licentiousness, can we be good husbands, fathers and brothers, and patriotic citizens? Or rather, would not every action of ours prove us to be incendiaries, defamers of merit, and destitute of private and public virtue? Let us all remember that the tree will be judged by its fruit."

These words, though written early in the nineteeth century, and addressed to a Republican club, are timely for our citizens of today. Let us heed the counsels of old.

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES.

Still further to illustrate the sentiments and style of our citizens a century ago, we quote some of the toasts and addresses

given at the banquet of the Society in Pittsburgh and Chillicothe from 1807 to 1811. It may be well to remark that in their anniversaries and banquets, wines and liquors were strictly forbidden, nor was the smoking of cigars or pipes allowed in their wigwams, though the calumet was one of their symbols. In morals the Tammany Society in this State was exemplary, and proved that ethical considerations can be carried into politics. We believe this order was the first "Temperance" party in Ohio without making temperance the sole object of its existence or mentioning it in its platform of principles. But to the toasts, drunk in cold water.

"*The Embargo and Non-Intercourse Act*:—Measures which if persevered in will secure to all nations the freedom of the great waters, and respect for their flags."—*Song,* "O'er the ocean that rolls his wild waves from afar." [Pittsburgh, 1808.]

"*The Constitution of the Seventeen Tribes*:—The late acquittal of a traitor proved to have been guilty of conspiring against our peace and happiness, is a convincing proof that the aristocratic leaven of two-thirds should be abolished." [Pittsburgh, 1808.]

This was radical democracy with a vengeance!

"*The United States*:—May their boundaries be the oceans and eternity their deviation." [Pittsburgh, 1807.]

"*The Union*:—Whenever its safety is menaced by a foreign or domestic foe, the warriors of the backwoods will be the first in unfurling the banner of liberty, and foremost in the ranks on the day of battle"—*Tune,* "Kentucky Volunteers." [Chillicothe, 1811.]

"*The American Canoe-men*:—Their country is proud to acknowledge them her sons. Her friends will respect, her enemies will dread them." *Tune,* "Columbia's sons, arise." [Pittsburgh, 1809.]

The American canoe-men with Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, just a century ago, well justified this sentiment, and proved its truth.

"*No Separation of the Tribes*:—Divide and conquer is the maxim of despots. He that would break the grand chain of our union is a foe and a traitor to his country." [Pittsburgh, 1809.]

"*Domestic Manufactures*:—A free people to be really independent should manufacture their own clothing as well as make their own laws." *Tune,* "The Dusty Miller." [Chillicothe, 1811.]

"*The Friends of Liberty in Every Clime*:—As brethren of the same sentiments we embrace them, and as free citizens of the republic we give them a hearty welcome to our soil." *Song,* "Well met, fellow free men." [Pittsburgh, 1808.]

As the country was but sparsely populated, though there was a continual flow of settlers from the older States to the Great West, emigrants from abroad were specially welcomed. There were no large ocean steamers, and sailing vessels were sometimes several weeks in making the trip from Belfast to Philadelphia. The consequence was that passengers were often deterred from encountering the perils and delays of the voyage. Still, there was a continual influx of persons from the British isles, and very many Irish and Scotch-Irish families purchased lands in Pennsylvania. Their influence already began to be felt in the communities where they settled. They were generally religious people, with Calvinistic views.

"*The State of Ohio*:—Only eight years old last November. Her citizens are distinguished for virtue, industry, and enterprise; schools and manufactures flourish; the roads over the mountains are filled with droves of her cattle, and the Mississippi is covered with her produce wafting to market. How much superior are these blessings to the ambitions and wars, the pomp and desolation which spread over Europe!" *Tune,* "O'er the hills and far awa'." [Chillicothe, 1811.]

We next give an extract from Governor Tiffin's "long talk" before the Society in the year 1811. After mentioning the blessings secured to the American people by the achievements of the Revolutionary fathers, the Governor goes on to say:

"Yet our principles and our practices have been misrepresented, miserably misrepresented. An honorable Order of people have been indiscriminately abused as a set of beings unfit to enjoy the common elements of air and water not denied to the most inferior part of organic living matter by the great and glorious Author of universal existence; and our practices have been described as fit only for infernals. But while our sym-

pathies have been excited toward the ignorant and deluded authors of these persecutions, it has been a distinguished trait in our character as a people that when we were reviled we reviled not again.

"When the great and glorious Author of our blessed and benign religion came upon His errand of love to man, we all remember the treatment He received, the life He lived, the death He died, and the blessings such life and such death procured for even the authors of His sufferings and His sorrows. We pretend not to such sacred views as these; we only mention them to show how far political may keep pace with religious fanaticism; and how far ignorance and prejudice may go towards dethroning reason, and suffering all the angry and turbulent passions to usurp its seat. We doubt not but time and a proper development of our principles and practice will dispel the gloom so artfully attempted to be cast over the mind, and that the mantle of charity will be thrown over conduct manifested under the influence of a mistaken and a misdirected zeal. . . . .

"The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was not, nor is yet known as an order of people anywhere upon earth, but in the highly favored land of Columbia. Here it was first created and divided into tribes under a common head, and inspired by a common spirit. We are democratic Republicans in heart and practice. We are, as our Constitution expresses it, united in the indissoluble bonds of patriotic friendship, and no one obtains a place among us who has not a well-known attachment to the political rights of human nature and the liberties of this country. This indeed is our offence; but in this we glory. Privileged orders, aristocratical distinctions, and whoever or whatever has a tendency to injure or destroy the constitution or union of the States, we will, we do oppose.

"We support the Republican administration of the Union. We wish State rights to be kept inviolate, and the good people of this country to enjoy to the latest generations those civil and religious rights which nature and nature's God designed for their enjoyment. Measures, not men, we admire; measures, not men, we support. Whenever men desert those democratic Republican principles dear to us, we desert them. And those men who support those principles are supported by us, let them be called by what name they may. . . . .

"To be therefore a good democratic Republican; to be obedient to the laws; to fulfill the various duties of our stations as brothers and friends, is the same thing as to be a member of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order. If we fail in these respects we are liable to expulsion from the wigwam; but if we continue to fulfill our various duties as Christians and as men, we hope erelong to be translated to that wigwam where the Great Spirit will be as a council fire, emitting light and love to every son of Saint Tammany; where that friendship and love begun on earth will be happily perfected in heaven, and where we will rejoice to embrace in our patriotic and philanthropic arms the whole human family."

But enough. These sentiments show the temper of the Republicans of that day, and contrast strangely with the views entertained by the Tammanyites of New York in our own times. We have omitted all social and personal toasts, but of course "the fair" were not forgotten. Tammany was as loyal to the sex as it was to the country.

The Tammany Society in Ohio did not survive the dissolution of the old democratic Republican party. After the overthrow of the Federalists, and the "era of good feeling" succeeded the animosities of the campaign in which James Monroe was chosen to the presidency, there was no longer any need of this political organization, and without formal vote the society became dissolved. The members naturally drifted into other parties, as their preferences led them,—some into the Whig and some into the Democratic ranks. Those who favored a high protective tariff and a National bank voted with the Whigs, while those who opposed both, or believed in States' rights, and followed Andrew Jackson as their leader, became Democrats.

In the West the memory of Tammany speedily died out. There are many who never knew that it had "a local habitation and a name" outside of New York; yet in Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania and some other States it once had an active existence. Like the generations of men parties rise and fall. Death puts an end to old enmities and bickerings; but new occasions arise, and some now living may see both the Democratic and Republican parties of to-day replaced by other parties with new names to-morrow. Great truths, however, as embodied in the platforms of these parties, will not perish.

OLD FORT SANDOSKI OF 1745.

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT,
President Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

Mr. Charles A. Hanna's criticism of the inscription on the tablets placed on the site of Old Fort Sandusky and of the addresses made at the unveiling of these tablets, are too serious to be permitted to pass without correction.

First—Mr. Hanna's loose habit of observation (?) may be inferred from his first statement that the bronze tablet on the West Face was "erected under the direction of the Ohio State Historical Society," quoting the inscription in full, *all but the concluding sentence which Mr. Hanna fails to quote,* but which reads, "Erected by the Ohio Society Colonial Dames of America." The inscription is correct in every detail.

Second—His carelessness in observing the facts in the case appears in his next statement that, "The first and only Fort erected near this spot or on the north shore of Sandusky Bay was built by the French in the winter of 1750 and 1751, as stated—in De Lery's Journal of 1754," and that "The British never built a Fort on the north side of Sandusky Bay."

What De Lery really wrote in his diary August 4th, 1754, (See Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. 17, page 377), was, "I did not know where the portage was. I imagine that some vestiges still remain of the Fort the French (sic) had built in 1751, and which was afterwards evacuated. To find it, I followed the shore on the north side of said lake which runs east and west, after proceeding about three leagues, I found a clearing where I landed at noon and discovered the ruins of the old Fort."

There is here no denial of the *previous* occupation of the Fort by the English.

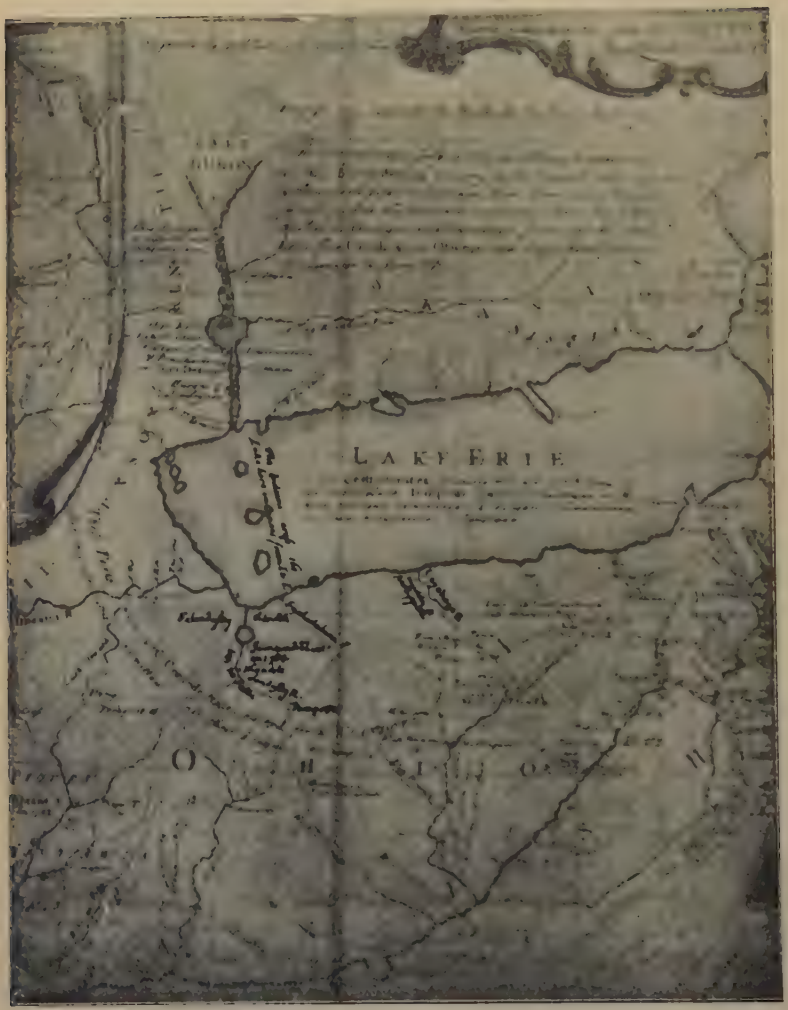
The tablet further reads, "Rebuilt by British in 1750 and usurped by the French in 1751." The authority for this is found

LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
OHIO
INDIANA
Fort Erie
Sandusky
Cuyahoga R.
Sandusky R.
Miami R.
Sandusky Bay
Cuyahoga Portage
Sandusky Lake
Sandusky Portage
Sandusky Creek
Sandusky Path
Sandusky Town
Sandusky Lake
Sandusky Bay

in Mitchell's map published in 1755 which locates the Fort at the point where the tablet is erected, and adds, "Usurped by the French in 1751." Who, but the British, does Mr. Hanna suppose, was in possession of this place, in 1751, when the French "usurped" it? With reference to the authority of Mitchell's map, it is sufficient to say that its correctness was certified to by John Pownall, Secretary of the Board of Trade of Virginia, July 1st, 1755, and that it is the map used by Commissioners of the United States and Great Britain in the Treaty of Peace in 1783.

Third — The next mistake of Mr. Hanna is his statement that "The first British Sandusky Fort was built on the south side of the Bay by a company of British soldiers and artisans under command of Lieutenant Elias Meyer, in 1761." This shows both Mr. Hanna's ignorance of the locality of which he is writing, and his lack of close attention to the authorities which he quotes. If he had noted carefully the statement in DeLery's Journal, printed in Vol. 17, page 357, he would have learned that during high water, the Portage across the neck of the Marblehead Peninsula, was under water much of the time, thus making an island "almost in the middle of the little Lake Sandusky." DeLery's first notes were made on his westward journey on August 4th, 1754. On his return from Detroit about the middle of March, 1755, he writes, after crossing the River Portage, "I went on to Lake Sandoske to see whether we could cross it either in a canoe or on the ice. I arrived there at half-past six o'clock, after walking continually in the water of which the Portage is full at that season. I found the lake clear of ice." This was the place "almost in the middle of the little Lake Sandusky," where Lieutenant Elias Meyer writes that, "The block-houses and palisades were finished Nov. 29, 1761," and where the men under Ensign Pauli were massacred by Pontiac's minions May 18, 1763, in the British Fort Sandoski on the north side of Lac Sanduski, which now is marked by enduring bronze tablets.

Fourth—Mr. Hanna's statement that, "The White River" from which the five French traders were returning when they were massacred by Nicholas in the spring of 1747, was the Cuya-



PART OF LEWIS EVANS' MAP, 1755.

(General map of the Middle British Colonies in America. Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.)

hoga River is a mere assertion without any foundation in fact. Neither Colonel Whittlesey, Mr. A. T. Goodman nor Judge Baldwin, long officers of the Western Reserve Historical Society at Cleveland, on the Cuyahoga River, and all extremely anxious to prove the importance of their own locality, ever thought of claiming the Cuyahoga River for the White River.

From the foregoing, it appears that Mr. Hanna's criticism betrays such carelessness in the use of data which were plainly before his eyes that no confidence can be placed in his general statements when unsupported by definite references and that, when definite references are made, it is not likely that he has considered them carefully enough to give them proper interpretation.

The experiences of Secretary Randall in his "History of Ohio," in dealing with the sophistries of Mr. Hanna in trying to prove that LaSalle did not discover the Ohio, brings out Mr. Hanna's defects of historical judgment. Reviewing Hanna's argument in the case of LaSalle, Randall says, "they are mainly negative and leave LaSalle's claim still unrefuted with the preponderance of evidence decidedly in his favor, and the judgment of Parkman still unreversed that *LaSalle discovered the Ohio.*"

A critic who can in a nonchalant manner dismiss the conclusions of Parkman, discredit the conversations published by Margry, doubt the correctness of LaSalle's "Memorial to Frontenac," think that Joliet's map was a species of forgery, and that the opinion of Whittlesey, Goodman and Baldwin of the Western Reserve Historical Society, are of no value in the history of the regions to which they each give their close attention, is not one whose opinions are to be taken without investigation.

STATEMENT BY THE EDITOR OF THE QUARTERLY.

The Editor is responsible for the publication, without correction, or comment, in the last QUARTERLY of the article by Charles A. Hanna making severe reflection on the President and Trustees of the Ohio State Archaeological and His-

The Sandusky-Scioto Water-Course, Showing Connecting Portage.

torical Society, and criticising in unmeasured terms the culmination of one of the most fruitful researches ever made by the Society, the discovery of the DeLery Journals and their partial publication under the title of "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and the Sandusky Country" in the QUARTERLY of October, 1908, and "Old Fort Sandusky and the De Lery Portage" in October, 1912.

It would have been but proper to have submitted Mr. Hanna's article to the author of this series and to the speakers at the dedication of the tablets, before publishing it; to have given them an opportunity to reply.

The Editor also regrets the typographical error in the article on the De Lery Portage, giving a wrong date to Evan's map—it should have been 1755 and not 1775; and also the inscriptions placed under the fac-simile of the four tablets, pages 363, 365, 367, and 369, Vol XXI, all of which were tablets on the Fort Sandoski monument. They were erroneously ascribed to the Harrison Perry Embarkation Monument on the shore of Lake Erie. Unfortunately there were no illustrations of the tablets on the latter monument, erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Ohio Daughters of the War of 1812.

In view of the action of the members of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society at the last annual meeting in May, that the secretary be authorized to have prepared a formal correction of Mr. Hanna's communication on the Sandusky Forts, it is perhaps only necessary to refresh the minds of the members by quoting again the authorities used in the article on "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745" published five years ago. I therefore reproduce a part of Evans' and of Mitchell's maps, both of 1755, and beg to call attention to the following:

First—The late A. T. Goodman, for many years secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, in Tract No. 4, published Jan. 1871, has the following references to Fort Sandusky: "English traders first made their appearance in the Ohio country in 1699-1700. From that time until 1745 we frequently hear of them at various towns and stations. In 1745 they built a small fort or blockhouse among the Hurons on the north side of Sandusky Bay. In 1748 they were driven off by a party of French soldiers from Detroit. Prior to 1763 the English in Ohio were very few in comparison to the French."

Second—In Tract No. 6, in "Papers Relating to the First White Settlers in Ohio," also by Mr. Goodman, published in July, 1871, occurs the following reference to Fort Sandusky. "As early as the year 1745 English traders penetrated as far as Sandusky, or 'St. Dusky,' and established a post on the north side of the bay near the carrying place or portage from the Portage River across the peninsula. They were driven away by the French probably in 1748 or 1749."

Third—Canadian Archives: Nov. 14, 1747, M. de Longueuil wrote: "Nicolas's band at Sandoské are as insolent as ever, the chief never ceasing his work to get allies—Nicolas will draw the English to him and facilitate their establishments all along Lake Erie." March 20, 1748. "The conduct of Nicolas is suspicious. The English in Philadelphia came there twice during the winter and were well received. The scalps of the Frenchmen killed near the fort of the Miamis (now Ft. Wayne) have been carried there (Sandoské)." May 28, 1748. M. de Longueuil reports that a faithful Indian who had gone to gather up the Indians who had deserted from the village of Otsandoske (Nic-

BOURNE'S SURVEY (1820) OF SANDUSKY RIVER,

showing Indian Trails and Land Portage of Sandusky-Scioto Watercourse from Mouth of Portage River, South. Also Military Trails from Ft. Stephenson (1812) to Ft. Meigs (1813) and to Ft. Seneca (1813).

1. Landing Place of French and Indians from Detroit, and Gen. Harrison's Embarkation for Canadian Campaign (1813).
2. Old Fort Sandusky (1745).
3. French Fort Junonduat (1754).
4. Williams Reservation (1817).
5. Whitacre Reservation (1817).
6. Two Miles Square Reservation at Lower Falls of Sandusky, now Fremont, (1785), and Ft. Stephenson, erected 1812.

olas's village near the mouth of the river) reported that Nicolas with 119 warriors of his nation, women and children and baggage, after having burned the fort and the cabins of the village, had taken the route for White River.

Fourth—Col. Charles Whittlesey, the learned president of the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland wrote in Tract No. 13, published in 1873, as follows on the Fort at Sandusky:

On Mitchell's Map, London, 1755, and on that of Evans, Philadelphia, same date, there is a "fort" laid down on the north side of the bay, near the mouth. It is much more probable that this fort, house, or post, was situated where the trail or portage path came out on the bay, across the neck from the Portage or Carrying River, at Ottawa. The English government had no fortifications there at that time. Mitchell states that the fort on the north side, meaning post, was "usurped by the French in 1751." Fort "Juendat," on Evan's map, is placed south of the bay and east of Sandusky River, "built in 1754." This was a French establishment for trade, perhaps with a stockade for defense against the English, and their Indian allies. When the English got possession of Lake Erie and its tributaries in 1760, a military post was planted somewhere on Sandusky Bay. Ensign Paully and a squad were captured there in 1763, at the uprising of Pontiac's conspiracy, and most of them murdered on the spot. The natural point for a fort or a trading post, is on the north side of the bay, west of the plaster beds, where the trail from Portage River touched the shore. This was the route from Detroit into the Ohio country, and commanded the mouth of Sandusky River. Bradstreet's camp was here. It is also probable that Ensign Paully's blockhouse, or stockade, was at the same place. It was only about two miles along the trail northward to Lake Erie, from where all parties moving in canoes could be observed, and intercepted at the mouth of the bay. To the west, around the bay, the ground is low, swampy, and very difficult of passage, even by Indians, in its primitive condition, which gave importance to the carrying place in a military point of view. It would add much to the historical

interest of the region if we could determine the blood stained point where Paully's little command was butchered.

Fifth—Tract No. 25 is a 25-page description of the early maps of America, by Judge C. C. Baldwin for many years Secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society and later its president. It was published in April, 1875, and especially commends the accuracy of the Evans and Mitchell maps of 1755, and Pownall's map of 1777. "Lewis Evans was an American geographer and surveyor, born about 1700 and died 1756. He published a map of the Middle Colonies in 1755 with an analysis. The map itself is an epitome of history and geography. It was engraved by James Turner, and printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, in Philadelphia. It was dedicated to Gov. Pownall, who in 1766 published a folio with an enlarged analysis, but the same map, in which the Governor stood stoutly by his deceased friend against other maps pirated. The advance in local knowledge in this map is large.—A map which was repeatedly printed, much used and of long authority was Mitchell's. John Mitchell, M. D., F. R. S., came to Virginia early in the 18th century as a botanist. He lived long in America and died in England in 1768. His large and elaborate map has a certificate from John Pownall, secretary of the Board of Trade, and brother of Governor Thomas Pownall, that it was undertaken at his request, composed from drafts, charts, and actual surveys, transmitted from the different Colonies by the Governors thereof. This certificate is dated July 1st, 1755. * * * This map was used by the commissioners in making the treaty of peace in 1783, by which our country became a nation."

The inscriptions on the six tablets placed on the Fort Sandoski and the Harrison-Perry Embarkation monuments, on the banks of Sandusky Bay and Lake Erie respectively, at opposite ends of the portage at Port Clinton, are excerpts, *verbatim et literatim*, from the Canadian Archives De Lery's Journal, Major Robert Rogers's Journal and Capt. Robert McAfee's History of the War of 1812, sources of incontestable value and authority.

SPEECH OF RICHARD DOUGLAS, ESQ., OF CHILLICOTHE.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE WHIG CONVENTION, HELD IN COLUMBUS, FEBRUARY 22 AND 23, 1836.

Richard Douglas, who describes himself in the letter herewith, as "in birth a Yankee, in habit a Sailor, in adoption a Buckeye, in profession an Old Court-Circuitizer, in occasional circumstance, a Blovian, in principal a Whig, etc." was born in New London, Connecticut, September 10th, 1785. From early youth, like many other New London boys, he followed the sea and travelled much to the Greenland seas as a whaler and to other parts. He ultimately studied law, partly in the "Crow's-nest," and in 1808, having received from his father, Captain Richard Douglas of the Continental Army, a warrant for land in the Western Reserve, he came West, located the warrant in what is now Huron County, and started to join his brother, a physician, who had located in Nashville. But while stopping in Chillicothe he learned that his brother had fallen a victim to an epidemic of cholera; and being attracted by the possibilities of the new town in the Scioto Valley, he remained in Chillicothe. He was soon after admitted to the bar and successfully pursued the practice of law until his death in February, 1852.

RICHARD DOUGLAS.

He served under Colonel McArthur in the Detroit Campaign in 1812; he served in the Legislature of Ohio and was once nominated for Congress, but withdrew his candidacy in favor of General McArthur. He became prominent as a lawyer and as a public speaker throughout Southern Ohio. He had from his youth cultivated a good taste for books, history, poetry and the classics and had a most retentive mind; so that one biography says of him that if any one would repeat any line of

Paradise Lost, Butler's Hudibras, Tam O'Shanter, or other long poem of which Mr. Douglas was fond, he could quote the following line.

In stature Mr. Douglas resembled his relative, Stephen A. Douglas, "the little giant," being below medium height and in his latter years of rather portly outline. He was a man of great industry, integrity, earnestness of purpose and strength of character. He was an active and eloquent advocate of Temperance. What is said to be the first Episcopal Parish in the Northwest Territory, St. Paul's in Chillicothe, was organized in his library.

He had a rich fund of humor and a ready wit. In 1840 he held a large crowd waiting long in the rain for the arrival of General Harrison by hitting off the characteristics of the men before him in impromptu doggerel. Thomas Ewing in his autobiography published in the QUARTERLY last January, in giving some account of the lawyers "on circuit" in the early days of Ohio's history, speaks of "Dick Douglas, our wit par excellence".

The following speech delivered before the great Whig Convention held in Columbus on February 22-3, 1836, with the accompanying letter from Mr. Douglas to the Committee who requested it for publication, tells its own story.—EDITOR.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Columbus, Ohio, February 23d, 1836.

DEAR SIR—A large number of the members of the Convention having expressed a desire that your very excellent remarks, made before the Convention, should be published; the undersigned are requested to solicit that you will have the goodness to furnish a copy thereof for publication.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your friends and obedient servants,

A. H. CAFFEE, J. M. BELL, IRA BELKNAP, T. L. PEIRCE, A. PIER, HORTON J. HOWARD, R. C. SCHENCK, GEO. SANDERSON, EDWARD W. DAVIES, JOHN B. REED, J. N. WILSON, JAMES R. STANBERY, JOHN CREED, JOHN G. CAMP, L. D. CAMPBELL, W. B. CALDWELL.

RICHARD DOUGLAS, ESQ.

Columbus, February 23d, 1836.

GENTLEMEN—When a thousand voices rose and reverb'd from Pit, Box, Stage and Gallery—"*A Speech from Douglas*"—"*we can't adjourn till we hear from Old Dick;*" I was standing like the "Catastrophe of the old comedy," cap in hand and "half heel'd," ready to escape through the scenes to the back-door of the play-house, upon an adjournment already announc'd. Still, Gentlemen, to be honest with you, I could not then, nor can I now, exclaim with Iago—"Aha, I like not that:"—For although, in birth a Yankee—in habit, a Sailor—in adoption, a Buckeye—in profession, an Old-Court-circuitizer—in occasional circumstance, a Blovian—in principle, a Whig—yet in operative politics, "*I am materially all the way from Old Kentuck.*" I not only approve the great leading precept in her own native science, "down horse and up stump," but with her, I go it, from snout to tail, "the whole hog."

I think it was Voltaire who made the assertion, that we North-Americans had lain hold upon the further end of civilization; if so, the transition from the Forum of Rome, to the stump of Kentucky, is not any-wise too sudden; and no longer need the glowing appeal of one of her ardent sons, remain unintelligible to the most fastidious literary ear. "*With my firm foot planted upon this stump, pinion'd by the bail-ropes of the Constitution, and canopy'd by these big walnuts, I don't vally the rules of Aristotle and Quinctilian, tantamount to a chaw-tobacco.*"

It is no effort at sincerity, Gentlemen, to assure you, that until the moment of being called on, I had not the most distant idea of opening my mouth in this Convention, further than became the necessary discharge of detailed duties; nay, Sirs, the arrangements were otherwise, and until "fairly stumped," had equal thought of uttering one of "*Rumble-belly's sax-hoor'd gadely sarments,*" as what might have escaped me upon the occasion. I am happy if anything was said worthy of being endured.

But, Sirs, to be called on almost simultaneously, by verbal and written messages from all the districts, to furnish a copy

for the press, is paying me almost too severe a compliment.—Had there been some

> "Chiel amang ye takin not's,
> "Faith he might prent it,"

for all my letting, had he done "the cause and me" even quarter justice; but when told to my hither ear by such old friends as the Creeds, the Satterthwaites, the Scofields, and hundreds of the Whig party, that I ought to do it, where is the capacity for objection?

If I undertake, Gentlemen, it must be upon advice like that of the cleanly housewife to have on hand, in "Joe Burton," who, when she had washed out all his chalk accounts upon the pantaloon administered much comfort to his inconsolable feelings, by kindly advising him to recollect what he could and set down the rest to better men. I shall, therefore, (speaking in county court vein) at the trial upon one plea; and that is—the Pennsylvania liberal—of "trial upon the merits, with leave to add and alter"; at the same time under the honest endeavor, not to "travel out of the record" further than may be justified by the rules of good pleading; always keeping heart under that consoling passage of our own Squire-law, that "nothing shall be *'squashed'* for want of form if it contains any substance."

Gentlemen—Such as it is you shall have it. Take it for the design rather than the coloring. It is a feeble off-hand tribute to our cause; and if nothing more, may furnish to the west a precedent for which the files of old Kentuck herself might probably be searched in vain—"a printed Stump Speech."

I am, Gentlemen, Your sincere friend,
and fellow-operator,

R. Douglas.

Messrs. A. H. Caffee,
J. M. Bell,
J. Satterthwaite, and others.

SPEECH, ETC.

After the call had subsided, Mr. Douglas rose, and spoke to the following effect.

Mr. President and Gentlemen—

That the eye of this most imposing assemblage should be so suddenly bent, and its voice so ardently raised upon me, as possessing the off-hand capacity to say something worthy of them and the occasion, fills me with a pride of feeling to which I am incapable of giving utterance—but I shall attempt no preface and make no apology, Gentlemen, other than to thank you: —For duller must he be than the weed upon Lethe-Wharf, and little versed in the great matter that appertaineth to the stump, that could not be moved, yea, inspired, by such a call from such a quarter as this,

> "Whose form and cause conjoin'd,
> Calling to stones might make them capable."

If ever, Sirs, there was emphatically a voice from the people heard in Ohio, it has been upon this ever-to-be-remembered day—a day big with various "pomp and circumstance" to our Country—for—

> "It is her Father's natal day,
> We hail it and adore."—

That sun which peered upon us on the morning of this Convention, and at this hitherto almost sunless season, was the sun of Washington. It seemed to bespeak that its genial rays were not wholly withdrawn from his country, and that at its going down it did not sink in interminable night, to rise no more forever.—This Country, Mr. President, has had sufficient trials to test the value of its parentage—and never was there a time when appeals strong and often were needed to the precepts, counsels and legacies of the Father of his Country more than the present.—It has been said by an eloquent foreigner writing upon this nation, that its glory came in and went out with Washington. We trust and believe not, but rather that

"Enough of that glory remains on our sword,
To light us to victory yet."

In standing upon this stage, Sir, and casting my eyes out upon this unprecedented assemblage from all parts of this beautiful Ohio, which like the Cytherean Venus has so lately come forth from the deep wilderness, I am ready to call to some "spirit from the vasty deep" to tell me what they have come out for to see!—what they have come up for to do, upon this holy day of Washington?—But, Sir, the spirit seems to be already come, and whispers me in the eloquent language of Mrs. Barbauld—"The *spoilers* are among the works of *his* hands." Yea, Sir, the tragic spirit already pervades the theatric stage itself; and the tender language of Chamont in "The Orphan," of the lover and beloved, seems in appliance to fitly speak forth of our beloved Country—

"Long she flourish'd,
Grew sweet to sense and lovely to the eye,
'Till at the last, the cruel *spoiler* came."

But, Sir, do we expect to parry or repair the blows and wounds that are being inflicted upon this great work of Washington by the aid of tragedy, comedy, flimsy farce, or monstrous pantomime?—No, Sir—but still the part that we are enacting is essentially theatrical. We are in the midst of the fifth act of a great National drama in twenty-four acts, called "The Harrison Reformation;" the first act of which was opened in Pennsylvania, the second in Maryland, third in Indiana, fourth in New York, and fifth in Ohio—and we intend to enact it by what the rules of the Stagyrite, or the powers of the Bard of Avon himself, could not effect—I mean, Sir, by a strict preservation of the unities—we are now holding as 'twere the mirror up to our country.

If there be any in this extended assembly—any dear friend of Jackson—any chivalric and high-minded Southron—any full-soul'd-staunch-oak-hearted Northman—nay, from "Sea's to Mississippi's shore," or as the Sailors have it, "from Casco bay to the Straits of Magellan;" or hear me, "land o'cakes," from Maiden Kirk to Jonny-Groat's house—any honest hearted poli-

tician who originally supported General Jackson—let me ask him and them, what were the incontestable reasons of preference upon which this support was given?—Will not your full hearts answer—"we supported him for his straight-forward, noble, and high-minded bearing—as possessing more of the Roman than any man living—for the honest and unsuspecting qualities of his heart—one that possibly might 'be dup'd, but never dar'd'—one who had fought and triumph'd for us in the trying hour—yea, the old Anchises who bore the Eneas of his Country through the flame and round about Troy-wall—the Man, (as we believed) of a sound head and honest heart.—That such a man would honestly and fearlessly administer the Government we had no doubt. With these views and feelings we rush'd to the polls and gave him our heart-felt support."—Here let me pause, my honest friends, long enough to ask you what one "Martin Van-Buren," of a certain place called Kinderhook, was about while you were making these honest determinations?—Why, Sirs, turn to the columns of his hundred-ey'd Argus; there you'll see his productions—he is aptly called the Magician, and you'll see him wiping his magic glasses for fresh observations: for in true Astrologer style,

> "He'd search a planet's house to know,
> Who bought or sold a vote below;
> Inquire of Venus or the Moon,
> Who'd take the pap from silver spoon!"

And as to the paragraphs of his own paper, let us have them—they will show what his ideas of Jackson were at this time.—I quote from memory, but am quite sure that I am right in substance:—"It is heresy in the Republican party to attempt to favor the pretensions of Jackson."—Again, "This Mister Jackson has no feelings in common with the Republican party."—And again, "It is impudence in Jackson to attempt to impose himself upon the Republican party as their candidate."—And still again, "He affects to say that he is no party-man. Who can tell what he is, unless an abductor, gambler, and horse-racer?"—All this was said by him who when his ends were served declared to the world that "*it was glory enough for one*

man to have served under such a pure Republican chief."—No hypocrisy here, I suppose; all sincerity—no abuse, Hal—no abuse, Ned—all made up boys.—We of this Convention, Mr. President, have nominated our own Citizen, General William Henry Harrison, as a more suitable person for President of the United States than this Mr. Martin Van Buren. We offer him to our Country—to Jackson men—and to original ones in particular. The question to all honest men is one of mere preference: let it be honestly given—but of both these candidates anon.

Among the ideas, Mr. President, that are being developed by the working of our popular institutions, that of love of country and country's friends is sufficiently prominent; and the danger now is, that the former notion of the ingratitude of Republics has oscillated to the opposite extreme.—It is that danger which Carnot felt and uttered on the question of making Bonaparte Consul for life—that we are too ready to reward the defenders and supporters of our liberties, by the surrender of those liberties themselves. The historic world is peopled with a set of beings who have ever stood ready to make a mercenary, selfish appropriation of that amount of reputation which properly belongs to a country. In the quality and apt denomination of pimps, snails, parasites, or favorites, they have ever hovered about the path, bed, and Court of Princes, and have we not cause now to say with equal truth of American Presidents? The Edwards had their Gavestons and Spencers—the first James his Carrs and Villiers—the beautiful Mary her Rizzio—the great Catherine her Orloffs and Potemkins—and him of Orleans and The horse-shoe, his Hills, Kendalls, Pearces and Cambrelengs. They are a set of beings that cannot show or be shown in the regular progressive order of things—in such a state they have no room for action—possessing no intrinsic value themselves, they can manifest none to the public. Junius told Wilkes that such belonged to the bottom of the pool, and there remained during the stillness of the waters; it was only the concussion above that brought them up, and kept them upon the surface; when the calm came on, back they returned to their native mind and filth—they are the little toads of the Windham

Boys that come down only in the hard storm—the fish of the old Father Croswell, that the Devil always catches in troubled waters.

With a mean, selfish, lick-spittle fondling, they are ever ready to poke their Dog's-ears under the gabardine of their Master, and with a music called in the old Moralities "Sneaks' noise", to bear tales and administer to his passions and prejudices. Each one has a peculiar aptness to believe himself the particular favorite—the heaven-born—the highly favoured one—and all, that they are not only the tenants, but the very blood of the white-house; and bound to resent all its injuries, not by an open, manly resentment, but by spying, pimping, and tale-bearing. In religion, they appear to be all Transmigrationalists, not only of spirit but of body, and (before the death) fully believe that the old Chieftain, body, soul and all, has entered their carcasses. If so, much to the point are the verses of Mr. Congreve:

> "Thus Aristotle's mighty soul that was,
> Is now condemned to animate an ass,
> Or in this very house for aught we know,
> Is doing painful penance to some beau;"

And the old Hero may well exclaim—"O wretched man that I am," &c. Not a word can be said to the disparagement of their course, but out it comes—"how basely the President is slandered." Stick a spade into their dirt, and you are at once a trespasser upon the holy grounds of the Hermitage. Commence the savory operation of tanning their Dog's-hides, and "Sneaks' music" is up like the call of a Boatswain's Yeoman—"Oh how the Old Hero's back smarts!" That great historic character, Sir John Falstaff, found precisely such a set, not only sneaking about the ante-chamber and ward room of the Palace of King Henry the Fourth, but sometimes at the Boar's-head in East-cheap. The good old Knight describes them to the life. Prick the Bull Calf, says he, in shin or finger, and he roars out—"O damning treason! how his Majesty suffers"—"there goes a little more of the royal blood," &c.

I am no "regular establish'd" prophet myself, Mr. President, although there is prophetic blood near my veins, for I had an Aunt that is said to have died prophesying—yet I will here

upon this stage, this fitting place for the representation of the future, as well as the past, venture the prediction that if ever General Jackson's reputation fails with posterity, it will fail upon the ground of his having yielded too easy and unsuspecting a confidence to this horde of domestic mercenaries. His friends cannot then—indeed, Sir, his real friends cannot now defend his total vacillations from himself, and his own solemn rules and precepts, upon any other grounds, or place the imputation to any other cause than their "malign influences." They have almost finished the work of putting out the eyes of the old Belisarius, and instead of "*Gloria Romanorum,*" fable may become history in its application, "*Date Belisario obolum quem virtus evexit, invidia dipressit.*" The retreat to the Hermitage so ardently desired by the spoilers, will be the Ponte-corvo of the chief, where (give them the spoils) his reputation may sleep with his bones forever, unless some other Marmontel shall arise to bring it forth in the habiliments of romance. The magic scissors of Delilah, one of the blazoned gules of their leader's coat of arms, will hang pendant at the Senatorial chair, until the shorn Samson has gone down to Timnah.

Where then in his days and goings down of the Sun,

> "When pale concluding winter comes at last,
> To shut the scene:"

Where then, I say, will he seek the consolations of those old and tried friends, which according to the Son of Sirach, are the medicine of life, and balm of death? Will he send out a distant Macedonian cry, for the Van-Burens and Beardsleys to come over and help him?—or will he give a "*Grundian*" call nearer home?—Ah! says one, the veil of that friendship is so loosely, flimsily, and carelessly worn, that it

> "Shows its satire to a nation's eyes."

Will the whole mass of insect matter which has since vegetated upon the mantle of the Regency pool, with their green-eyed visages, come to minister those bland and holy consolations so grateful to his closing hours?

"Schueig Du Hund-Das nenn'ich mir einen Konig,
Selig der den er im Siegerglanze fendet"

says Van Buren.

Where are then—nay—where are now the pure "White" napkins that erst were at the kindly office of wiping those patriarchal hands, that were *touched* and fain would have *smelt* of the mortality of the spoilers? Where those clear "Village Bells" that now pealed upon his ear "in cadence sweet, then dying all away"—that gently sounded and warned the approach of the Brigands?—All done, but not to death—their candlesticks removed, but not their lights put out. The fiery, open and unsuspecting Othello, still extended his confidence to "that honest creature" Iago, and Jackson's arms still encircle another one—

"While softly sweet in Lydian measures,
How Van soothes his soul to pleasures."

under the ministering song of those holy angels, Kendall and Blair—and so perchance, Sir, may it be, until fatally too late discovered for him and his country, when darkness shall have become the burier of the dead, "and the rude scene shall end" with—"put out the light—and then—put out the light!"

To break in upon this servile state of favoritism, and prevent its perpetuation. To protest against the establishment of the two great fundamental principles of Van Burenism—viz. 1st.—That a government of the people is to be carried on by secret party organization; and, 2d.—That the benefits arising from that government do not belong to the people at large, but to the party, and to be distributed exclusively among partisan friends and favorites. To oppose with determined firmness the nominee of the Hockers and Ruckers—and lastly, to bring in a more suitable successor to Jackson, the Penns-men of the Keystone State have led off and fixed their eyes upon a citizen of our own—WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, of Ohio. And who, Mr. President, is this Harrison?

"Tell us, for doubtless thou can'st recollect,
His birth, and nature, age, and state, and place;
Thou deign'st to reply."

Why, Sirs, he is of the city of Benjamin, of the house of Jefferson, and tribe of

HANCOCK.

"Look on the Declaration, thou shalt see,
The names George Wythe, and Richard Henry Lee."

and next,

TH. JEFFERSON,
BENJ. HARRISON.

What an association!!!

Col. BENJAMIN HARRISON of Virginia, the Father of him who, upon this birthday of Washington, has received our nomination for Washington's chair, was a prominent signer of the Declaration of Independence—he was the stoutest and the boldest of the old Congress of Seventy-six; yea, essentially, the "Greatheart" of this American pilgrimage. It is related of him that after he had lifted Hancock into the Chair to sign the Declaration, and the members were gathering around the table, he had turned his face toward "little John Hart" of *"the Jarseys,"* and was observed as if figuring with his pencil. On Hart's wishing to know what he was doing, he answered, "I was just figuring, Johnny, by a rule in arithmetic, to find out how much sooner this thing will be over with me, than with you and Han. My weight will soon do the work, unless I break the rope, while you two are likely to hang dangling and kicking for half the day."

Of the genealogy of Mr. Van Buren, some difficulty is said to exist by reason of the confusion in some of the early records of "the renowned City of WEISSNICHTWO,"* especially those of the two great chroniclers, Heuschreke and Hinterschlay, and even the authority of both these, according to Major Noah's latest and best, is likely to be much shaken by the Irish claims lately advanced, and may raise that of Mr. Van Buren to a royal line, instead of that of a "signer." *"The Van Burens, (says Terry O'Lafferty,) were of the Irish pissantry; I knew the family well in Carrickfergus, and one Bryan Van Buren was of the ould Kings of Connaught, sure."*

But leaving genealogies, let us come to personal merit, which it will be allowed in and by a democracy, is what a public man

* Know-not-where.

may well call his own. Let us compare the men themselves, both in faculty and action. What:

"Van Buren and Harrison,
Oh the comparison!!
Harrison—Van Buren,
'Tis past all endurin."

"Look then you on *this* picture—then on *this*."

Q. Where was Harrison in 1791?

A. A stripling youth upon the lonely road, like Bunyan's Pilgrim, with pack in hand, and his face from his own dear home, finding out his "uncouth way" to these lonely Western wilds, to prepare this fair inheritance for us—now the best hope and heritage of ourselves and our children.

Q. Where was Van Buren at that time?

A. Learning the letters of his political horn-book, accomplishing himself for pettifogging and future politics, as time and chance might determine.

Q. Where was Harrison in 1794?

A. Side and side with him whom we familiarly call "Old Mad Anthony," in the heat of savage war, and gaining the first and greatest victory over them at the decisive battle of the Maumee Rapids—and that too, upon the very territory which Van Buren and his satellites would now surrender to Michigan, for the purchase of its votes—then repairing the preceding disasters in the West, and relieving our frontier settlement from the horrible dread of the savage tomahawk and scalping knife.

Q. Where was Van Buren at that time?

A. Preparing himself for the sublime operation of bar-room pettifogging, and political juggling, about him then well known as "old Federal Gardenier."

Q. Where was Harrison in 1795?

A. Still at the right hand of Old Mad Anthony, carrying out, as secretary and assistant in council, what he had done as aid in action—Wayne and Harrison sitting together at Greenville—securing at that great treaty what their valor had won in the field; being no other than this lovely land of Ohio, including the very ground on which we are now assembled.

Q. Where was Van Buren at that time?

A. Still at famous Kinderhook—clawing off from his old patron, and preparing for the political cloud then appearing in the horizon, and to set up the trade of politics for himself.

Q Where was Harrison from 1796 to 1810?

A. Employed in organizing the government of the country which his services had so greatly contributed to secure, and building up its rising institutions—acting in the various departments of Military Commander, Governor, member of Congress, and Territorial and State Legislator—superintending and settling the governmental control over the Indian tribes—establishing the great system of subdividing the public lands into small tracts, for the benefit of the settlers—taking the settlers by the hand and leading them out upon those lands which he had acquired by his arms and secured by his councils, and organizing, settling and fixing the local military force of the country.

Q. What was Van Buren about during all that time?

A. Preparing and putting in operation his political machinery, particularly that great one called the Van Buren Roster,*

*Within this celebrated machine, the oracles are said to have been kept as profound secrets, and only imparted to the initiated, and so remained, until Van Buren's second quarrel with the Clintons, when a friend of that family, who had been unwarily admitted, is said to have procured a copy and published them—some of which are as follows:

ORACLES OF VAN BURENISM.

1st. In political management, the end justifies the means—therefore, all is fair in politics.

2d. It is easier to operate upon the credulity and feelings of men, than to inform and enlighten their judgments—therefore, our party must be called *"the Democracy,"* and our opponents *"the Aristocracy."*

3d. *"The Democracy"* must be kept together and all means whatsoever, must be used to secure a majority to *"the party."*

4th. Whoever supports our partisans, is a democrat, no matter what principles he holds, or by what rules of faith or morals he is governed.

5th. In all novel political movements, be cautious and uncommitted, until you are legally informed what course "the party" has determined on, respecting them.

6th. All political management must be by caucus.

7th. The State must constitute one grand Caucus, the focus at the

by which the Empire State was divided and subdivided into districts and hundreds, each voter registered, and the proper means taken for securing his vote.

Q. Where was Harrison in 1811?

A. Again meeting and defeating the ruthless savage upon the battle-ground of far-famed Tippecanoe,

"Which tells each deed his arms had wrought,
"Upon this sacred hill,
"Where Owen, Spencer, Warrick fought,
"In death unconquered still."†

Q. Where was Van Buren at that time?

A. Organizing and keeping up the Tammany Buck-Tail

---

seat of Government, and under the constant supervision of at least twelve of our distinguished select democrats.*

8th. Effectual means must be taken to have every voter's name and residence, with his political sentiments, reported to the Grand Caucus.

9th. Never trust any measure or movement to the fortuity of open debate, until it has been decided upon in caucus.

10th. In any great and sudden political movement, continue uncommitted, both within caucus and without, until it is well ascertained what course the majority is likely to take.

11th. A majority must be secured to "the party," no matter by what means, at what sacrifice, or at what hazard.

12. No office of any kind to be given to any one but a partisan—a fundamental oracle.

13th. Circumstances alter principles—therefore, talk little of party politics openly—and be sure never to lay down any thing as a fixed principle.

14th. Listen to no political speeches, and read no political documents, except those of "the party."

15th. No political legislative measure must be moved until the views of the party are known upon it.

16th. Service money must be obtained and disbursed under the forms of law.

† This quotation is from a poem of some spirit called "Tippecanoe," composed for the occasion, by a young man bearing a name of historical and heroic aptness, "William Wallace," and by him recited at the great Harrison celebration upon the battle ground, at the last anniversary of the battle, November 11, 1835.

* "The Albany Regency."

party, in order to destroy and put down that great public-spirited statesman and patriot of the age, DeWitt Clinton.

Q. Where was Harrison in 1812, '13, '14?

A. Guarding the North-western frontier; and then, like Scipio in Africa, high on the Thames of Canada, shoulder to shoulder with time-honored Shelby of Kings-Mountain, and by the victory there won putting an end to the second war for the independence of America, as the great Africanus had upon a foreign soil put an end to the second war for the independence of Rome.

Q. Where was Van Buren at that time?

A. At Kinderhook, "ein dieupe steudiment," whether it would serve his own ends best to carry out his plans for the overthrow of Clinton, or to lay hold of the advantages presented by our reverses to render the war unpopular, and thereon oppose Mr. Madison by putting up Mr. Clinton—and finally deciding upon the latter.

Q. Where was Harrison in 1823-4?

A. Like Cincinnatus, at his plough, waiting the call of his country.

Q. Where was Van Buren at that time?

A. Getting up his Caucus at Washington for the avowed object of opposing Jackson.

Q. Where was Harrison in 1829-30?

A. Serving his country essentially for his bread, in the matter of a small appointment to one of the Southern Republics.

Q. Where was Van Buren at that time?

A. Introducing the real spoils system at Washington, according to his oracles, and insisting upon and finally obtaining the recall of Harrison, in order to reward that most accomplished electioneerer,—Free Tom Moore.

Q. What is Harrison at now, in 1835-6?

A. Occasionally at his little farm, and acting as Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton county: he being very poor; having become so by works of security and charity for his friends and neighbors; his poverty being thrown up to him in the Post, and Times, the two leading Van Buren papers in

New York, as rendering him too mean and unfit for President of the United States.

Q. What is Van Buren at, these times?

A. Chiefly at Saratoga Springs, in season, prigging his cherry whiskers, and adjusting his clock stockings in the long saloon, the sweetest little pink of the Madonnas: there, with his $3000 English Coach and full English livery, riding "through" hill and dale; he being able to afford it, as he is considered very rich,—worth $250,000, which he has made by speculating in politics; all which he keeps very snugly, it not being known that he has yet been caught at the foolish anti-democratic business of parting with any for the works of charity or mercy.

Mr. Douglas then turning to the Chair, said—

Mr. PRESIDENT:—

It is an incident not the least felicitous in the many that do honor to this consecrated day, that *you* are in that chair. Had there been any thing wanting to have given a lasting habitation and an honored name to this greatest of political meetings, the name of JEREMIAH MORROW were sufficient. It seems to have fallen to your envied lot not only to have been of the commodity, but the very staple and preservative principle in the west of the democracy of the old dispensation. And sir, lest nothing should be wanting to complete the figure, we have in you a full sample of the working of its institutions. After passing through all the honors, civil and political, which a grateful people could constitutionally bestow, you have returned, and in these days and ends of the earth, are again their representative in the most popular branch of the State Government.

It is another of the most fortunate incidents of the occasion, that in the association of time, place, and circumstance, you are side and side with him who has this day received the honors of our first advancement. HARRISON and MORROW were not only the pioneers but the patrons of the west—with the red man of the wilderness, be it with Tomahawk or Calumet, has it long since been their lot to meet—while the gloom of these lonely woods and wilds have been passing from before you, and giving place to "the pomp of towns and garniture of fields," you have

been both engaged in building up the civil and political institutions that now exist among us—you are now living to see and enjoy the prosperity of the work of your hands.

> "Look now abroad, another race has fill'd
> These populous borders—wide the wood recedes,
> And towns shoot up, and fertile realms are till'd;
> The land is full of harvests and green meads;
> Streams numberless, that many a fountain feeds;
> Shine disembowered, and give to sun and breeze
> Their virgin waters; the full region leads
> New colonies forth, that toward the western seas
> Spread like a rapid flame among the autumnal trees."

Mr. President And Gentlemen:—

We are called by the spoilers, the Aristocracy. It is surely the weakest trick in their game. What a satire! Look at this caliography of engraved and colored Aristocrats, bodied forth in this chair and its supporters? The magic-democracy might well envy "these lendings" of Shetland hose, and Virginny cloth, could they endure the sympathy of returning them. Sir, were our masks and pickers as ragged as those of Jordan Plumb, who put on his trousers over his head, and our habiliments as coarse as Cuddenhunk Osambriggs, of three threads to the armful, or Nantucket chintz of fourteen to the stone-throw, the little ones of the Regency-school would still gnash teeth and wag head at us as those to the seer of other times, "Go up, ye bald-head Aristocrats." But such is their teaching; they have taken the Hysham for it, and have the oracular sign; it is the last paragraph of the second oracle of Van Burenism.

But, sir, if to obtain the allodium of the soil as the fair reward of your industry—to enter the dark recesses of the forest, and cause it to bow before the sturdy stroke of the woodman—to loose the ox from the stall and "drive the team afield" —to "shear your own wool and wear it"—to raise your own bread and eat it—to cling to the constitution as the palladium of our security—to assume and maintain that self-respect which is the characteristic effect of free institutions—to assert that independence of soul and person which disdains to become the dupes of demagogues—yea, that bends not the supple knee in

any servile office of man-worship—nor to any being, created or uncreated,

> "Save when to heaven you pray,
> Nor even then; unless in your own way."

If these things, I say, constitute aristocracy, then verily, verily, are many of you Aristocrats. Such Aristocrats occur all along down this fertile vale of Scioto, one of whom this moment fills my eye by his seat upon the bench which I am addressing, as one of the honored Vice-Presidents of this meeting. Yesterday we witnessed the *moving,* and to-day we testify the *chewing* effects of his aristocracy. That being which the day before moved about these streets, bearing the name of his native river and vale upon his frontlet—which were it the streets of ancient Thebes instead of those of modern Columbus, would have been worship'd by prostrate thousands—who standing upon the balance kicked the beam at 3,375 pounds, and upon this morning presents us 2,386 pounds neat, is one of the samples of such aristocracy. "If I must have conserves," says Christopher Sly, "let them be conserves of *beef;*" and if we must have an aristrocracy, we are content to take it either as the cause or effect of the same commodity.

But what is the practical commentary for this text of aristocracy, even upon the silk-stocking theory of the *Van*-dal democrats?—Let us take it up, and in the order of the old-school sermonizers divide it into *heads* as it naturally lies before us, and as we may have *light* and *liberty.* Well, my dear friends, although a little dark in the pit, we have *light* enough to see two of the heads of our discourse naturally presented before us, and we have *liberty* to enforce the great lesson of practical wisdom which may be drawn from them; and we beg your most serious attention, for they are *illustrations,* which according to the climax of Doctor Ochiltree are (next to the exordium) the most important *heads* of a discourse. Well, say you, what heads are they? Why, my dears, they are the *heads* of the *Johnsons* and the *Fosters,* from away-down-Scioto, at the Big-bottom—and what are the items of soft-clothing which "clepes" them aristocrats, and stamps

them as the dwellers of King's houses?—Why, sirs, most comfortable clean red baize shirts, with *"open collars,"* friends, without cravat or *stock,* save and except a good and fertile *stock* of sound principle and love of country.—If Van Buren should get them into his three thousand dollar English coach, driving round Saratoga, preceded by his out-rigger, the premonitory symptom, Van might incur some danger of hurting his "population" with his Regency democracy, for being caught in company with such sprigs of the aristocracy of Ohio.

These and hundreds more such aristocrats have at this inclement season, come their three, six, and eight score miles, up hither, to give their willing aid in the work of this, to them, important cause. These men are actuated by no mercenary motive. They want no offices except those of freemen,—no preferment except that which is the natural result of attachment to the constitution, and obedience to the laws,—no political desire except to see the government administered in its purity; and their chief dread is to see the New York system of the spoilers levied upon the country. They do not believe that the followers of Mr. Van Buren have any sound reasons of preference for the man, or that he has done any thing to merit the office of President. For they know that there is no delicacy pretended in the matter,—for that the party openly avow that they have associated together, for the purpose of obtaining the offices and revenue of the country, as the legitimate "spoils" of political victors.—They know this to be the practical doctrine of Mr. Van Buren himself, and that the essential ground of his standing, (not popularity,) is that he himself has placed it upon that footing; that his political philosophy is to make it for the interest of men to support him; his antithestical dilemma is—"vote for me or lose your bread."—Mr. Van Buren's estimate of the sources of human motive "hath this extent, no more," that every man has his price, and that the surest way to win the heart is to untie the purse strings. And finally, were there no other moving consideration, the men of this Convention believe that WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON has done more for his country, and is better

deserving the office of President of the United States, than Martin Van Buren.

'Tis "forty year ago," since your cabins were built, and you

"Sowed the seed, and trees did plant"

at the places where you are now looking upon the hither generation. Let the "*Vandal Democrats*" have it if they will, that you are really dwelling in *Kings' houses,* for surely you are the founders of this new, and great, and noble Dynasty, "*The house of Buckeye*". Tell these collarites that until manumitted and cast loose so that they can enjoy freedom of speech and motion, they are not the subjects of your house—nay, they do not belong to the domain by either of the tenancies in villeinage, appendant, or in gross, and never can obtain any copy-hold estates from your stewards. You are now sitting under this old vine of your own right hand's planting, and its draughts are yet sweet to your taste. The chalice of the new beverage has not yet been commended to your lips: for with reverence I hear you speak forth—not from the oracles of Van Burenism, but from the oracles of your holy belief, "no man having drank old wine straitway desireth new, for he saith, the old is better."

"From the centre all round to the Lake,"

From away beyond Still-water north-about, and the Miamies on the south-western board—from "Possum-run" to Defiance, clear across and far over that land where

"The lowing herds wind slowly o'er the lea;"

you, de-fader-land, and its suburbs; the political Israel of the old covenant, have come up on this pilgrimage to drive out the money-changers, and rebuild the Temple.

"Through city, town, and village,
And wheresoe'er we rove;"

the sledge is seen lying upon the anvil, the lapstone under the seat, the plane among the shavings, and he that measured the tape has "countered" the yard-stick for a season—nay,

"The special pleas and demurrers too,"

of the poor old "County-Court-izan," are left half written among the rubbish of his old penknife cutten desk—he by hard salvage finding enough *in* from his old third rate fee-notes to render him "*tick-able,*" and without stopping to shut his office door, (where there is not much to drink or steal I suppose) is off here in a tangent—yea, from the rivers down and "then agin" off at right angles for quantity, the young men who are strong in nerve and good works, and able to overcome the spoilers, are up hither also —all, all in aid of this great prospective work.—Such as these are we—speak of us as we are—all Aristocrats—all Democrats. Of such an aristocracy all may exclaim with Father Paul, esto-perpetua.

My good friends, we are now about to separate—you and your children to your homes; but

"Though lands extend and mountains rise,
and rivers roll between,"

no separation in principle—together they remain bound as in one common bond, and so let them remain forever.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

We emulate the social virtues, and feel endeared to him that loves us; we are taught to respect and admire genius and talent much for their effects, and some for the sake of the possessor. The political criterion with Jefferson and Jackson once was, and was only; "is he honest, is he capable, is he faithful to the constitution?" But of what avail are all these now, under the discipline of the Regency-school? If the transit of partisanism but separate, it is as impassable as the gulf of Dives, or the Styx of Charon. The old time-valued quality of Republican patriotism seems (in Yankee phrase) to be "warn'd out of town," as of no avail in carrying on the government; *Honesty* and *Capacity,* are two old toothless hounds that are whipp'd out, while Lady my Brach, *Favoritism,* "may stand by the fire and stink." Creatures that were generated in the last Saturday's rain water, under the refraction of the golden lens, are up like Pharaoh's frogs, hopping about the north and east rooms of the gray and white houses,

not only playing "*wag-tail*" but *wag-tongue,* like Thersites in the play, babbling among heroes; the next day they are toasted as pure patriots, and the third, Van Buren has them off upon a greasy mission, or at home upon a fatter contract. Sir, these things are essentially wrong; they set a most mischievous precedent by holding out inducements for advancement directly opposite to that which ought to obtain even in the political world. Old Reginald Scott complained of just such a state of things under a weak reign, when times were much out of joint. "Albeit (says he) the way to Bedlam lyeth on the road to Hogsden, yet is it there withal in the line of promotion." But Sir, the evil most to be dreaded from this corrupt system of rewards and punishments, is its effects upon the moral perception of the country; it is a vortex that draws not only the old, but the young and the unwary into it. Already is the calculation being made by the matured practical dealer in politics, to watch well for the strong side, and be sure to get upon it; it is the tide in his affairs which must be taken at the flood: for if

> "Omitted, all the voyage of his life,
> Is bound in failures and no offices."

It is a voyage in which he must stand by the helm and braces, ready to tack the political ship as the wind may veer, or haul off the weather-bow, or under the lee-quarter; for if she "*miss-stays,*"

> "Hard a-port goes the helm,
> The ship's brought by the lea,
> And she founders in *Botany bay.*"

Tell the talented young man just emerging from the Academic grove—let his grand mother tell him in the virtuous vein of her old Psalter, and John Rogers, that "if he goes on to serve," &c.—yea, let his mother tell him in the later and smoother precepts of an Edgworth and a Sherwood, to follow fast in the path of virtue and innocence and purity, and that his country will finally crown his successful endeavors. Ah! mother, (replies the youth) were I as fleet in the path of virtue as Diana herself in the chase, as innocent as the fawn that followed fast

at her heel, and as pure as the icicle that hung pendant at her temple, what would it avail me in this country should I happen to get upon the wrong side in politics? To the American Youth, where

> "The world is all before him, where to choose
> His place of rest,"

And in a country where honors are too willingly bestowed upon political distinction, and no chance except in a majority, this argument is all controlling, and the transition from principle to expedience is too short and easy. And further, sir, is its tendency still downward, until the little streamlets become impure; the poison is commended to the lips of the *whip-top* at *Dow's school* in the shape of the sugar stick, and he becomes as pert as a cricket with the *"Cassian"* argument in his teeth, that all this fuss about politics is only a question between the ins and the outs; that if they do grow up in the paths of political piety, they must get it under the preaching of that holy man, the Vicar of Bray; that principles must accommodate themselves to circumstances, according to the 13th oracle of Van Burenism—So wink at the sunbeams, and laugh at old Mosey and the prophets to-day, and in the language of poor old John S., "lay upon your backs and eat sugar" to-night, and think about principles to-morrow. And so you have it boys.

> "Handy, spandy,
> Jackey Dandy,
> Loves treasury pap and sugar-de-candy;
> He tastes it at the spoiler's shop,
> And away he goes—hop, hop, hop."

Thus the only and indispensable qualification for office, as held by the old and taught to the young, is to resign principles and join "the party;" for until this is done all the other qualities of head and heart might as well be planted in the coral grove of the deep blue sea, as worn by the honored possessor.

What a different state of things was promised at the coming in of General Jackson. From his former invocations to Mr. Monroe to obliterate and blot out forever all party distinctions

and party names; to take to his administration indiscriminately from both parties, and that by so doing he would gain to himself a name as imperishable as "monumental marble"; that the patronage of the government was never more to be brought into conflict with the freedom of elections; all pure politicians began to hope that the auspicious work begun by Mr. Cary in his Olive Branch was to be consummated in the election of General Jackson; and that the sun of the political millennium had already risen upon us, when the same basket should contain in common the broken fragments of the spears of Federalism and pruning hooks of Democracy; when

> "Federal Bulls should learn to browze
> And feed with Democratic cows"

And why have not these things been realized? Sirs, the original friends of General Jackson have long since seen the cause—yea, the *cause, my soul*—and are now seeing it; and my head for it, that General Jackson will see and proclaim it if his aged eyes are permitted to look upon this world for four years to come. Is it to be supposed, that a man of Jackson's feelings would make the promises he did in the face of the world without any intention at the time of performing them? Why, to think it, is to think him the veriest hypocrite and deceiver in the conclusion—any friend of his ought to seize now upon the true reason for the sake of his reputation. Sir,

> "Prone on the flood, the arch-fiend lay,"

And then, squat like a toad, at the ear of our great Federal mother, he pours in the leprous distilment—

> "That swift as quick-silver it courseth through,
> The gates and alleys of the hero's body."

Then straight erect like the Nachash of the Phenician poet, the "seizing is cut," and the wand of the Magician is waving over the head of the old Roman.

If it be asked if this be consistent to a strong-minded self-determined and bold man, thus to yield himself away with his

acute powers, to another—let it be answered that nothing, historically speaking, is more common or so common—especially taking the characteristics of the two men,—the one

> "A soldier, open, bold and brave,
> The next a scrivener, an exceeding knave;"

The one bent on accomplishing an object which the other had not conceived. It is incident to human nature, and particularly to that of Jackson, and is done chiefly by the persuasion that all political opponents are personal enemies—and that he is the first of warm confiding and enduring friends.

> "Thus Nature gives us—let it check our pride."

The rapid advance of Jackson stock in the political market presented too splendid a speculation to be eluded by such jobbers as the house of Van Buren & Company—nothing was now in the way of their entering as the head dealers on 'Change except the Crawford stock on hand, which could be easily *refunded* or reduced into Consols. Accordingly we find that before the Arguses could be well suppressed containing the abuse of Jackson, Van & Cam. are *"off to the south"* with their Tender—for the double purpose of settling with Crawford, and sending in their adhesion to Jackson; when, like Yankee boys playing marbles, they take the destruction of Calhoun as a *"shot in the range."* This distinguished patriot is the only wall lying directly across Van Buren's path, but like the salient angle of a well found citadel is impregnable to any metal they can bring to bear upon it, (indeed, open shots is not their trade), and it can only be reduced by mining. The distant excavations are commenced, the trains are in laying, and five years after the mine is sprung.

And what have we gotten in exchange, and who are the Gauls that have entered the capitol? Nor the Lees and the Lawsons of Bloomsbury Square, nor yet the Hackets of Burton-heath; but a set of names as endearing as Byron's Seige of Ismail, or the Clutterbucks, the Bondelunts, and the Teufelsdrocks of the new Dutch philosophy of old clothes; led off and on by their fugileers of the house—the Beards-lies and the Vander-poils or Van and spoils.—I may be wrong, Gentlemen, in recollecting

names aright—but after all, what is there in a name? the ancient authors tell us, that

"Skunks by any other names will smell as sweet."

They all come from Regency-square, across Marcy's Island, baited upon a *"Kinder-hook"* than Iron, and attracted by a more heart-soothing "Bell" than the solid and abiding copper and zinc of the old Tennessee church. They have come harp in hand to build up "the party," and their sweet music, like a Lincolnshire bag pipe, steals upon the ear as they approach—

"We'll build it up with silver and gold,
Dance over my Lady Lee;
We'll build it up with silver and gold,
My gay Layde.
But silver and gold will be stolen away"—
Ah—by whom?—

They approach, none in White garments, but all *"party-colored,"* but chiefly of the purple tinge—some among them,

"That if not dyed clean in the wool,
Old Fed'ral still—*but that's no rule.*"

It needs no stretch of forethought to divine that if the hand of those seeking the perpetuation of power through the Court succession, cannot be stayed, that the vital principle of the republic—*"its virtue,"*—must be extinguished, and thereon the days of its existence fixed and numbered. You cannot now, gentlemen, be taken down to the sylvan groves of Ashland to inquire at the doors of its hospitable mansion why the Phocion of his country cannot lead us forth to the victory. Nor is there time to pass to the fair "City of the lady Arabella," the Athens of the West, to make to her and her country's Aristides, the assurance of our high regards, and speak to him of dry matters of expedience—Sir, he needs them not—for if the granite of his native State and head should fail, yet is there a living principle about him that shall abide forever—

"For on his deeds no shade shall fall."

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

It does appear to me that you have felt the state of things of which an hasty etching is attempted in this rugged picture, and have come up here in *"high-north-bend"* to make another effort at its correction and prevention. Your lots are fallen upon those who have "done the state some service." The time and the season, gentlemen, seem to be auspicious—not only by the flights of birds, but by the flocks of freemen. And although the genius of our cause at the last fall seemed to have gone down, yet like a Right-Whale on the Brazils, she went down headed to windward. We have *"fore-layed"* for her, and upon this glorious day she is up and has broken water right alongside of our boat. Let us then to the work in spirit under the three rules of the provincial critic,

1st Rule—Action.
2d Rule—Action.
3d Rule—Action.

In this cause, my friends, I see you already "like hounds in the slips straining upon the start."—From the suddenness of this call, I was of necessity unprepared for the hunt; yet have done what I could toward filling up the cry—and who would not cry on such a scent and when such game's ahead—therefore,

"Once more unto the breach, good friends, we go,"
And all for Harri, Francis, and Big Joe."

FORT McARTHUR MEMORIAL TABLET.

On July 4, 1913, a memorial tablet, erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution, was unveiled with fitting and interesting ceremonies, at the site of the old fort McArthur, three miles southwest of Kenton on the Scioto River.

We publish the addresses delivered on that occasion by Prof. G. Frederick Wright, President of The Ohio State Archaeological & Historical Society, and Mrs. John T. Mack of Sandusky.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WRIGHT.

It is impossible for us to overestimate the debt we owe to the pioneers who were in this country a hundred years ago. In the short space of a single century a vast empire has grown up westward from the spot on which we now stand. With the exception of a few forts and blockhouses built for the protection of the scanty settlers who had ventured upon the border, the whole northwest was then occupied by hostile Indian tribes who were being constantly incited to deeds of violence by the emissaries of Great Britain. Encouraged by the English, Indian chiefs like Tecumseh were attempting to organize the tribes from the Great Lakes to the Gulf in a conspiracy to drive the whites from the whole region north of Ohio.

More than thirty years had elapsed since the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. But the recognition of our independence was scarcely more than nominal. Great Britain did not treat us with an equality which she granted to other nations. She attempted to drive our commerce from the seas. She impressed our seamen, and without the privilege of fair trial made them man her merchantmen and ships of war. For long she was planning to rob us of our great inheritance in the broad acres of the northwest. So great were these encroachments that in the beginning of the year 1812 it was evident that war would soon

be declared. As actual hostilities approached the, pioneers of north-western Ohio were the first and the greatest sufferers, for they were most exposed to the treacherous attacks of the Indians who were armed and inspired for the occasion by emissaries of the English Crown.

To prepare for contingencies an army of several thousand hardy pioneers, gathered from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, was assembled at the junction of the Mad river with the Big Miami just above the present site of Dayton.

Here on the 25th of May, 1812, the command of the troops was turned over to General Hull, an officer who had won distinction during the Revolutionary War, but who was now well advanced in years and physically unfit for so responsible a command as that to which he was now called. The campaign upon which he entered was one of the most disastrous in all our history, but he led a loyal and enthusiastic army composed both of regulars and of volunteers, and these were commanded by able and resourceful young officers who executed the orders of their superior with great success.

The failure of the campaign was brought about by a combination of causes, most of them attributable to the incapacity of the commander-in-chief whose orders the younger officers were compelled, unwillingly to obey. The army, that after incalculable hardships had reached Detroit and established itself upon the Canadian side of the river, at length retreated to its fortress and with out any fair show of resistance surrendered to the enemy and left all this northwestern region in possession of the British, opening it anew to the assaults of the merciless savages who so readily co-operated with the British.

But mistakes are inevitable in any war of large dimensions. It is only by a process of natural selection that the capable leaders can be found and put in command. Our meed of praise to the under officers and to the common superiors is not diminished but rather increased by the tragedies connected with their failure to accomplish the immediate objects of their endeavor. The bold swimmer who attempts to save a drowning companion and loses his life in the very effort is more of a hero than if he had succeeded in the attempt. We are judged not by what we

accomplish, but by what we aim to accomplish. In the sight both of heaven and earth the will is taken for the deed.

In the Civil War fifty years ago, I was one of a hundred students who formed Company C of the Seventh Ohio Regiment. Through sickness I was early discharged so that I can claim but small part in the history of the company and the regiment. Their history was scarcely anything but a succession of defeats brought about in most cases by incompetent officers high or low. But that does not dim the glory of their heroism. Thirty-one of those were killed in battle, and eight died of disease, while an equal number more suffered through the remainder of their lives from the effects of wounds and hardships. I mention but one illustration. In General Grant's memoirs, you will find that after describing the campaign at Chattanooga and the battle of Missionary Ridge he simply refers to the attack upon Ringold which followed a few days after, saying that it was a mistake. But what a mistake! The Seventh Regiment was ordered by those in superior command to assault an impregnable position that could have been easily taken by a flank movement. Every commissioned officer of the regiment except one was killed in the vain attempt. Of the twenty men of Company C who entered the action, six were killed and eight wounded. But do we think the less of these men who in obedience to mistaken orders marched boldly into the jaws of death? An emphatic no comes from everyone who reads the story. In the words of Tennyson with reference to the charge of the 600 the question arises when the command came

> "Forward the Light Brigade!!
> Was there a man dismayed?
> Not tho' the soldier knew
> Some one had blundered:
> Theirs not to make reply,
> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do and die,
> Into the valley of Death
> Rode the Six Hundred."

Coming now to the scene that interests us at this point it is recorded that to General McArthur and his regiment was

committed the task of opening a road over which Hull's army could pass on its way to Detroit. But this was a task of incredible difficulty involving incredible hardships.

"Heavy timber had to be felled, causeways to be laid across morasses, and bridges to be constructed over considerable streams. They also erected blockhouses for the protection of the sick and of provision trains moving forward with supplies for the army." But the order given at Dayton the 25th of May was executed with so much vigor that on the 16th of June the road was opened to the place near where we now stand.

"Two block houses were built on the south bank of that stream (the Scioto), stockaded, and the whole work named Fort McArthur. The fortifications did not inclose more than half an acre. There were log huts for the garrison, and log corn cribs for the food. It was a post of great danger. Hostile Indians, and especially the warlike Wyandots, filled the forest, and were watching every movement with vigilant eyes and malignant hearts.

"The army halted at Fort McArthur on the 19th, and Colonel Findlay was detached with his regiment to continue the road to Blanchard's Fork of the Auglaize, a tributary of the Maumee. Three days afterward the whole army followed, excepting a small garrison for Fort McArthur, under Captain Dill, left to keep the post and take care of the sick. Heavy rains now fell, and the little army was placed in a perilous position. They had reached the broad morasses of the summit, and had marched only sixteen miles, when deep mud impelled them to halt. They could go no farther. The black flies and mosquitoes were becoming a terrible scourge. The cattle were placed on short allowance, and preparations were made to transport the baggage and stores on pack-horses. They built a fort, which, in allusion to the circumstances, they called 'Fort Necessity.'" (Lossing's "Pictorial Field Book of The War of 1812," pp. 256, 257.)

But we need not on this occasion follow the army farther on its slow and painful march through the wilderness to its disgraceful surrender at Detroit. It is more fitting on this occasion that we turn our thoughts for a few moments to the little bands of brave men who were left to guard the frontier at Fort Mc-

Arthur. As in so many other campaigns, the greatest danger to be faced was that of the unsanitary conditions of camp life. So foul were these conditions at Fort McArthur that the graves of sixteen soldiers continue here to tell us of the great price of suffering and death by which our country was wrested from implacable foes a hundred years ago.

Who are these sixteen soldiers that on this spot died in defence of their country. Their names have been forgotten and find no place in the country's long roll of honor; but they were each human like ourselves. Far behind them they had left fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters and wives and children who waited long for their return, but in vain. One by one in this far off wilderness their eyes were closed in death by their companions in arms, who were thus left to bear double burdens and wonder if their turn would come next. With muffled drum and plaintive music their bodies were consigned to the earth, where, in the exigencies of war, they were soon abandoned to the slow decay of time, to be forgotten only by the thoughtless herd who come in to reap where others have sown and oblivious to everything that does not concern their immediate material prosperity.

God forbid that any of us should belong to this thoughtless throng. It behooves us ever to keep their memory green, and year by year, as this anniversary occurs, to plant fresh flowers over the spot where their bodies long since moldered into dust. And it shall come to pass that when your children shall ask their fathers in times to come what mean these mounds of earth? that they shall answer: Here is a part of that great price of blood by which our country was redeemed from the oppression of a foreign power and a vast empire opened for the entrance of peace loving citizens and all the arts and comforts of Christian civilization.

As others in great numbers a day or two ago assembled upon the field of Gettysburg to respond to the immortal words of Lincoln, so do we that "in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead

we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of their devotion." It remains for us to take up the full burden of citizenship and to consecrate our lives to the task of making our country worthy of the sacrifices that have been made by those who in countless numbers have given their lives for its establishment and its preservation. With a great price have our privileges of citizenship been purchased. Woe be to him who is recreant to this trust, and who in the presence of those who have laid down their lives for their country shall use the privileges thus secured for them for selfish gains regardless of the public good.

ADDRESS OF MRS. JOHN T. MACK.

Madam Regent, Daughters of the American Revolution and Friends:

I bring greeting to you today from the National Society, United States Daughters of the War of 1812, and congratulations to the members of Fort McArthur Chapter, that the long desired marking of this historic site has been accomplished. Over one hundred years have past since this nation, then young, was plunged into war the second time with the mother country. That war grew out of a long series of aggressions. Our ships were searched on the high seas and our men impressed into the English service, and in violation of former treaties, Great Britain maintained forts and posts on American soil, inciting the Indians to bloody outbreaks, even paying the savages for American scalps.

England had so long and so wantonly vexed our commerce by restrictions and confiscations, that the patience of the young nation was completely exhausted, and on June 18th, 1812, war was declared. That war was to completely sever this country for all time from Great Britain. In this second struggle for independence, this nation was not well equipped when war was declared. General Hull was Governor of the Michigan territory, having been appointed by President Jackson in 1805. He was a Revolutionary soldier, having fought in the battles of White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Stillwater, Saratoga, Fort Stanwix, Monmouth and Stony Point, and commanded the expedition

against Morrissania, for which he received the thanks of Washington and Congress. While Governor of Michigan territory he had repeatedly urged upon the government, the importance of building a fleet on Lake Erie, as the only means of maintaining Detroit, which was 300 mi. from any magazine of provisions, munitions of war or re-enforcements, and also a protection to Forts Mackinac and Dearborn. He urged also that a large force be maintained at Niagara to co-operate with any force that might invade Canada from Detroit.

These communications were made while he was Governor, and also after he took command of the army of the northwest, but the government did not comply with any of these requests. He was made commander of the army of the northwest and on the 25th of May, 1812, proceeded to Dayton where Governor Meigs turned over to him the command of the Ohio troops as directed by the Secretary of War. General Hull addressed the troops in an eloquent and dignified way, and with his soldier-like bearing, he inspired confidence. The little army began their northward journey with every assurance of success. From Dayton they marched to Manary's Block House now Bellefontaine, over a wagon road.

This was the most northernly settlement in Ohio. From Manary's Block House to Detroit was an unbroken wilderness, with only a foot-path part of the way. As the government had made no provision for the army, they were compelled to carry their subsistence and forage in wagons and to literally cut their way through the thick woods and swamps. Bridges had to be constructed over streams and marshes and spongy ground where none but the solitary red or white hunter, or Indian trader with his Canadian ponies had ever passed. From this point north, a road had to be constructed. This work was done by Colonel McArthur and his regiment. He was Major General of the state militia, and at the call of the President for volunteers, he ordered his division to assemble by regiments to see how many would enroll themselves to defend their country. These men were organized into companies and McArthur was made Colonel of the first regiment of Ohio volunteers on the 7th of May, 1812. To his men fell the work of building the first 30 miles of road

for the march. Guides went forward and blazed the trees with tomahawks, then the soldiers followed with axes, grubbing hoes, spades and shovels. They went to work with spirit and the road was built in two days. A fort was constructed on the Scioto River and named Fort McArthur, after the man of indomitable spirit, a man who did not hesitate to put his hand to the spade, and success crowned his efforts. Then Colonel McArthur's regiment was relieved and other regiments took up the work of road construction for the army until he reached the foot of the rapids of the Maumee, and from there they marched to Detroit, arriving on July 5th, where they found the worst possible conditions. Gun carriages were old and decayed, unfit for action, and had to be repaired before the cannon could be used. This made the field officers restless and impatient of delay. General McArthur and the other officers repeatedly urged Gen. Hull to cross the river and attack Fort Malden without delay. Several attempts to do this were made, but no real attack followed. It is believed had this been done at once, Fort Malden would have fallen. But General Hull had received intelligence that General Dearborn, who then commanded the northern frontier from Niagara down to Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence had agreed to a cessation of arms along the whole length of his command for forty days, commencing on the first day of August.

This left the English army free to concentrate their forces around Detroit. The Indians also were gathering there. Food and ammunition for our men were getting scarce. Expeditions sent out by General Hull failed to secure them. Forts Dearborn and Mackinac had fallen into the hands of the British, so that when General Brock, the British commander demanded the surrender of the American army, General Hull without consulting his officers, surrendered. For this act, he was court martialed and found guilty of cowardice, and sentenced to be shot, but was told to go home to Newton, Mass., and await his execution, which never occurred. Lossing, in his history calls Gen. Hull's trial disgraceful, the sentence unjust, and says the court was evidently constituted in order to offer Hull as a sacrifice to save the government from disgrace and contempt.

Thus closed the disastrous expedition under the command

of General Hull, Colonel McArthur returned to his home at Chillicothe, a prisoner on parole, and in the fall of 1812 he was elected to a seat in the House of Representatives, and during the session 1812-13 he was oppointed by the President, Colonel of the 26th Regiment United States Infantry, and the Senate confirmed the appointment. On the 23rd of March, 1813, he was appointed Brigadier General in the regular army. After the fall of Detroit, the whole lake country was exposed to the enemy, and they were preparing to attack Fort Meigs and Fort Stephenson. General Harrison having been appointed to command the army of the northwest had a critical and responsible task to perform. General McArthur was second in command. The troops were concentrated at Fort Meigs under McArthur, and General Harrison marched his division over the now famous Harrison trail, from Franklinton to Fort Seneca, through Delaware where last February, the Chapter there unveiled a tablet, marking the old tavern where General Harrison had his headquarters and from where they marched to Marion, Upper Sandusky and Fort Seneca, where on June 14th, 1913, Flag Day, the Dolly Todd Madison Chapter D. A. R. unveiled a tablet to mark both the Harrison trail and Fort Seneca. Old Glory was raised to the breeze by two grand children of a woman who was born in the log house inside of Fort Seneca. On the 30th of May, 1912, last year, Memorial Day, a tablet was unveiled at Port Clinton where General McArthur, with his troops from Fort Meigs, joined General Harrison and embarked on board the boats captured by Commodore Perry at the battle of Lake Erie, for Put-in-Bay, Malden, Detroit and the battle of the Thames.

This day, July 4th, 1913, a large concourse of people are gathered at Put-in-Bay, to lay the corner stone of a monument which is to stand for all time, as a reminder, not only of a battle fought and won on the waters of Lake Erie, but as a memorial of one hundred years of peace between the daughter and the mother country.

It is especially fitting that you have erected here these memorials to mark Hull's trail, and Fort McArthur and in memory of those brave pioneer patriots of the war of 1812 whose dust

reposes here. Your patriotic endeavor is in the nature of a completion of the historic markings, to which I have briefly called attention. It is a loyal sacrifice and will contribute to perpetuating, not only memory of deeds fought with so much interest to the young Republic we love, but that spirit of patriotism and reverence to the flag so essential to our national life. If we are to continue in the forefront of the great onward march of nations, we must inculcate in our children and in our children's children, an abiding love of the flag, and faith in all that it stands for.

UNVEILING OF FORT RECOVERY MONUMENT.

On July 1st at Fort Recovery the splendid monument just erected at that place was unveiled with imposing and fitting ceremonies. This monument was the result of the generous appropriation of $25,000 made by Congress. It commemorates the defeat of General St. Clair on November 4, 1791, and the defeat of the Indians under Little Turtle, in the Wayne campaign, on June 30th and July 1st, 1794. The monument is a beautiful shaft of stone 100 feet in height and stands in the center of the village park about a mile and a half from the site of the historic fort, which was on the small branch of the Wabash.

PIONEER SOLDIER ON FT. RECOVERY MONUMENT.

A large crowd assembled to witness the ceremonies on the day in question; there was appropriate music and eloquent speeches. Miss Belle Noble Deane, a grandniece of General St. Clair, unveiled the shaft and fittingly completed the program.

Descriptions of the two events which are commemorated by this monument, are given in Randall and Ryan's History of Ohio, published by the Century History Company, New York. The quotations are from volume II, of the work mentioned.

The sudden blows struck by Scott and Wilkinson—in their

preceding expeditions May and July 1791,— served only to further exasperate the Ohio tribesmen, who now entered upon extensive plans in defense of their country and resistance to the threatened approach of St. Clair. Under the leadership of Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawnees, and the noble head warrior of the Delawares, Buckongahelas, a war alliance was formed of their respective tribes. In this the chiefs had the aid not only of Simon Girty but of Alexander McKee and Mathew Elliott of the British Indian department, which began at once to forward supplies and munitions of war to the Miami towns for the use of the tribes in their impending campaign.

Meanwhile General St. Clair, under directions from Washington, was pushing forward preparations for his invasion which was intended to be irresistible, three thousand men being designated as the enrollment required. The objective point was to be the Miami towns at the head of the Maumee, the wigwams of which had been destroyed by Harmar, a habitable location, which had been the seat of the powerful Miami nation from time immemorial, often made desolate and as often rehabitated—a tribal site called by Little Turtle, "that glorious gate through which all good words of our chiefs had to pass from the north to the south and from the east to the west." A chain of forts, which were to be some twenty-five miles apart, was to be erected from the Ohio to the Lakes. Elaborate and specific instructions as to the expedition, its routes, manner of march and encampment, discipline, and precautionary measures were outlined by the president. Special levies, militia and regulars were to constitute the army which slowly began to assemble at Fort Washington.

It was September 17, (1791), that the main portion of the two thousand three hundred "effectives"—as they were called with seeming irony—moved forward twenty-five miles from Cincinnati to the Great Miami, where the advance detachment had already erected Fort Hamilton, a stockade fifty yards square with four good bastions and platforms for cannon and with barracks for about two hundred men. This army though larger in numbers was little better in condition than that of Harmar,

in the previous campaign. Washington Irving says these levies were picked up and recruited from the off-scourings of large towns and cities, enervated by idleness, debauchery, and every species of vice. The "effectives" were certainly a disreputable lot, dissipated and disorderly; the equipment was poor and inadequate; the tents and clothing nearly worthless; food for the men and fodder for the horses were deficient in both quality and quantity; desertions from the start, often in squads, were appalling in number. St. Clair, the commander, a brave, high-minded man, versed in the art of scientific warfare, but inexperienced in Indian combat, was broken in health, hardly able to sit upon his horse and really unfit for the hardships and duties that lay before him. General Butler was also in ill health and the main burden of responsibility fell upon Adjutant General Winthrop Sargent.

But there was no turning back and the forces, united at Fort Hamilton, slowly trudged forward, cutting roadways through the woods, building bridges over the streams and wearily tramping across the boggy plains, making but five or six miles a day. On October 12th, they had left Fort Hamilton forty-four miles behind and stopped, six miles south of Greenville, to build another stockade, they named Fort Jefferson. Here they remained twelve days. On November 3d, the foot-sore and bedraggled army, now reduced to a total of about fourteen hundred men, encamped on the eastern fork of the Wabash, upon an elevated timber-covered ground, with the creek in front and on the right, and a ravine on the left. Here were stationed the artillery and regulars. In front across the low, fordable stream the militia bivouacked, "while all around the wintry woods lay in frozen silence." It was the night before the battle, for at sunrise of the 4th, just as the soldiers were preparing breakfast the Indian horde, whose presence was unknown and unsuspected, suddenly plunged from their hidden ambush and with savage yells opened fire on the militia, who rushed pellmell into the center of the camp of the regulars amid whom they spread dismay and confusion. It was the repetition of Braddock's entrapment. The story of the desperate and gory conflict has been told again and again from the official

reports and the diaries of participants, the last and perhaps best war picture being that by the pen of Roosevelt.

There was no time nor room for the terror-benumbed soldiers to form or respond to the onslaught of the "woodland warriors," who soon completely encircled the American camp, and Indian fashion, protected by logs, trees and brush, crowded closer and closer, as they poured their shots into the crowded and disordered soldiers, huddled like sheep on the elevated ground. The officers, amid this "wall of flame" strove bravely to rally and form the troops, who discharged their rifles in an aimless manner for the enemy was mostly hidden from sight. The artillerymen were soon picked off and the cannon silenced. The men fell in great numbers in all parts of the camp, confusion increased, the Indians boldly swarmed forward to shoot at close range and even dash into the American ranks and engage in close encounter.

St. Clair, so weak he had to be lifted upon his horse, had three mounts shot from under him; eight bullets pierced his clothing and one clipped his grey hair. General Richard Butler, second in command, was twice hit and fell mortally wounded, and lay according to the account of Stone, in the "Life of Brant," upon the field, writhing in agony, when Simon Girty, who played a conspicuous part in the battle, being in command of the Wyandots, passed the general who knew the renegade and requested him to put an end to his misery; this the traitor refused to do but one of his warriors sprang forward and planted his tomahawk in the head of the dying officer, and thus terminated his sufferings; "his scalp was instantly torn from his crown, his heart taken out and divided into as many pieces as there were tribes engaged in the battle." Butterfield in his "History of the Girtys" regards this account as "trustworthy" but Roosevelt insists that after Butler received his mortal wound, "there is no further certain record of his fate except that he was slain." Certain it is that many such incidents added bloody coloring to the dreadful scene of battle, and "no words can paint the hopelessness and horror of such a struggle as that in which they were engaged."

The conflict continued nearly three hours until the sur-

vivors, comprising the remnant of the army became too stupefied and bewildered for further action of any kind. That all might not be sacrificed, St. Clair ordered a retreat. Such of the wounded as could be moved were hastily gathered together, a last charge, by the remaining combatants, was made against the enemy, that an opening through their line might be made enabling the fleeing force to escape. The flight was successful. The Indian warriors at first attempted pursuit but returned to secure the rich booty left upon the field. As the diary of Major Ebenezer Denny—a brave participant in the battle—recounts, it was a disgraceful flight even to the very gates of Fort Jefferson. The road for miles was covered with fire-locks, cartridge-boxes and regimentals. Stragglers for hours continued to stumble into the fort. The killed and missing numbered thirty-seven officers, one major-general (Butler), one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, twelve captains, ten lieutenants, eight ensigns, two quartermasters, one adjutant, and one surgeon; and five hundred and ninety-three privates; the wounded, thirty-three officers and two hundred and fifty privates. A total disability of over nine hundred men, two-thirds the entire force engaged. It was a far greater loss than that incurred by Washington in any battle of the Revolution, surpassing by hundreds his most disastrous defeat at Germantown. The artillery and all supplies, including clothing, two hundred tents, three hundred horses, one hundred and thirty beef cattle, and food in wagons with muskets and other equipments, all valued at $33,000, or more, were left to be gathered by the highly elated savages and borne to their lodges as plunder of war. The loss of the Indians was supposed to be about one hundred and fifty. As the contest was one for territorial possessions, the Indians, in their mutilations of the dead, practised, says Stone, a bitter sarcasm upon the rapacity of the white men, by filling their mouths with the soil they had marched forth to conquer.

Indeed the later disclosures, upon the scene of action, of the Indian brutalities, are almost too inhuman to be recorded. In January, (1792), following St. Clair's disaster, General James Wilkinson was ordered to visit, with a sufficient force, the site of the late battle, examine the conditions prevailing

and make such disposal as might be possible, of the dead. From the letter of Captain Buntin, one of Wilkinson's officers, to St. Clair, we take the following passage, as quoted in the "Annals of the West" (1846) by James H. Perkins: "In my opinion, those unfortunate men who fell in the enemy's hands, with life, were used with the greatest torture—having their limbs torn off; and the women (many accompanied the army) have been treated with the utmost indecent cruelty, having stakes as thick as a person's arm drove through their bodies. . . . By the General's orders, pits were dug in different places and all the dead bodies that were exposed to view, or could be conveniently found, the snow being very deep, were buried."

The actual number of Indians engaged in this victory, for them, is not recorded. Simon Girty is said to have told a prisoner (William May), that there were twelve hundred in the attack, among them, it is known, were many Canadians and half breeds. Little Turtle was the acknowledged chief in command, aided by Blue Jacket, Buckongahelas, and other chiefs, among whom at the head of one hundred and fifty Mohawks, was the famous Brant, according to statements subsequently made by the chief's descendants to Stone, his biographer. There must also have been found in the Indian ranks, of that attack, a young warrior, now in the beginning of his career and destined to be the greatest hero of the Ohio tribes, Tecumseh, the Shawnee. Upon their learning of the proposed St. Clair campaign, the chiefs selected Tecumseh to act as the head of a small party of spies, to watch the movements of the American army and make report to the Indian headquarters. Most faithfully did Tecumseh perform the duty assigned him. All unbeknown to St. Clair, every mile of his progress, was heralded to the chiefs, planning for the opportune moment to strike the advancing foe. Tecumseh will merit greater attention later on.

After his return to Fort Washington, St. Clair prepared his official report, "a model in its way, cool, dispassionate, magnanimous in a high degree," to General Knox, the War Secretary at Philadelphia, then the seat of government. Major Denny was the messenger and it was December 19th before he reached his destination. When Washington learned the appalling news,

the story goes, it was whispered to him, as he sat at a formal dinner, which he continued with his usual serenity, following which was a reception attended by him with his characteristic courtliness. The guests having departed, Washington—now alone with Tobias Lear, his secretary—walking backward and forward, broke out suddenly: "It's all over—St. Clair's defeated —routed—the officers nearly all killed; the men by hundreds—the rout complete—too shocking to think of—and a surprise into the bargain." He continued to pour forth a torrent of bitter invectives against St. Clair, that he had ignored the president's warnings and permitted their army "to be cut to pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked, by a surprise—the very thing I guarded him against. O God, O God, he's worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of heaven." This explosion came in tones appalling. His very frame shook. It was awful, said Mr. Lear. More than once he threw up his hands as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. Mr. Lear remained speechless, awed into breathless silence. Then having spent his "ungovernable burst of passion," Washington regained his composure and declared, "St. Clair shall have justice," and that was accorded him for he still retained the undiminished esteem and good opinion of the president. This anecdote was first published in "Washington in Domestic Life" by Benjamin Rush, who received the account direct from Colonel Tobias Lear, private secretary to the president and a personal witness of the incident. It has since been repeated by innumerable historians from Washington Irving to Roosevelt and Lodge and undoubtedly occurred as related, despite the scepticism of William Henry Smith, who in his valuable sketch of St. Clair, pronounces the story as apocryphal.

The popular clamor against St. Clair was, of course, loud and deep. He promptly announced his intention of resigning his commission but expressed his desire to retain it until a court could investigate his conduct. Officers could not be spared at that time for such a purpose, and the matter was referred to a committee of Congress, which after due examination exonerated St. Clair and reported the cause of the defeat as due

to circumstances and conditions for which the commander of the expedition was not responsible.

* * *

On Christmas day, (1793), a detachment, under Captain Alexander Gibson, sent forth by Wayne, took possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. The previous burial work of Wilkinson had, necessarily, been only partially done and the bones of the slain he had interred had become in large part uncovered and exposed. The "American Pioneer" quotes a letter written by one present, to the effect: "Six hundred skulls were gathered up and buried; when we came to lay down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out to make our beds." Here was erected a stockade called Fort Recovery, as significant of the American reoccupation of the ground, which was now properly garrisoned and placed under the charge of Captain Gibson.

The winter and spring, (1794), gradually wore away and still Wayne delayed, waiting for the arrival of provisions and a thorough readiness before setting forth. Meanwhile the hordes of Little Turtle grew impatient and bold and under their intrepid leader advanced, in June, to make an assault on Fort Recovery which was then garrisoned by one hundred and fifty men, commanded by Major William McMahon. The warriors were estimated to be from one to two thousand strong, while Wayne in his report to Knox, says: "Certain facts and circumstances which amount almost to proof show that there were a considerable number of British and Militia of Detroit mixed with the savages, in the assault." The fort was assailed on every side with great fury, the savages, though repulsed again and again with great loss, continued the siege for two days and the intervening night, but were ultimately compelled to retreat from the very field on which they had been so proudly victorious less than three years before. The American loss was twenty-two killed and thirty wounded. Simon Girty fought, with conspicuous fearlessness, with the Indians, and Butterfield says it was the last battle against own countrymen in which he took an active part. The disastrous result of this assault was not only an unexpected reverse to the savages,

whose loss was unusually great, but also to the British, who stood as sponsors to the movements of the tribesmen, for the British were not only redoubling their assistance to the tribes, supplying them with arms and munitions but were in their own behalf taking bold measures of offensive warfare. For it was at this time, April, (1794), that under the orders of Governor Simcoe, three British companies, commanded by Colonel Richard England, proceeded to the foot of the Maumee Rapids and built a fort, a veritable stronghold on the left or northern bank of the Maumee, "an encroachment of nearly forty miles upon the American soil." This fortification, called Fort Miami, was thoroughly armed and garrisoned under the command of Major William Campbell, while only a mile and a half above the fort and near the river rapids was the British agency of Superintendent Alexander McKee, under whose management provisions and arms were distributed to the Indians. The British, as noted by Slocum in "The Ohio Country," also built another post twelve to fifteen miles within the American territory, situated on Turtle Island, just outside the Maumee Bay, twenty miles or so northeast from the Fort Miami.

ADDRESS OF HON. W. E. TOUVELLE.

On this day, associated with the holiest attributes, loyalty to our country, love for our homes and gratitude to those who gave up comfort, aye, even life, to aid heaven in making the lonely forests blossom into fertile fields, we have gathered around a common altar to render our individual and united tribute to these our country's heroes.

Today we blend with the devotion of Christian worship the impressive service in which the Nation expresses its regard for those, who in two great struggles between races, opened the gateway of the great Northwest, conquered, perhaps, or bringing home the trophy of their gain, the long years have made of them all, victors. Even the fallen accomplished their share in the onward march of civilization. In all our National history there is nothing which so stirs the imagination, reaches down and opens deeper fountains of feeling, makes the heart throb with nobler emotions or makes men more one with each

other, than this gathering of our countrymen to pay affectionate tribute to our patriotic and heroic dead. Here in the village of Ft. Recovery which has been made into a garden of beauty, dreams in peaceful home and answers chimes of church and call of school, or fearless, plies its honest trade in mart; where the sun shines and the flowers grow and the children play upon the banks of the Wabash; here, one hundred years ago and more, a thousand of our forefathers, men who helped to found the Republic we now enjoy, knocked upon the fast locked door of the wilderness, breasted the ghastly storms of savage war and laid down their lives for the advancement of Christian civilization; that we, living in this later day, may feast upon the fruits of the land and untroubled rest when toil is o'er, nor wake to cry of the untamed foe nor elude the wild beast as he stalks.

On the edge of the winter they started across a stranger land to subdue a far more forboding enemy, one whose ethics of glory and of warfare were as foreign to that of the open battle and the chivalry to the vanquished practiced by St. Clair and his soldiers of the East as though they were of a planet yet unlisted in the names of stars. Warnings of the border men were treated lightly because the peril was unrecognized until every tree became a menace, one minute wreathed with clamor and smoke, the next standing out stark and silent, as if it itself breathed out bullets and smoke and breathed in the crisp November air. And with every breathing the men fell, futilely firing, praying with their dying gasp for a glimpse of the foeman which they could not mark and answered by the crashing of some falling forest giant and the taunt of the invisible guard of the Indian's country. But a handful retreated beyond the reach of the savage pursuit, the forest was filled with the fallen. Without covering except the fallen snow, unburied they lay, no hand to make their graves, to lift them down or spread the kindly sod; no courier to cry the news except the lean wolf howling to his kind upon some far off trail, so far the forests stretched, so distant lived their kin, so inaccessible in its winter chains the land wherein they slept. For over two years kindly nature clothed their bones with flowers and waving grass, with autumn's browning leaf and the whitening frosts until General

Anthony Wayne, with his conquering legions and that dash which made the Impossible gasp with awe and yield to him her most impregnable barriers, swept down upon the old battle ground, wrested it from its former victors and where the faithful dead had kept their silent watch, set new sentinels to guard the site whereon he builded a double log fort which he christened Fort Recovery. In this later battle, fought in 1794, Major McMahon and many of his fellow officers and comrades gave to their country the full measure of their devotion as had every officer, gallant men and brave, of St. Clair's regiments, with 630 American soldiers, a monstrous sacrifice for an infant nation to suffer for the welfare of her border citizens, a glorious, unselfish deed of the men who marched into the jaws of death by battle or famine or the hungry denizens that haunted the winter desolation.

It is not oblivion to those who have given us safety, perhaps a little touch in the blood of "the Land of Tomorrow," or, perchance, the struggle of life that demands that we provide for our own living ones ere we fitly bury our dead, that causes our nation sometimes to appear ungrateful and slow to acknowledge the debt by appropriate ceremony and, too, doubtless sixty years is not a vast length of time for a people who must build its hearthstones in an inhospitable land of rigorous seasons. It may be that our fathers deserve commendation for grasping an early opportunity not condemnation for laxity, for, in 1851, they provided thirteen coffins for the reception of the remains of those who had marched to a higher reward. Thirteen coffins, a remarkable number. These men came from each of the thirteen old colonies, many of them were heroes who had fought for the independence of these colonies and were citizens of the original thirteen states. As ragged continental soldiers they had upheld the doctrine of American freedom against British aggression and had emerged from that struggle as victorious soldiers of a splendid new-born Nation.

They had seen service with Washington and Marion and Green and were led, at the time of their death, by the distinguished Revolutionary Generals, St. Clair, Butler and Wayne. Their bones in the aggregate, represented the continental sol-

diery of every colony, from Massachusetts to Georgia and in their totality spoke the glories of Bunker Hill, of Saratoga and Trenton, of Kings Mountain and Camden and Yorktown; they were the last remains of an illustrious phalanx of Revolutionary heroes, and it was singularly appropriate that thirteen coffins, representing the magnificent thirteen colonies for which they fought in their younger days and the thirteen States, constituting the latest born nation of the earth for whose progression they laid down their lives, should be selected to hold their remains.

On hundred years after St. Clair's defeat it was the "Grand Army of the Republic," that noblest of all patriotic orders which preserves and strengthens "those kind of fraternal feelings which have bound together the soldiers, sailor and marine who united to suppress the late rebellion," who, through remembrance of long marches in sun or storm and night watches under the stars or wrapped in the marsh mists, fitly cherishing the memory of our heroic dead who made their breasts a barricade between our country and its foes, again interred the ashes of these heroes with salute of gun and sound of taps and requiem for the slain, lest we forget and forgetting lose a vast heritage. For the world is advanced by every incident of worthy action and lofty purpose. Glorious traditions beget glorious deeds; precedents and examples of heroism lead to higher endeavor. If we mold the future to noble fashion we should hold the fame of our valorous ones bright as the splendor of the summer sun upon their shields, their memory fragrant as the open flowers upspringing from the turf that wraps their clay.

In every age the soldier's deeds have been remembered. God's ancient people offered prayer and songs of thanksgiving in commemoration of great deliverance and in remembrance of men who had been instruments of blessings to them, and other nations of antiquity had their ceremonies for the slain in battle and for the return of the victors, their weaving of garlands and mourning for the dead, their gala parade and flaunting banner for the returned, keeping the festal day of triumph even for centuries, believing that by thus recognizing their patriots the future generations would more fully estimate the value of and their obligations to, the nation, for the people's gratitude is a

government's salvation, it perpetuates in the hearts of men the worth of national integrity and glory.

Equipments of armies become obsolete, fortifications valueless, the weapons of today the toys of tomorrow but the graves of soldiers are stronger intrenchments against a foe than are moats or bayonets or artilleries. Through all time, in every nation, savage or refined, their memory has been fondly cherished. Armed peasants have claimed a following, have seized thrones and founded dynasties and pyramids and mausoleums have been erected in their honor, triumphal arches have proclaimed the fame of warrior chiefs and pillars pierced the heavens to point to victorious nations. The statues of Themistocles long fired the Grecian heart and the Romans were wont to place sculptures of their dead heroes in the porches and passage ways of their dwellings so that, day by day, when they went out and when they came in, when they sat down or when they arose, marble forms might speak to them in mute but impressive language of those deserving of perpetual remembrance and emulation.

England has placed her mark of triumph over France upon the blood stained field of Waterloo; in Trafalgar Square, London; near Niagara Falls to General Brock and his men who fell contesting American arms; they arise wherever British heroism and daring and loyalty have been displayed. In every civilized country we find them, signatures of tribute from the living to the immortal dead.

In memory of the brave who dedicated their lives at these places we have built monuments at Saratoga and at Kings Mountain, two great turning points in our struggle for liberty. Art has adorned the erections with which we have honored our heroes of the War of 1812, Florida and Indian Wars, the Mexican war, and the great titanic struggle between sections and orators have anointed with sentiments of profound gratitude and veneration those whose dust they commemorate.

One by one they have been builded here and there, often to lesser heroes, and our fathers, many of whom sleep in God's acre on yonder hill, for over half a century petitioned our government to recognize the services of the men who from 1776 to 1783 fought to create the Government and, at its after call,

gave their lives in 1791 and 1794. They dared the death call of the haughty British foe in our war for independence and defying the savage of the wilderness for the winning of the West, perished upon its threshold.

Too far from friend to claim a sheet or shroud, or mother's prayer or widow's anguished cry, or e'en the funeral note when battling was done, fearlessly their departing spirits went alone, down into the dark shadows of the "Valley of death," eyes darkening to the horrors of the awful carnage, ears deafening to the savage warrior's cry. Knowing this and believing that history asserts the unchallenged truth that when a nation turns with cold indifference from the graves of those who, in fiery ordeal of battle, protected its flag and builded its power, the elements of dissolution and decay are at work; our fathers taught their children that the worm gnaws through the oak which the tempest could not bend, and the canker eats to the core where the lightning could never reach.

Urged by these sentiments which were forever kept fresh by the sight of these neglected graves and with the inestimable assistance of The Grand Army of the Republic, success at last crowned their efforts and by this act of tardy justice our Nation has redeemed the debt it owes, not only to its defenders, but to itself. The hope of the Nation is the youth of the land and if upon them can be impressed the thought that love of country is paramount to all other emotions of the soul, except devotion to their God, the salvation of the Republic is secure. This doctrine, instilled into the American hearts has proven stronger than drills and marching and counter marching. For not being a military nation, we have depended upon our citizen soldier, and when yet has he ever failed us? While it cannot be said of our country, as has been proclaimed of Great Britain, "that it is a power which has dotted over the face of the globe with her possessions and military posts whose morning drum beats following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circle the earth with one continuous strain of the martial airs of England," we Americans thank God that from the time the sun's first rays salute the shores of the Atlantic until the twilight voicelessly bugles forth "lights out" unto Pacific's golden strand, as it

crosses three thousand miles of the fairest and freest land in the world, a Government with imperial dimensions and pledging to every man security in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, from hill and from dale it is greeted with the harmony of bells calling men to worship or luring the children's vagrant feet to paths of knowledge, a continuous peal of sweeter and better music than any calls to arms, the token of victories long won and heaven's blessing of peace and christianity and enlightenment. And, this, too, we owe to these who first trod the wilderness; its preservation depends upon the generations that follow.

The glory of the past is secure, no time can dim the splendor of the great deed of the dead who nobly fell in the performance of a noble duty. Forever it is ours and even the foeman loves a gallant antagonist. But what of the future? That lies with our children and our children's children and upon their strength and intelligence and morality the perpetuity of the Republic must ever depend. The lives of other Republics have been brief; Greece and Rome maintained themselves for only a few hundred years, while despotism has stood for ages and monarchies count their years by centuries. We, a world power now, must valiantly dispute imperialism for the future of civilization, must make ourself a living precept for our younger sister Republics.

You hear of the decay of the Republic, you know of the bribery of legislatures, of extravagance in the administration of government; inequality of taxation; accumulation of enormous wealth through special privilege, giving private individuals power over the fruits of toil and the destiny of the artificer and producer, leaving him but a small recompense; of a lawless foreign element coming each year by the thousands, not to enjoy our free institutions, not to make this their country, but to return to their native land with their hoarded wealth after a huddling life in unsanitary surroundings, leaving behind the germs of noxious diseases and unwholesome and menacing conditions; they accuse some of our statesmen of ignoring these maladies because they hold more dear the brand upon the dollar than the eagle upon the shield and the conditions of our nation have been compared to that of France prior to her revolution.

"The price of liberty is eternal vigilance" and whether or not these evils exist it is incumbent that we make all attempts at such menaces futile by demanding public and private integrity; that official position be unstained and incorruptible and by stamping out the negligent and dishonest by public reprobation. The good, the true, even the beautiful, all are necessary to our higher aspirations and ambitions for long life and perfect government. All virtues, divine and human, are embraced in this grand trinity and patriotism is the first of human virtues. It is a sentiment as pure and tender as a lily. It must be nurtured, not merely by gentle precept of eloquent speech, but by deeds done with noble purpose; it must weld the interests of all the nation and upon the heights upon which it thrives we must plant the banner of justice and equality. Beneath, and far below it in the lower ground of passion and arrogance, men may dwarf if they will, but each, must not only be permitted, but encouraged, to climb the steep that leads to knowledge, self respect and competency.

Let us continue to build monuments to our soldier dead as milestones of educative progress to our youths, pointing them to the deeds of their fathers, instilling into their souls the obligations that can but honorably be cancelled by achievements worthy of the sacrifice; let them meet arches and memorial shafts everywhere, in order that the fires of patriotism may not grow dimmed in their hearts, nor the American's great love of country be quenched forever. Let us twine around our hearts each thread of our country's flag until the sundering of a single strand is as the wrenching of the heart from out our breast, vibrant, palpitating, quivering with life. Could lesser love be adequate? Did not our ancestors design it of glorious fashion and consecrate it with the sacrifice not only of their best, but of their all? Was ever emblem so beautiful as our Star Spangled Banner? Did ever ensign so fill the souls of men, the love of women, the sense of duty, the thirst for glory start such heart throbs as impels the humblest American to stand by its colors, fearless in the defense of his native soil and for its preservation hold it sweet to die? What legends hover around this symbol of protection, authority and power! On its folds

we see emblazoned daring and unselfish deeds of heroes who have scaled the walls of duty and gained the parapets of the City beyond. And, too, what a lesson it conveys! Its white teaches purity of purpose, its red typifies the blood which has been so freely shed in its defense, and its blue, with its constellations, reminds us of fidelity, fidelity to our God, fidelity to ourselves, fidelity to

"The Star Spangled Banner,
Oh long may it wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

These soldiers have not died in vain. Our nation of one hundred millions of free and self governing people will always be guided by their example of heroic sacrifice, and, recognizing the universal practice of justice, benevolence and national virtue, Providence will let its blessings descend upon us and our posterity "like unto the dews of heaven, unseen, unfelt, save in the richness and beauty it contributes to produce, and we will continue to walk in the path of the just which is as the dawning light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

ADDRESS OF GENERAL J. WARREN KEIFER.

I thank you, the local Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, and all those in authority here for the invitation to be present and to address those assembled on this historic occasion.

This splendid monument just unveiled was fittingly erected through the bounty of the United States, the appropriation ($25,000) therefor having been secured chiefly through the effective efforts in Congress of Hon. William E. Touvelle, a Representative therein.

Great nations and peoples have, in the course of the ages, erected monuments to individuals distinguished in War, as rulers, in learning, in science, the arts, for philanthrophy, for discoveries and for other things, but it remained to this twentieth century for two South American Republics, Argentina and Chili, to erect the first colossal statue to Christ—The Prince of Peace—to stand in a lonely spot on their boundary line on the

summit of the Andean Mountains, as a testimonial of perpetual peace between the two countries.

This monument is also erected not so much as a testimonial to war as to the peace that has ensued since the bloody scenes were enacted here. They antedate the War of 1812-1815 with Great Britain, but mark the beginning of an epoch which ended that war, followed by a Century of Peace with Great Britain.

Our country has so far done little in erecting monuments to individual citizens, however distinguished, in peace or war, save as aided and inspired thereto by patriotic organizations and private individuals. However, it has done much to commemorate the dead heroes of all wars, from Lexington, (1775), to the present time, in which it has been engaged.

The total number of memorial monuments on battlefields and in National and other cemeteries has reached eighty-five, which the general government participated in erecting, this one being the last.

Its erection, almost one hundred and twenty-two years after the first battle fought here, testifies to the patriotic spirit of the people of this day, and yet its earlier erection is not a reflection on the preceding generations.

The generations of the past have been charged with high duties and paramount responsibilities which they have heroically met and discharged with glorious results, and in the interest of human freedom and individual liberty.

The United States, in its first century of existence as a nation, experienced about sixteen years of actual war, all Indian Wars excluded, which is equivalent to one year of such actual war in every six years. Indian Wars have been almost constant from the earliest white settlement of America to a recent date. The battles here fought are classed as taking place in a purely Indian War, though there is evidence that English, (even French) influence had much to do with promoting and aiding in them.

The Revolutionary War, of seven years duration; the War of 1812, lasting three years; the Mexican War, continuing about two years, and the Civil War of above four years, all in our first century, and the Spanish-American War (1898-9), with

the never ceasing Indian Wars, constitute the bloody annals of our now great and prosperous Republic.

The settlement of the whole of continental United States was unique in more than one respect. The settlement or occupancy of new countries or regions, in most instances, history teaches us, was, in general, by the influx of wild, nomadic bands, in a barbaric or semi-barbaric state, to regions of the world not inhabited in considerable numbers, if at all previously occupied by any human beings. Sometimes, it is true, a barbaric horde advanced and drove out an antecedent like barbaric horde or a partially civilized people. I am not now speaking of biblical historic movements of peoples, such as Abraham's Emigration from Ur of the Chaldees to Palestine, though he took possession of an almost uninhabited country west of the River Jordan; nor am I forgetting the Hebrew race in its return from four hundred years of Egyptian bondage to the land they formerly inhabited and found it occupied by an alien people somewhat civilized.

Civilization originated and developed from the wild barbaric tribes inhabiting Europe and other parts of the world, especially from the Goth and Vandal tribes that invaded and occupied Italy, Germany and Gaul.

Here the reverse took place; barbarism was driven out and civilization was moved in.

Under the conditions war, long, bloody, devastating and exterminating to the Indian race, was inevitable; and much white blood was necessarily shed in actual battle and in barbarous attacks by bands of Indians on imperfectly protected settlements.

The justice and wisdom, if any, or the righteousness, in the light of Christian civilization, there was in forcibly driving back a barbaric race and in supplanting it with a modern civilization, it is too late now to try to fathom with any practical results. It is, however, consoling to entertain the belief that it was accomplished in execution of a divine plan to advance the human race and to spread the Christian religion. The treacherous, cruel and savage character of the Indian race in defending its hunting grounds and its tribal homes, hardly justi-

fies the aggressions of a Christian people. What race or people will not savagely defend their homes and native land from the usurper?

Those of our countrymen who fought here are not, individually or collectively, chargeable with the initiation or continuation on this continent of the policy adopted which led to the battles on this ground. They responded to existing conditions and superior orders, and, in a large sense, to an obsolute necessity to go forth in defense of their own homes and firesides.

In a great measure they engaged in war more justifiable, so far as they individually were concerned, than can usually be fairly claimed for those who are called to battle.

The implacable Indians were constantly liable to be at their pioneer homes, engaging in massacre of families, tomahawk and scalping knife in hand, women and children not spared.

And who were the pioneers on the frontiers exposed to the savage dangers, and what was their personal mission? First, it should be remarked, they were, aside from being of white blood, generally of no distinctive race of people as classified, or as coming from any one country or climate. Homogeneous in character, they were heterogeneous in race or blood. While white they, though some were born in foreign countries, were commingled, for the most part, in blood and in custom or habit so as to make an American in type, if not in race, and, though, in general, they were not highly educated in a scholastic way, they were patriotically imbued with the spirit of true liberty—not license—to act as they pleased—which, under the restraint of law, insures happiness, prosperity, peace and contentment, which includes all there is worth seeking in life. They, in a high degree, sought to live up to the true test of civil liberty, under law, in obedience to the second of the Savior's divine Commandments: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," or, in other words: Insist upon your and your family's right to enjoy, unmolested, protection of person and property, and, at the same time, and in like manner, insist upon the same right for your neighbor and his family. This test of free citizenship constitutes the highest ideal of human liberty.

Those who pushed westward closely after the Revolutionary War, which decreed the principles of the Declaration of Independence to be right, and to be, we hope and pray, immortal and immutable as basic principles of free government, were inspired by the achievements of that war and the greatness and glory of Washington and his generals and patriot soldiers and the great statesmen of the same period.

They were not mere adventurers, but avaunt couriers of a moving civilization under the banners of the Prince of Peace, into a thitherto untamed region of the earth to there take possession and develop what had so beautifully and bountifully been prepared for civilized man by the Creator of all things. They crossed, with implements of industry, the Allegheny Mountains and the great Ohio River, and other streams, to become cultivators of the soil, to establish communities and to plant churches and to spread the Gospel where all could worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, guaranteed by the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution of the United States, which, through the prescient wisdom of our Revolutionary fathers, had then become written organic law.

Major-General Arthur St. Clair, who commanded (Nov. 4, 1791) in the first of the battles fought here, was President of the Continental Congress which enacted (July 13, 1787) that Ordinance.

He had been a distinguished general in the Revolutionary War and he enjoyed the confidence of General Washington during that War and, later, while President of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States was almost simultaneously adopted (September 17, 1787), with the Great Ordinance, in convention, but it did not go into effect until March 4, 1789. The Ordinance was a *Magna Charta,* dedicating, in advance, a coming Christian civilization in the fertile and beautiful territory Northwest of the River Ohio, for all time, to freedom, education and liberty of conscience. It was re-enacted by Congress, August 7, 1789, to adapt its provisions to the then new Constitution.

The territory, then almost uninhabited by white men, was,

in area, 260,000 square miles, and included the now states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, with, by the census of 1910, 18,250,621 inhabitants, enjoying a prosperity excelling that of any other people of any age or country. Its sixth Article provided:

> "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary service in the said territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes."

Despite many attempts to legalize human slavery in said territory and in states formed therefrom no slave has ever been rightly held therein.

This Ordinance also provided for the descent of property; for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious freedom; prohibited legislative interference with private contracts; secured the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury; forbade infliction of cruel and unusual punishments, and enjoined the encouragement of schools and general education.

Though this Ordinance and the Constitution of the United States were in full force when (1791-1794) the war scenes took place here, Ohio was not, until May 7, 1800, organized as a separate territory and did not become a state until March 1, 1803. Ohio in 1800 had 45,365, and in 1910, 4,767,121 inhabitants, about 1,500,000 more than there were in the Thirteen States at the beginning (1776) of the War for Independence. There were then but fifteen states of this Union. Kentucky (not of said territory) was organized as a territory in 1790, with a population of 73,677, and became a state, February 4, 1791. She furnished a principal part of the gallant officers and men constituting the armies who fought here in the several battles. In 1910 Kentucky had a population of 2,289,905.

Vermont, admitted into the Union February 18, 1791, became the fifteenth State in the Union.

St. Clair's Defeat.

The combined Indian tribes of the Northwest were more defiant, and numerically stronger and better united and organized, with greater and more celebrated and influential chiefs, and

better armed and equipped for war in the years covering the times of the battles here than at any other period in their history. There is convincing evidence that, while the treaty of peace at the close of the War of the Revolution (1783) brought that war to a close, there remained much animosity on the part of the English towards the new Republic, and the boundary between the United States and the British possessions in the Northwest was far from settled; nor was the Indian and English alliance existing in the Revolutionary War wholly broken up. English military, and other, officials still exercised influence with the Indian tribes against the American—"long knife"—advancement. They lived in touch with the tribes and their great chiefs. Some of the French who once claimed much territory inhabited by the Indians, remained therein late in the eighteenth century as traders and in other occupations, and they also exercised considerable influence over them.

Throughout the period of the Revolution, and earlier, the Indian had been made acquainted with fire arms, and had been taught their use in hunting, and in war, and in many ways they had been instructed in warfare, unknown to them in earlier times. Besides these contributing influences there was earlier, and at the time of the battles here, some wily renegade white men residing with them, such as the three Girtys, McKee, Elliott, and others, who not only made the willing Indian chiefs familiar with the modes of conducting war by our officers, but they participated in more or less commanding positions in battles, not being inferior to the Indian in savage cruelty, even to defenseless women and children.

The Indian wars had also been almost perennial from the earliest encroachments on the Indian possessions, thus adding great experience to natural disposition of the Indian to engage in war. The Indian tribes seem always to have been at war with each other, and only ceased it to combine against their common enemy, the white man.

Just prior to the these battles the Indians had some, to them, significant successes against forces under General Harmar and others which greatly encouraged them and gave them confidence of success.

Our forces operating against the English and Indians during the Revolution had always been comparatively small in number notwithstanding the marvelous successes (1778-9) of General George Rogers Clark, at Vincennes, Cahokia, etc., against Governor Hamilton and his Indian allies.

The Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, the most sagacious of Indian chiefs by education, and in influence in uniting the tribes, was in the full vigor of his career. He participated—so states his biographer Stone—in the first battle here, but not in chief command. Tecumseh, later the most noted Shawnee chief, perhaps ranking as the greatest of all Indian chiefs, participated in St. Clair's defeat, though then but young.

And the celebrated Shawnee chief, Blue Jacket, led the warriors of his tribe in the battle. Buckongahelas, the greatest of the Delawares, led his tribal warriors. So Black Eagle of the Wyandots.

There was a close alliance of the Miamis, Delawares, Wyandots, Ottawas, Pottowatomies, Sacs and Foxes and Shawnees with other associated tribes. They constituted the most formidable and most successful combination of Indians for war ever formed on this continent. Tecumseh's later (1811) attempt to form a general Indian Confederacy to oppose the white was largely a failure in comparison. Still other celebrated great chiefs participated in the campaign and battle, leading warriors of their respective tribes.

To the shame and disgrace, as already noted, the renegades, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott aided and participated in the equipping, organizing and in conducting the campaign and battle resulting in St. Clair's defeat. Still other such renegades, less conspicuous, participated therein.

The actual number of Indians engaged in the battle is unknown. Girty estimated them at above 1200 Indians; and with them there were some Canadian and half breeds, variously organized; some were engaged in the important business of spies. Tecumseh is said to have been so engaged and to have noted and reported the hourly movement of St. Clair's army to this fatal field.

The general command, however, of all the Indian forces

in the campaign and battle was under the celebrated Miami chief, Little Turtle, then about thirty-nine years of age, (born on Eel River, 1752), who possessed extraordinary ability and by long warlike experience, much Indian sagacity and capacity to command. So seldom have Indians been known to openly attack, especially by night, an organized army of white soldiers that, notwithstanding Little Turtle's admitted experience and ability in war, it has always been claimed that the attack was planned by a white man.

The long dangerous state of the Northwestern frontier, even including the then (1791) state of Kentucky south of the Ohio River, together with frequent massacres by Indians and some disasters of our war parties, caused complaints to be made to the authorities, including Washington then President of the United States, and to which he gave an attentive ear. The Republic was poor and still struggling with Revolutionary War and other debt; there was then but a skeleton of a regular army, and the times generally were hard and the people also poor. Washington, always interested in the West, and fully alive to the necessity, as well as to the duty, to protect the advance pioneer settlers, having confidence in St. Clair, designated and ordered him to collect a sufficient force to chastise the then defiant combined Indian tribes.

St. Clair had ample war experience, save, perhaps in Indian warfare, such as was necessary to cope successfully with Indian methods. He was born in Scotland (1734) and was fifty-seven years of age when he fought here, and he was possessed of some physical infirmities besides that of age, though then of a vigorous intellect; and he was full of zeal and patriotism. He was hastily, perhaps intemperately, censured and unjustly by Washington for a time, for a supposed want of vigilance and watchfulness through scouts and spies, to avoid surprise and consequent disaster.

In reaching the conclusion that St. Clair's army was, through negligence and incompetency, allowed to be surprised, there is danger of doing him and Major-General Richard Butler of Kentucky, the second in command, Colonel Oldham and other of his distinguished officers and soldiers great injustice. That

there was a surprise attack is not even well established as distinguished from what appears always from an energetic army making a general attack upon an opposite army, especially when made in the night time. Such attacks have taken place, in some sense, in all great wars, and they are absolutely unavoidable, even in a generally open country, when proper secrecy of movement and purpose has been kept. The advantage of cover in the dense forest, where there were no roads or known lines of march to traverse, was with the enemy. The Indians were not impeded in movement by artillery and supply wagons and horses and the like impediments to secrecy in movement and camping. They, on the contrary, were not embarrassed by anything. They were not required to camp, feed in a body or provide for man and beast as is necessary in an organized civilized army. Little Turtle's Indian forces, in this situation, being thus free to act, made it almost impossible to guard against a seeming or real surprise, especially by a night attack.

Preparedness for battle in the event of sudden attack is of the first importance, by day or night, but there is no satisfactory evidence conclusively showing St. Clair's army was not as advantageously placed and instructed as the lateness of the season, its numbers, separate organizations and the character of the troops would permit, and with the necessary advance guards and sentinels in proper place to prevent surprise.

The fact that a general and simultaneous attack was made by the Indians under their respective tribal chiefs, and executed as it was by the best of Indian stealth and energy, necessarily gave it the appearance, and it had the effect, of a surprise. No vigilance or advantageous posting of troops, pickets or guards could have averted the attack made, or, under the circumstances, averted the disastrous results; and the conduct of the officers and soldiers of St. Clair's army proves this to be true.

The defeat must be attributed, not to the character of the attack alone, but to the active skill and bravery by which the Indians were led and fought, and in part to the want of trained soldiers for such warfare, if, indeed, they for the most part, were trained in any proper sense for battle at all, for want

of time and opportunity. Without placing censure anywhere, St. Clair's army was far from efficient by reason of its too hasty organization to be relied on to meet successfully such a formidable Indian attack, whether there was a surprise or not, as was made upon it.

The soldiers of Gettysburg (July, 1863,) of either army, well led as they were, would have been unequal to the shock of battle in the Wilderness, (May, 1864). The enemy must often be taken into account in determining the responsibility for the result in any contest, in peace or war.

We are too often prone to attribute defeat in any cause to the misconduct or neglect of our friends, and rarely to the superior skill and energy of the opposition.

President Lincoln (1863), in passing on a report made involving the conduct of a distinguished general (Milroy), used this wise language:

> "Serious blame is not necessarily due to any serious disaster."

The men and officers were brave and met death as patriotically and heroically as though they had been the most seasoned soldiers that ever went to battle, or had fought, fell and died on a field of their own victory.

St. Clair, as directed by Washington early in 1791, made strenuous efforts to organize a sufficient force for a formidable expedition to the Miami towns on the upper Maumee, to punish and overawe the Indians of the region to be traversed from Fort Washington (Cincinnati), the place of rendezvous. Special levies, militia, and some so-called regulars, were to constitute his army for this purpose. In general, both the few regulars and the militia were not of the more substantial yeomanry of the country. The number intended for the invasion was fixed at 3000, but by May 17, 1791, but 2300 had assembled at Fort Washington, and they were then moved forward to the but recently erected Fort Hamilton on the Miami River where a small advance detachment had been sent.

I do not believe Washington Irving's exculpatory descriptive denunciation of the soldiers assembled there further than

that they were, through no fault of theirs or of their officers, untrained for campaigning or for war, and that they were not well clothed or fed, and were unused to the severe exposures and trying hardships of the campaign before them. The conditions caused many to desert, and it may be naturally explained that only about 1400 effectives reached the battle field the night before the disaster, and they were much enfeebled and more or less disqualified to meet an irregular battle in the timber with Indians whose whole life had been a constant training in exactly that kind of endurance, hardship and warfare. The patriotism and personal bravery of St. Clair, and his officers remain unquestioned; and their unfortunate condition and position demands charity and commiseration rather than severe judgment.

President Washington on first hearing of St. Clair's defeat momentarily was inclined to condemn him for negligently suffering a surprise, then recovering his usual equanimity he largely exonerated him and his officers from serious blame, and later honored St. Clair by reappointing him Governor of the Northwest Territory.

Coincident with this situation and condition of this hastily assembled small untrained body of soldiers, General St. Clair, their commander, became much broken in health, hardly able to mount or sit upon his horse, and Major-General Richard Butler, the second in command, also unfortunately fell into ill health, almost disqualifying him from any active duty.

Both generals, afflicted and ill as each was, boldly faced and discharged their duty in the midst of danger, St. Clair having three horses in succession shot from under him, and General Butler was first wounded severely then tomahawked to death, and scalped.

The encampment the night before the battle seems to have been as well chosen as the situation permitted, though, possibly, in the light of events and subsequent discoveries, it might have been better chosen to resist the actual attack made, but the necessity of placing artillery and the supply trains and the disposition of horses, etc., necessarily required massing; and who

can now say, all things considered, that there was any negligence or lack of judgment.

I cannot attempt to describe the battle further than to say St. Clair's army, exposed as it was to the practiced, unerring rifle-fire, almost always from behind trees, of the Indians who encircled our army for the most part, maintained a stubborn, though hopeless, battle for above three hours. The resistance was great, notwithstanding the losses by death and wounds in the early part of the engagement. The Indians were so far held at bay and driven back as to enable a retreat to be made, carrying away many of the wounded, after first breaking through the cordon of warriors that surrounded them. The enemy, too suffered irreparable losses in killed and wounded on this field. Some of their bravest warriors here fell. Long after this battle, as history tells us, Indians of all the tribes who were represented here mourned the death of chiefs and warriors who died on this now peaceful field.

This was the last signal triumph of the long Indian wars for the Indian tribes alone or in alliance with British forces for the retention of the Northwest territory though the war therefor did not wholly cease until twenty-two years later—not until Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, of immortal fame (Sept. 10, 1813), defeated and captured the British fleet (under Barclay of Trafalgar fame), on Lake Erie, and Major-General Wm. Henry Harrison on Canadian soil (Oct. 5, 1813), defeated the combined British and Indian forces at the decisive battle of the Thames, which led to the treaty of peace at Ghent, December 24, 1814, succeeded by now almost a century of peace with Great Britain, and whereby the northern boundary of the Northwest territory was definitely established.

The succeeding battles here, June 30th and July 1st, 1794, incident to General Anthony Wayne's campaign, were gallant defenses by a detachment of his better prepared and organized army, each testifying to the valor of those who fought here and mingled their blood in the same soil where St. Clair's officers and soldiers, in final sacrifice, paid their last penalty of devotion to duty and country.

There is no room for unfavorable comparison of the heroism of the officers and soldiers who fought here under St. Clair and those of Wayne's army who fought here later. Nor do we take a laurel from General Anthony Wayne or his gallant and skillful officers and soldiers who made the campaign of 1794 and defeated the Indians so completely here and at Fallen Timbers, Aug. 20, 1794, which led to the treaty of Greenville (1795) where it was proclaimed that the participants of both armies were entitled to equal honor.

Wayne was justly given great credit for his precipitancy of movement, skill and bravery as a commanding officer. He too was a trusted officer of the Revolution. We recall his successful night attack on the British at Stony Point on the Hudson.

His army in his 1794 Indian campaign was deliberately organized: Wm. Henry Harrison was his Chief-of-Staff, and other experienced officers and Indian fighters were with him, and the summer season was more favorable to movements with less exposure, and other favoring causes. On Christmas day, 1793, a detachment of Wayne's army under Captain Alexander Gibson took possession of this ground and here constructed a stockade for defense, and called it Fort Recovery. While this fort was held by a small garrison under Major Wm. McMahon of Wayne's army, it was assailed, June 30, 1794, with great fury by about two thousand Indian warriors aided materially by the British in supplying arms and ammunition, and otherwise. After two days' fighting they withdrew having suffered a most disastrous defeat, and much loss of life. Here, then, it is said, Simon Girty last took an active part in battle with the Indians.

A few words more as to General Arthur St. Clair. He was born in Scotland (1734); educated at the University of Edinburgh; studied medicine; became an ensign (1751) in the British Navy and came to America and was engaged in active service in Canadian waters, and under General Wolfe at Quebec (1758), but later (1762) resigned to become a citizen of Pennsylvania. He there became a judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas, and soon held other responsible civil offices; and was made a Colonel of Militia in 1775, and of the 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment in January 1776; was made

Brigadier-General in August 1776 and Major-General in February 1777 in the Continental army, under General Washington, and served throughout the Revolution with distinction, fighting in many battles, particularly at Brandywine and Yorktown. He was a member of the Court Martial that tried Major Andre (1780); was a member of the Continental Congress from November 2nd, 1785, to November 28th, 1787, and its President in 1787; and he was appointed by it (1787) Governor of the Northwest territory, a position he held by subsequent reappointments by Presidents Washington (1789) and John Adams (1800) until in 1802, just prior to Ohio being formed into a state—"the first born of the Ordinance of 1787." Meantime he became (1791) Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army. He negotiated important Indian treaties with the Six-nations, etc., and faithfully discharged many other important public, civil and military duties. He fairly earned renown and in a large sense enjoyed the confidence of Washington and others in high authority, though subjected to some criticism in consequence of his defeat here.

In 1802, on being relieved as Governor of the Northwest Territory (then consisting of Ohio alone), he retired to the Ligonier Valley, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, old, broken in health and strength in his country's service, neglected and poor, where he lived and toiled as proprietor of a wayside tavern for sixteen years and until his death (August 31st, 1818), which was occasioned by injuries received by the accidental over-turning of a small wagon on which he was riding, engaged in gathering hay and grain in the rough mountain region of his home for sale to western movers. He was then eighty-four years of age; he had been, with little pay, about thirty years in his country's service.

Though possessed of a small private fortune he loyally voluntarily gave it to maintain the war of the Revolution. It was never fully repaid to him.

Our proud, prosperous nation has been ungrateful, and still is remiss in duty and obligation to St. Clair and to his memory. There is no public memorial at his grave. Let this monument, on the field of his valor and humiliation, testify, through time, to

those who will enjoy the priceless boon of liberty he fought to obtain for them, in a substantial sense to his greatness, suffering, heroism, sacrifice and accomplished results for his country and the human race.

Turning again to the scene of the battles here, it may be observed that they were characteristic of barbarism, in that the number of killed largely outnumbered the wounded, more than modern battles, notwithstanding the general use of artillery and repeating fire arms, including rifles, carbines and pistols, also swords, etc., is rarely more than one killed to six wounded. The number of St. Clair's army left dead on this field, as near as could be ascertained, was 62 officers, including Major-General Butler, Colonel Oldham, Majors Ferguson, Hart and Clark, twelve captains, ten lieutenants, and other officers; also 630 private soldiers. The wounded numbered 280; the total killed and wounded being 972, out of a total of about 1400 officers and men. The bodies of the dead laid on the field, a prey to wild beasts and birds, and the brutal savage, until January following (1792) when a detachment of about 150 mounted men under Colonel James Wilkinson marched to the battlefield and buried them as best they could.

Again in December 1793 a detachment of General Wayne's army was sent from Greenville to this place and they reburied the remains of the officers and soldiers in their present resting place, on the field of their heroic death. The same detachment made a permanent occupancy here, and called the place Fort Recovery, in commemoration of its recovery from the Indians.

In the severe and bloody battle of June 30th, and July 1st, 1794, already referred to, Major Wm. McMahon, the commanding officer, Captain Hartshorn, Lieutenant Craig and nineteen other officers and one hundred and twenty soldiers, in all, one hundred and forty-two, were then killed, and, presumably, buried here to commingle their mortal dust with that of the six hundred and ninety-two officers and soldiers of St. Clair's army. A total of eight hundred and thirty-four bodies lie buried here to await the resurrection morning.

They fell when:

"The soul of battle was abroad
And blazed upon the air."

The virgin earth here became their fitting sarcophagus. On September 10, 1851, their bones were reinterred in thirteen gigantic caskets still on the field made famous by their death.

This splendid granite shaft, handsome in its proportions; durable in its material; permanent in its foundation and pedestal, and simple in its purity and design, we now dedicate to commemorate the last resting place of those of our heroic countrymen who fell here and are here interred; also to commemorate the like heroism of those who fought and many of whom shed their heart's blood here, and who have all long since found honorable graves in widely different parts of our country.

The immediate residents here; the visitors to this memorable spot; the succeeding generations of our countrymen; the students of the early history of pioneer and soldier life and all comers will also see, in this enduring silent memorial, something to cause them to honor and revere the devoted pioneers who blazed westward the highway of Christian civilization, amid dangers; using to that end implements of peace and husbandry as well as those of war.

This memorial must now, with our advanced and advancing Christian civilization and progress, be regarded, not so much a testimonial to war, or human valor and glory, as to a succeeding era of, *"on earth peace, good will toward men."*

The Indian has largely disappeared in his savagery; his place is taken by a people educated in the ways of peace; science and art have tamed the hitherto unused natural elements and harnessed them into control for man's uses and comfort; discoveries in medicine, surgery and sanitation have increased in the last half century the average of human life in our land from thirty to almost forty years.

We are about to celebrate an hundred years of peace with Great Britain, and the world at large has grown better and wiser. Christianity is abroad with its banners of good will to all mankind, proclaiming a belief in immortality, the Redeemer and one God; and we, the successors of those who fought and died here,

are charged with the incident high duties that present conditions and paramount blessings have endowed us with, to, with the mantle of peace and progress enveloping us, avert war and its consequent destruction, devastation, bloodshed and dire suffering.

Your orator, in a comparatively surbordinate relation has spent above five years of his life as a volunteer officer in the army of the United States in times of war. He has fought on more than one battlefield where more men were killed and wounded and more blood was shed in a single day than in the seven years' war of the Revolution in the American and British armies. His voice and efforts shall be, to the end of his days, for peace, believing, that through peace national honor can be better preserved than through the dire effects of war. The too common expression—"In time of peace prepare for war," if ever a wise utterance or a true maxim to be followed by a Christian nation, is now barbaric in the light of a civilization purified and glorified by the merciful teaching of the Prince of Peace. The maxim should be: *In time of peace prepare to maintain it.*

Let us close the unveiling and dedicatory service today by standing, head uncovered, eyes turned heavenward, and by solemnly pledging ourselves to so live and to so discharge our duty as citizens of our proud and glorious country to the end that the life and blood sacrificed here shall not have been in vain; and with a devout prayer for universal peace on earth;

> " * * * * until the eternal morning
> Pales in its glories all the lights of time;"

and that "liberty of law" as guaranteed by our Constitution and laws shall perpetually endure and secure manifold blessings to all entitled to their protecting power; and that the flag we unfurl, which has cost so much in treasure and precious blood, may be perpetuated as an emblem of a free people, testifying to all the world the glory and valor of those who, in peace and war, triumphantly bore it to victory in the cause of the human race.

The far-reaching fruits of triumph in our Republic in the interest of individual and National liberty are only now being revealed. The success of our Constitutional liberty has been an example for other nations and peoples. There are few of the

old autocratic empires and kingdoms of the earth now without a representative parliament chosen by the people. The once mighty and absolute rulers of Russia, Persia, Japan, China and other countries have been obliged to surrender a large share of imperial power. Some all power. But recently the Sultan of Mohammedan Turkey has yielded to a demand of his subjects for a share in the government.

Let us devote our lives anew, today, to the duties of citizens of our republic; always paramount to the duties of citizens or subjects of a kingly power, and dedicate ourselves to those duties that may devolve on us, that we may transmit, unsullied, to posterity the blessings and liberty it has been vouchsafed to us to enjoy.

* * * *

DESCRIPTION OF MONUMENT.

The new Soldiers' Monument is one of the most beautiful and impressive shafts in the country. Towering majestically over a hundred feet in the air its grandeur is only understood and felt by those who have seen it.

Its exact height is 101½ feet, the shaft itself rising about 90 feet from the base. The base is 35 feet square and varying from five to ten feet in height. A heroic figure typifying the early scout and settler stands on the western side of the shaft. This figure, nine feet in height, is one of the most impressive features of the monument. With face stern and unyielding, foot and leg striding forward, flintlock and powder horn in hand, it seems to be ever advancing toward that great west, of which this region was once typical. It represents the conquest of the west, the progress of the nation and the advancement of civilization, but above all it commemorates the lives which were sacrificed that all this might be achieved, and seems to cast over all surroundings the calm and quiet of a benediction. Certainly there was no type which the sculptor might have chosen, which would more happily illustrate the thought to be expressed.

On each side of the base is a bronze entablature. The four bear inscriptions explanatory of the battle here, giving the roll of officers killed and other information of interest.

The monument was designed by VanAmringe & Son, of

Boston, and the figure carved by an eminent sculptor of this firm. The material is North Carolina granite with concrete foundation.

The park in which it is constructed bids fair to become one of the most beautiful spots of its size in the state. The beauty

Ft. Recovery Monument.

and whiteness of the shaft is enhanced by the green of the shrubbery, trees and grass which surround it on every side. Expressions of approval and admiration were heard on every hand as visitors beheld the monument for the first time and the community may well feel a thrill of pride in the possession of such a monument.

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 23, 1913.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held in the Hunter Society Room, Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at 2 o'clock P. M., Friday May 23, 1913.

The following members were present:

Mr. E. H. Archer, Columbus,
Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester,
Mr. T. B. Bowers, Columbus,
Mr. H. E. Buck, Delaware,
Hon. Albert Douglas, Chillicothe,
Mr. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk,
Mr. D. H. Gard, Columbus,
Col. Webb C. Hayes, Fremont,
Mr. Almer Hegler, Washington C. H.,
Mrs. Howard Jones, Circleville,
Rev. I. F. King, Columbus,
Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus,
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield,
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus,
Dr. W. B. Rosamond, Gilmore,
Hon. D. J. Ryan, Columbus,
Mr. J. S. Roof, Ashville,
Mr. L. P. Schaus, Mt. Vernon,
Dr. W. H. Scott, Columbus,
Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus,
Dr. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin.

The meeting was called to order by President G. Frederick Wright, who made a brief address touching upon the auspicious conditions under which this annual meeting was held. He alluded to the numerous acquisitions to the Society, such as the Logan Elm, the erection of the new buildings at Spiegel Grove

and Columbus and the enlarged growth and responsibility of the Society, which should be particularly congratulated upon the generosity with which it had been treated by the new Legislature.

Secretary Randall was then called upon for his report. The secretary followed the usual custom regarding the reading of the minutes, by simply referring the members of the Society to the proceedings of the last annual meeting as published in detail in Volume 21 of the annual publications, beginning at page 468.

He read letters of regret, as to inability to be present, from Hon. F. W. Treadway, Cleveland, and Hon. J. W. Yeagley, New Philadelphia. Mr. Yeagley is the new Trustee of the Society, appointed by Governor Judson Harmon on September 4, 1912, to serve until February 9, 1915.

Secretary Randall reported the following Life Members having been admitted since the last annual meeting:

Mrs. Howard Jones, Circleville,
Prof. Edward Orton, Jr., Columbus,
Mr. William R. Pomerene, Columbus,
Mr. Leonard Marker, Versailles,
Mr. Charles H. Lewis, Harpster.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

This report covers the period from the annual meeting, June 26, 1912, to this meeting (May 23, 1913).

Meetings of the Trustees, the Executive Committee and the Building Committees.

May 25, 1912. (Executive Committee). Met at office of the Treasurer, Outlook Building, Columbus. Present: Bareis, Buck, Harper, Mills, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Thompson (H. A.) and Wood. At this meeting the announcement was made of the purchase by Prof. Edward Orton, Jr., and Curator Mills from Captain Hampton of the Philippine collection of guns, armor, etc. Prof. Orton was made a Life Member for his assistance in this purchase. Prof. Mills was authorized to attend the annual meeting of the American Museum Association, June 3rd, at New York. Treasurer Wood made a report of the collection of payments by property owners abutting on Hayes Avenue, Spiegel Grove, for improvement of said avenue.

May 30, 1912, Decoration Day. Ceremonies were held at Port Clinton, Ohio, at which tablets were unveiled marking the beginning and

the end of the Harrison Trail across the neck of land at that place. The Society had provided some of the tablets for the monuments. President G. F. Wright and Col. Webb C. Hayes represented the Society on this occasion and made appropriate addresses. A full report of this celebration, written by Miss Lucy Elliot Keeler, will be found in Volume 21, page 345, annual publications of the Society.

June 8, 1912. (Building Committee). Met in Society Rooms, Page Hall, Ohio State University, at twelve o'clock noon. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Mills, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Wood and Wright. Prof. J. N. Bradford, architect, was also present. It was the third opening of bids for the erection of the Columbus building. Contracts were let to The Dawson Construction Co., Pittsburgh, for $82,760; for sewer, plumbing, gas fitting, heating and ventilating, awarded to The Wm. Conklin Co., Columbus, for $8,497; leaving the sum of $7,460 for architect's fees and incidentals. Mr. Schaus was authorized to consult with the Fremont authorities and properly adjust the settlement for the Hayes Avenue improvement at Spiegel Grove.

July 17, 1912. (Executive Committee). Met at office of Treasurer Wood, Outlook Building, Columbus. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Buck, Mills, Prince, Randall, Schaus, Wood and Wright. Permission was granted Adjutant-General C. C. Weybrecht to camp a regiment of the Ohio National Guard for ten days at Fort Ancient during the month of August. The date for the adjourned session of the annual meeting was fixed for July 26, 1912, at one o'clock P. M., at Page Hall, O. S. U. Mr. Schaus reported concerning the adjustment for improvement of Hayes Avenue, Spiegel Grove. Report was made of the donation to the Society of furniture purchased in Cuba by Col. Hayes.

July 26, 1912. (Annual Meeting; Adjourned Session). Report of this meeting will be found in Volume 21, page 468, annual publications of the Society.

September 4, 1912. Governor Judson Harmon appointed Hon. John W. Harper, Cincinnati, and Hon. J. W. Yeagley, New Philadelphia, as Trustees for the term ending February 9, 1915. Mr. Harper succeeds himself and Mr. Yeagley to succeed Rev. N. B. C. Love, of Perrysburg.

August 10, 1912. (Building Committee). Met in Society Rooms, Page Hall, O. S. U. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Hayes, Mills, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, and Wright. Bids for the erection of the Hayes Memorial Museum and Library Building at Fremont were received and opened, but the acceptance of any bids was postponed to a meeting to be called later at Spiegel Grove.

August 16, 1912. (Building Committee). Met at Spiegel Grove, Fremont. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Hayes, Mills, Randall, Schaus and Wright. The bid of The Carl Steinle Company, of $42,668, less certain alternates, making net bid $36,656, for the erection of the Hayes Memorial Museum and Library Building, was accepted. August 23, 1912,

ground was broken for the erection of the Hayes Memorial Museum and Library Building.

September 12, 1912. (Executive Committee.) Met in Society Rooms, Page Hall, O. S. U. Present: Messrs. Buck, Harper, Mills, Randall, Ryan, Prince, Thompson (H. A.), Wood and Wright. The salaries of the compensated officers of the Society were fixed at the same as last year. The Committee then adjourned to take part in the ceremonies of the laying of the cornerstone of the new building on the University Campus. A complete account of this ceremony is to be found in Volume 21, page 416, annual publications of the Society.

November 23, 1912. (Finance Committee). Met in office of Treasurer Wood, Outlook Building, Columbus. Present: Messrs. Bareis and Wood of the Finance Committee and Messrs. Mills, Randall, Schaus and Wright. It was determined that the necessary help to be employed in the new building, when completed, would be, a curator, an assistant curator, an assistant librarian, a clerk in publication department, an office stenographer, two janitors and a relic room custodian. The following budget to be asked of the incoming Legislature for the first year (1913) for the Museum and Library was as follows:

Heat and light ($500), salaries ($2,800)	$3,300
Pavement in front of building	600
Supplies, water and gas	100
Extra new cases for Museum	5,000
Extra new cases and furnishings for Library	5,100
Moving of collection	300
Current expenses	3,000
Field Work and care of possessions	2,800
Publications	3,300
Spiegel Grove, care of	1,500
Spiegel Grove, heat and light	150
Spiegel Grove, extra for replacing certain features of rotunda and furnishings	8,000
Total	$33,150

For the second year (1914):

Heat and light	$2,000
Salaries	6,100
Supplies, water and gas	200
Spiegel Grove, heat and light	200
Care-taker and assistant librarian	1,500
Current expenses	3,500
Field work and care of property	2,800
Publications	3,300

Estimate of appropriations for years 1913 and 1914, submitted to Auditor of State, November 15, 1912:

	1913	1914
Current expenses	$6,400	$11,800
Field work, Fort Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove (nothing asked; item following substituted)		
Field work, Fort Ancient, Serpent Mound and Logan Elm Park	2,800	2,800
Publications	3,300	3,300
Building for Museum and Library purposes to cost complete $100,000 (nothing asked; inserted to show previous appropriation and amount on hand)		
Building for Museum and Library purposes; equipment and walks	11,000	
For erection and equipment of Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building on Spiegel Grove, etc. (nothing asked; inserted to show previous appropriation and amount on hand)		
For Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building to restore architectural features and furnishings	8,000	
For the proportion of the State of Ohio on account of improvement of abutting property of the Spiegel Grove State Park, etc. (nothing asked; inserted to show previous appropriation and amount on hand)		
For care of Spiegel Grove State Park and Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building	1,650	1,700
For reprinting volumes 1 to 20, inclusive, annual publications, for distribution to members of Legislature (nothing asked; inserted to show previous appropriation)		
Totals	$33,150	$19,600

It was agreed that the Curator receive, on and after May 1, 1913, the sum of $2,500 per year, this to cover all services to the Society. This action to be subject to approval of Executive Committee and contingent upon the Legislature making the appropriations requested.

February 5, 1913, Governor James M. Cox requested of Secretary Randall a written statement of all meetings of the Society Trustees for the years 1911 and 1912, showing members present and absent. It was promptly furnished, including meetings of all committees, Executive, Building and Special.

March 14, 1913. (Executive and Building Committees; Joint Meeting). Present: Messrs. Buck, Harper, Mills, Prince, Randall, Schaus,

Thompson (H. A.) and Wright. Messrs. Ryan and Wood absent. Mr. Schaus reported progress of construction by University authorities of tunnel from their heating and lighting plants to the Society Building. Secretary Randall reported action of Finance Committee (November 25, 1912) and the estimates submitted to Auditor of State for appropriations proposed for the Society. It was agreed that the salary of the Curator should be, after May 1, 1913, $2,500 per annum, subject to the proposed appropriations.

Secretary Randall and Prof. Mills reported the introduction by Hon. C. J. Smith, into the Legislature of a bill drawn by them, which bill provided for granting to the Society authority to condemn locations of prehistoric mounds and sites. The text of this bill will be found herein, *ante*, page 340. This enactment was passed April 13, 1913.

May 9, 1913. (Executive Committee). Met at office of Treasurer Wood, Outlook Building, Columbus. Present: Bareis, Buck, Harper, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Wright. The death of Prof. Martin R. Andrews, on April 20, 1913, at Marietta, was announced. Mr. Andrews had been a member of the Society since 1896 and a Trustee by appointment of the Governor since 1903. The Secretary reported the result of the appropriation bills for 1913 and 1914 as follows:

1913.

Current expenses	$5,000
Field work, etc.	2,500
Publications	3,300
Museum Building	10,000
Hayes Museum Building	5,000
Publications (reprints)	7,500
Care Spiegel Grove	1,650

The Governor, however, vetoed the item of $7,500 for reprinting the annual publications of the Society.

1914.

Current expenses	$11,000
Field Work, Fort Ancient, etc.	2,500
Publications	3,500
Spiegel Grove	1,800

At this Committee meeting Mr. Henry C. Shetrone was chosen assistant curator, at a salary of $1200 per annum. Prof. C. L. Martzolff's report of serious damage done by the recent floods at Big Bottom Park was received. A similar report, by Mr. J. S. Roof, was made concerning damage done by the floods at Logan Elm Park.

REPORT OF CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN.

Professor Mills read a detailed statement of his work during the past year as Curator, Librarian, and Secretary of the Building Committee. This latter function required a great deal of his time and attention, as he has practically been the superintendent of construction for the Society and given daily attention to the erection of the Columbus building, with numerous trips to Fremont in connection with the building of the Museum and Library at that place.

He reported that the first shovelful of earth was dug by the Curator June 25, 1912, and the cornerstone of the Columbus building laid September 12th; that delays in the construction were caused by the March flood of 1913 and a strike of the workmen engaged in erecting the roof in May last; but that the progress of the building has been very rapid, and it is expected that it will be in possession of the Society for occupation by October, 1913.

The building at Fremont has not proceeded so well; strikes, floods and change of plans have caused necessary delays, so that it will be late in the Fall, if then, before the building will be under roof.

During the past year the archaeological museum has had a number of additions as follows: Mr. Almer Hegler, Washington C. H., has made two additions to his archaeological collection, consisting for the most part of flint implements; Mr. Wilbur Stout, of the Ohio Geological Survey, has added three different assignments of axes, celts, hammers, spears, arrows and ceremonials from Scioto county; the Society has acquired the collection of Mr. Jacob Sayler, Hillsboro, which collection consists of several thousand specimens typical of Highland county and is rich in grooved axes and pestles; Mr. C. P. Thompson, Delaware, has added several hundred specimens to his large collection of archæological specimens from Delaware county.

During the year the number of books in the Library has not greatly increased, but many rare volumes have been added. At present our catalogue shows 5376 volumes; last year 4855, making an addition of 521 bound volumes. Of the above number of volumes received, Mr. Randall presented 98 bound volumes and Mr. Heer 47 bound volumes. The estate of the late Judge James H. Anderson, life member of our Society, through Prof. Edward Orton, Jr., presented 294 copies of the "Life and Letters of Judge T. J. Anderson and Wife," by Judge James H. Anderson.

The chair then called for the report of the Treasurer, which was as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 1, 1913.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand May 1, 1912	$2,251 10
Life Membership dues	100 00
Active Membership dues	87 00
Books sold	115 17
Subscriptions	33 75
Job printing	1 25
Improvement of abutting property at Spiegel Grove State Park	761 50
Interest	444 58

FROM TREASURER OF STATE.

Appropriation for current expenses	$3,018 15
Appropriation for publications	3,698 28
Appropriation for Field Work, Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove Park	2,483 19
Appropriation for building for Museum and Library purposes.	1,810 88
Appropriation for Hayes Commemorative Library	1,384 49
Improving property abutting Spiegel Grove Park	1,942 02
Total receipts	$18,131 36

DISBURSEMENTS.

Big Bottom Park	$5 25
Express, freight and drayage	107 24
Expenses of Trustees and Committees	417 25
Field Work	225 00
Fort Ancient	333 80
Improvement of abutting property, Spiegel Grove State Park	3,273 92
Museum and Library	1,022 14
Postage	56 82
Publications	3,701 23
Salaries (3) (Treasurer, Curator and Secretary)	2,500 00
Serpent Mound Park	342 75
Spiegel Grove Park	163 29
Logan Elm Park	256 15
Building for Museum and Library	1,795 01
Hayes Commemorative Library	1,384 49
Sundry expenses	97 81
Transferred to Permanent Fund	660 00
Balance on hand May 1st, 1913	1,789 21
Total	$18,131 36

The Permanent Fund now amounts to the sum of $8,820.00. This is invested and drawing interest at the rate of 5% per annum.

Respectfully submitted,
E. F. Wood,
Treasurer.

Treasurer Wood moved to supplement his report with that of the auditors, which report was received and is as follows:

REPORT OF AUDITORS.

Columbus, Ohio, May 22, 1913.

Hon. E. O. Randall, *Secretary the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.*

Dear Sir:—Having completed the annual audit of the books of your treasurer, Mr. E. F. Wood, we submit herewith statements showing transactions for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1913, and the financial condition of your Society at that date.

The cash balance as herein stated, has been verified by comparison with the bank pass books. The certificate of deposit representing the permanent fund, has been examined by us and found as represented. The balances of various appropriations as herein set forth, have been verified by comparison with the records in the offices of the Auditor and Treasurer of State.

The statement prepared by us shows the balance of appropriation for the Hayes Commemorative Library to be $29,268.46; the balance as shown by the Treasurer's book is $35,960.26, a discrepancy of $69,691.80.

An examination of the records of the Auditor's office shows that a warrant had been issued against this appropriation to cover an estimate given the Steinle Construction Co., dated March 11, 1913, signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Building Committee. Evidently no report of this voucher had been made to the Treasurer, and as a consequence, no charge had been made against the appropriation upon his books.

We find the books of the Treasurer in good condition, and, with the above exception, to faithfully represent the condition of the Society.

Very respectfully submitted,
Covert, McKnight, & Co.,
By J. J. McKnight, *C. P. A.*

[This difference of $6,691.80 mentioned above is explained as follows: All estimates for buildings are paid direct by the State Treasurer and do not go through the hands of the Treasurer of our Society. When estimates are completed by the Architect and Building Committee a report is made to the Society's Treasurer by said Committee, who makes the proper entries in his books. Such a report was overlooked on estimate No. 2 as stated.—Editor.]

THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TRIAL BALANCE, APRIL 30, 1913.

	Dr.	Cr.
State Treasurer	$75,244 29	
Appropriation for Current Expenses		$1,543 71
Appropriation for Publications		1,685 31
Appropriation for Field Work, Fort Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove State Park		65 28
Appropriation for Building for Museum and Library purposes		36,782 65
Appropriation for Hayes Commemorative Library		29,268 46
Appropriation for State's proportion of improving property abutting Spiegel Grove Park		5,989 88
Cash		1,789 21
E. F. Wood, Treasurer	1,789 21	
Investment — Ohio State Savings & Loan Assn. Certificate of Deposit No. 57,518—5%	8,820 00	
Permanent Fund		8,820 00
	$85,853 50	$85,853 50

THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY SUMMARY OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1913.

RECEIPTS.

Balance May 1, 1912		$2,251 10
Improvement Hayes Avenue—		
J. H. Younkman	$137 50	
S. Wolf	125 00	
City of Fremont	499 00	
		761 50
Life membership dues		100 00
Active membership dues		87 00
Subscriptions		22 25
Books sold		126 67
Interest		444 58
Job printing		1 25
State Treasurer from Appropriations—		
For building for Museum and Library		1,810 88
For improvement of abutting property of Spiegel Grove State Park		1,942 02
For Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building		1,384 49

For Field Work, Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove	2,483 19	
For publications	3,698 28	
For current expenses	3,018 15	
Total receipts		$15,880 26

DISBURSEMENTS.

Transferred to permanent fund	$660 00	
Building for Museum and Library	1,795 01	
Improvement of abutting property of Spiegel Grove Park	3,273 92	
Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building	1,384 49	
Fort Ancient	333 80	
Serpent Mound	342 75	
Spiegel Grove Park	163 29	
Logan Elm Park	256 15	
Big Bottom Park	5 25	
Publications	3,701 23	
Field Work	225 00	
Museum and Library	1,022 14	
Salary	2,500 00	
Expenses of Trustees	417 25	
Express, freight and drayage	107 24	
Postage	56 82	
Premium on Treasurer's bond	15 00	
Sundry expenses	82 81	
Total disbursements		$16,342 15
Balance, April 30, 1913		1,789 21
Capital City Bank	$989 21	
Ohio State Savings & Loan Assn.—Savings Account No. 40,017	800 00	
	$1,789 21	
Receipts		$18,131 36
Disbursements		18,131 36

THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY EXPENDITURES FROM BUILDING APPROPRIATIONS OTHER THAN THROUGH TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT.

FROM APPROPRIATION FOR BUILDING FOR MUSEUM AND LIBRARY PURPOSES.

1912.			
Aug.	1.	Estimate No. 1, Building Committee	$1,805 00
	15.	Estimate No. 2, Building Committee	1,073 50
	31.	Estimate No. 3, Building Committee	5,516 65
Sept.	16.	Estimate No. 4, Building Committee	3,479 50
Oct.	1.	Estimate No. 5, Building Committee	2,461 45
	15.	Estimate No. 6, Building Committee	6,650 00
Nov.	1.	Estimate No. 7, Building Committee	6,125 00
	15.	Estimate No. 8, Building Committee	1,920 90
Dec.	5.	Estimate No. 9, Building Committee	5,772 20
	17.	Estimate No. 10, Building Committee	3,243 30
1913.			
Jan.	2.	Estimate No. 11, Building Committee	4,233 20
	17.	Estimate No. 12, Building Committee	4,132 50
Feb.	10.	Estimate No. 13, Building Committee	3,243 30
Mch.	11.	Estimate No. 14, Building Committee	5,082 50
	11.	Estimate No. 1, Conklin Contract	1,120 05
Apr.	9.	Estimate No. 2, Conklin Contract	1,425 00
	9.	Estimate No. 15, Building Committee	4,009 00
			$61,293 05

FROM APPROPRIATION FOR HAYES COMMEMORATIVE LIBRARY.

1912.			
Dec.	3.	Estimate No. 1, Building Committee	$2,655 25
Mch.	11.	Estimate No. 2, Building Committee	6,691 80
			$9,347 05

Prof. Mills made a verbal report concerning the condition of Serpent Mound, which was visited in October, 1912, by Secretary Randall and Treasurer Wood, who found everything in satisfactory condition and authorized Custodian Daniel Wallace to make certain improvements.

A written report by Prof. C. L. Martzolff on the condition of Big Bottom Park was read by the Secretary. It gave a detailed account of the disastrous effect of the March flood, the park being on the banks of Muskingum, south of Stockport.

The fence and gateway were washed away, the monument overthrown and portions of the ground washed away. It will take much labor and expense to restore the same to its normal condition. Prof. Martzolff was authorized to expend $100 towards the restoration, and report progress after that expenditure.

Mrs. Howard Jones made a very interesting and minute statement concerning Logan Elm Park, how the members of the Pickaway Historical Society had labored to secure the money for its purchase, how they had raised a certain amount of funds for the restoration of the tree and how Miss Elizabeth Ruggles of Circleville came to the rescue of the Society and supplied a large portion of the funds for the purchase of the site. The details of this transaction and the transfer of the Park to the State Historical Society are related in Volume 22, page 267, of the annual publications of the Society. Mr. J. S. Roof of the Logan Elm Committee was authorized to make a contract with Mr. James Shaner for the care and improvement of the park for three years. Mrs. Jones and Mr. Roof both reported damage done to the Park by the late floods. Congo Creek had gone on a rampage, overflowed its banks, carried away a large part of the park fence and cut channels across the driveway to the tree. Mr. Roof was authorized to repair the same.

Col. Webb C. Hayes spoke at length on Spiegel Grove. He recommended new markers for the trees, described at length the condition of the property, the proposed dedication of the McPherson and Harrison gateways, the ceremonies attending which are to be held on August 2, 1913, which is the date of the celebration of the defense of Fort Stephenson, and he made certain suggestions concerning the erection of the Museum and Library building and improvement of the grounds. Col. Hayes moved that the Secretary of the Society extend an invitation to the members of The Maumee Valley Historical Society to participate in the dedication of the gateways, which motion was carried.

Prof. Prince read a written report concerning the condition of Fort Ancient, which also has been the victim, to a certain extent, of the late flood; the hillsides in certain places beneath the fort embankments were carried away by the water and the undermining of the walls is likely to occur unless immediate steps

are taken to prevent the same. The matter was referred to the Fort Ancient Committee.

The reports of committees having been completed, the election of Trustees was held. Before any action was taken concerning the election, it was decided by vote of the meeting that at this election and hereafter the Society select as trustees only those who are not to be or actually are salaried officers of the Society. But this is not to apply to appointed Trustees. A committee on nomination of Trustees was appointed, as follows: Messrs. Archer, Bareis and Gallup, which committee retired and after due deliberation reported as nominees for trustees, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Hon. Albert Douglas and Hon. L. P. Schaus, who were duly elected by vote of the members present. These three Trustees were chosen to succeed the five whose terms expired at this time, namely, Messrs. Baughman, Mills, Ryan, Schaus and Thompson (H. A.). But three were chosen at this election, in accordance with the change in the Constitution made at the annual meeting of 1912, when the total number of Trustees to be elected by the Society was reduced from fifteen to nine, three to be elected each year, instead of five as heretofore. The Board of Trustees, therefore, as chosen is now as follows:

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1914.

Mr. H. E. Buck, Delaware.
Col. Webb C. Hayes, Fremont.
Dr. W. O. Thompson, Columbus.
Hon. F. W. Treadway, Cleveland.
Dr. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin.

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1915.

Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester.
Mr. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk.
Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus.

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1916.

Hon. Albert Douglas, Chillicothe.
Hon. D. J. Ryan, Columbus.
Hon. L. P. Schaus, Mt. Vernon.

TRUSTEES APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield, 1914.
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus, 1914.
Hon. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati, 1915.
Hon. J. W. Yeagley, New Philadelphia, 1915.
Hon. James E. Campbell, Columbus, 1916.
Hon. Myron T. Herrick, Cleveland, 1916.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

Immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Society, there was held the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees, with the following Trustees present: Messrs. Bareis, Buck, Douglas, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Wood and Wright.

The officers for the past year were re-elected, without change, viz.: G. F. Wright, President; G. F. Bareis, First Vice President; D. J. Ryan, Second Vice President; E. O. Randall, Secretary and Editor; E. F. Wood, Treasurer; W. C. Mills, Curator and Librarian.

The Executive Committee chosen was as follows: Messrs. Bareis, Buck, Douglas, Harper, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Wood and Wright.

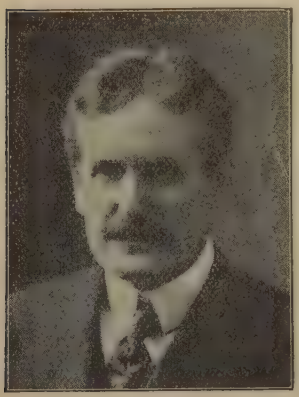
The Trustees then fixed the compensation of the salaried officers for the ensuing year, as follows: Curator and Librarian, $2,500; Assistant Curator, $1,200; Secretary, $1,000; Clerk to Curator, $720; Caretaker of Museum and Library, $780; Treasurer, $300. The matter of the appointment of further assistance after the removal into the new building was left for action when the requirements of the offices should be determined upon.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL XXI. No. 3. JULY, 1913

E. O. Randall

The recent appointments to the Board of Trustees of the Society have added strength and dignity to that body. Governor Cox on June 24, 1913, appointed ex-Governor Myron T. Herrick of Cleveland and ex-Governor James E. Campbell of Columbus, for the terms of three years from the date of their appointment. Mr. Herrick was originally appointed by Governor Harmon. The high character of the personnel of the Board has been unbroken in the twenty-eight years of its history. This is evidenced by its capable and disinterested work by the type of citizenship selected as its presidents. In this capacity such Ohioans as Allen G. Thurman, Francis C. Sessions, Rutherford B. Hayes, Roeliff Brinkerhoff, and G. Frederick Wright have devoted in turn years of labor, scholarship and duty to preserving the records and traditions of their historic State. It is therefore with undisguised pleasure that we record the new appointments as further evidence maintaining the high standards of the past.



MYRON T. HERRICK.

Myron T. Herrick, former Governor of Ohio and at present the American Ambassador to France, has been on the Board for the past three years and his retention is of decided advantage to the Society. His life is one typical of the Ohioan of the nineteenth century. In a log cabin on a farm cleared by his grandfather at Huntington, Lorain County, Ohio, Myron T. Herrick was born on October 9, 1854. Both his parents, Timothy R. and Mary Hulburt Herrick, were descended from sturdy New England stock, and gave their son the valuable inheritance of a strong constitution, and an ambitious, persistent and positive mind. He received a common school education, after which he attended Oberlin College and Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware.

Directing himself to the study of the law he was admitted to the bar in 1878 and began practicing at Cleveland. Although successful in his chosen profession Mr. Herrick soon entered the field of finance as giving greater opportunity for his executive and business ability. In

1886 he was elected Secretary and Treasurer of the Society for Savings. Under his management the corporation showed wonderful growth. In 1886 when Mr. Herrick assumed charge the deposits amounted to $12,768,000; it more than quadrupled deposits under his administration. His success in railroads, real estate, tractions, and manufactures indicates his ability in financial transactions. For the last fifteen years he has been an officer or director in numerous railway and banking enterprises.

Mr. Herrick was elected Governor of Ohio in 1903. He was the first Governor since Arthur St. Clair to exercise the veto. His administration was characterized by an excellent management of State institutions and his personal and official influence was exercised for the lasting benefit of the State.

During President McKinley's administration Mr. Herrick was repeatedly tendered official positions which at that time his business affairs prohibited accepting. President Taft, February 15, 1912, appointed him Ambassador to France, which position he now holds. Aside from honorably representing his country, he has given special attention to a financial system looking to farm loans on a low basis of interest. With this in view he has given much time and study to investigating the systems of the European countries relative to that subject. He was appointed by Governor Cox as one of an Ohio commission to report his observations and plans looking to some method of farm loans in Ohio which would assist the farmer in obtaining capital for the development and sale of his products.

James E. Campbell was born at Middletown, Ohio, July 7, 1843. His ancestry is Scotch and English. On his mother's side he is sixth in descent from Jonathan Reynolds of Devonshire who came to this country in 1645 and settled at Plymton in the Plymouth colony of Massachusetts. His grandfather Andrew Small was with Montgomery on his fatal expedition to Quebec. Both of his grandfathers were in the War of 1812.

James E. Campbell.

Young Campbell was educated in the common schools of his native town. In the summer of 1863, although not of age, he entered the Union navy and became master's mate on the gunboats *Elk* and *Naiad* serving in the Mississippi and Red River flotillas and taking part in several engagements. The climate broke down his constitution and, after examination by a board of surgeons, he was honorably discharged, returning home a mere skeleton.

He was admitted to the bar in 1865. In 1875 and 1877 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Butler county. In 1882 he was elected to Con-

gress as a Democrat in a strong Republican district and was re-elected in 1884 and in 1886. In Congress he developed a national reputation. In 1889 he was elected Governor of Ohio, defeating Governor Foraker. As Chief Executive he was courageous, honest and vigilant in State affairs. It is to him as Governor that Ohio is indebted for the Australian ballot. He first urged the new law which gave secrecy and independence to the voter; it was the beginning of a series of reforms in voting that did much to dignify elections. As one of the movements of political progress it will stand as a lasting monument to his statesmanship.

Governor Campbell is a man of great ability as a lawyer, a cultured historical scholar, and his presence on the Board will add to it dignity and strength. Although in his seventieth year he possesses all the vigor, intellectual and physical, of a man of fifty.

Hon. J. W. Yeagley was appointed a Trustee for three years of the Society by Governor Harmon, September 4, 1912. He is a native of Jefferson County, Ohio, where his youth and young manhood were spent. He received a good education, his aptness as a student developed a talent for teaching, in which profession he spent ten years of successful work.

J. W. Yeagley.

While teaching he began the study of law under W. A. Owesney, a leading attorney of Steubenville, and was admitted to practice in the state courts in 1873, and in the U. S. courts in 1880.

In 1874 he located in Dennison, Ohio, and entered upon the practice of his chosen profession. After filling many private positions of trust and confidence he was elected in 1884 probate judge of Tuscarawas county and served with distinction in that position for six years. Retiring from that office in 1891, he resumed the practice of law in New Philadelphia, and is recognized as one of the leading lawyers of the Tuscarawas County Bar. Although frequently importuned to accept other political positions he has steadily refused, preferring the practice of his profession and literary diversions to the honors of office.

Although a busy man Judge Yeagley has always taken time to gratify his scholarly tastes. He is an indefatigable student and is widely and deeply versed in literature, ancient and modern, and takes special interest in historical investigation. He is the author of much of the matter relating to the early history of his county and state published in the Centennial History of Tuscarawas County.

Judge Yeagley is frank and unassuming; as a speaker he is fluent, forcible and impressive; he is domestic in his tastes and his happiest

hours are spent with his family at home, where his large library is a notable attraction.

His appointment as Trustee is regarded by the people who know him well as an eminently appropriate one.

Albert Douglas of Chillicothe was elected by the Board of Trustees to serve as one of their number for the term of three years from May 23, 1913. He was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, on April 25, 1852. He is descended from patriotic New Englanders, his great-grandfather having served in a Connecticut regiment in the Revolution, and his grandfather, Richard Douglas, well-known in early Ohio history, being in the War of 1812.

ALBERT DOUGLAS.

Mr. Douglas's early education was gained in the public schools of his home town. In 1872 he was graduated from Kenyon College with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Two years later he had completed his course at the Harvard Law School and was admitted to the bar. The young lawyer returned to Chillicothe and opened his office. In 1876 he was elected prosecuting attorney on the Republican ticket, although the county was then largely Democratic. His ability was so appreciated by the people that he was re-elected in 1878. Receiving the office of presidential elector--at-large in 1896, he was also honored by election to the chairmanship of the Ohio college. Mr. Douglas was a candidate for Governor in 1899, but was defeated by Governor Nash. During his political activity, however, he did not neglect his former interests, for he was made a trustee of his Alma Mater, Kenyon College, and also of Ohio University. Both colleges conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, Ohio in 1905, Kenyon in 1906.

Mr. Douglas was elected in 1907 a member of Congress from the 11th District of Ohio, and served until 1911. At the close of his term, he resumed the practice of law in Chillicothe, his present home.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF MUSEUMS. 1913.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Museums was held in Philadelphia beginning Tuesday, June 3rd, and ending Thursday evening, June 5th.

The meeting was called to order at 10:00 o'clock by the president, Mr. Henry L. Ward, Director of the Milwaukee Public Museum and the

roll call showed that practically all of the museums of the United States and Canada had a representative present.

For an hour before the meeting was called to order the members gathered in the Assembly hall at the Academy of Natural Sciences for registration and exchange of greetings, for practically all of the members have attended the annual sessions from year to year and therefore this opportunity of greeting the old members as well as the new is a great satisfaction to all.

This is the second meeting of the association in Philadelphia, the city having more museums than any other in the United States, and the members were all anxious to note the improvement in museum display since our meeting here four years ago. While all show advancement in museum technic, only one, the Academy of Natural Science, 19th and Race streets has had an addition to its building which gives a new library, an audience room, and much needed laboratory rooms.

The programme for the first session was carried out as follows:

"Industrial Museums for American Cities", by Prof. Franklin W. Hooper, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

"A Group Showing Animals of the Wharf Piles", by R. W. Miner, American Museum of Natural History.

"Meteorite Collecting and Collections", by Dr. O. C. Ferrington, Field Museum.

"A Method of Mounting Wet Specimens Showing their Natural Environment", by C. F. Silvester, Zoology Museum, Princeton.

"Use of Museum Resources in Public Instruction", by Witmer Stone, Academy of Natural Sciences.

After luncheon, which was served by the Academy of Natural Sciences, the members inspected the Library and Museum. The remainder of the afternoon was spent in visiting the Masonic Temple Museum, Independence Hall, Carpenter Hall, and the Pennsylvania Historical Society. At the Masonic Temple, Hon. John Wanamaker was introduced to the members and he explained the valuable specimens on exhibition in the various cases in the Museum. At the Pennsylvania Historical Society, all were privileged to visit the large fire-proof manuscript and letter room and here we were permitted to examine the many old manuscripts and letters of national interest among them being the first letter of record written by President George Washington and the last letter written by him the day before his death.

The evening session was held at the Academy of Natural Sciences and the following papers were presented:

"Observations in European Museums of Art", by Benjamin Ives Gilman, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

"Museum Work at the Capital of Canada", by H. I. Smith, Geological Survey, Ottawa, Canada.

"Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society", by William C. Mills, Curator of the Society, Columbus, Ohio.

"Ichthyological Explorations in Colombia", by Dr. C. H. Eigemann, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

The morning session of Wednesday, June 4th, was held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, 33rd and Spruce Streets, and the following papers were read:

"Why this Association Should Promote Museum Extension Work", by W. B. Ashley, Demorest, New York.

"The Museums and the Boy Scouts", by Charles Louis Pollard, Staten Island Association of Arts and Sciences.

The Association adjourned at 1:00 o'clock for luncheon at the Philadelphia Commercial Museum. After luncheon a session was held in the Library of the Commercial Museum and the following papers read:

"Museum Work for the Boy Scouts", by William L. Fisher, Commercial Museum.

"Insurance, Retiring Allowances and Pensions for Museum Men", by Dr. M. J. Greenman, Wistar Institute.

The meeting adjourned to visit the Museum of the Wistar Institute of Anatomy.

The evening session was a round table discussion held in the red room of the Bellevue-Stratford. The following subjects were fully discussed:

"How to Prevent Greasy Deposits on the Inside of Glass Cases", by Dr. E. A. Barber, Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, Philadelphia.

"What Materials and Colors are Most Desirable for Cases, Frames, and Linings?", by Dr. E. A. Barber, Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, Philadelphia, Pa.

"Guides or Docents in Museums", by Miss Anna Gallup, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

"Has the General Museum a Field of Usefulness Outside that of General Education?", by Mr. Frederick L. Lewton, United States National Museum.

"Cooperation between Science Museums, Art Galleries, Libraries, and Historical Societies", by Mr. Henry R. Howland, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences.

"Cooperation between Trustees and Executive Officers", by Dr. Arthur Hollick, New York Botanical Garden.

"Should Small Museums Confine Themselves to Local Collections?", by William C. Mills, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, O.

"Time and Cost Accounting for Museums", by Mr. Henry L. Ward, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The third day's session was held at the Academy of Fine Arts. The following papers were read:

"Needless Regulations in Museums", by Dr. A. R. Crook, Illinois State Museum.

"The Functions of Museums and the Question of Special Exhibitions", by Frederic A. Lucas, American Museum of Natural History.

"The Museum Point of View in Botany", by E. L. Morris, Brooklyn Institute Museum.

"A Celestial Sphere—An Appartus Installed to Promote Interest in Astronomy", by Dr. W. W. Atwood, Chicago Academy of Sciences.

"The Educational Work of a Natural History Museum", by W. W. Atwood, Chicago Academy of Sciences.

"The Deutaches Museum at Munich", by Mr. Charles R. Toothaker, Philadelphia Museum.

"Legislation in the Interest of the Ohio State Museum", by William C. Mills, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, O.

The Association adjourned at 1:00 P. M. to Memorial Hall, Fairmont Park for luncheon. After luncheon the members inspected the Museum and were given an automobile ride through Fairmont Park visiting the Zoological Gardens and ending the ride at the Wagner Free Institute of Science.

NOTES ON PERRY'S VICTORY.

The centennial celebration of Perry's Victory has practically occupied the summer on the Great Lakes. The recovery of Perry's second flagship, the *Niagara,* from the depths of Little Bay, and its rejuvenation has been the chief sensational event and formed the central attraction. From Erie to Chicago it has been the central figure in the naval procession of triumph. The culmination of all these celebrations will be on September 10, the centennial anniversary of the battle of Lake Erie.

Governor James M. Cox will go to Put-in-Bay to preside at the exercises in celebration of the anniversary of Perry's victory.

President Woodrow Wilson will speak for the United States and a distinguished Canadian for the Dominion of Canada. The oration of the day will be delivered by former President Taft, and addresses will also be delivered by Lieutenant Governor R. B. Burchard of Rhode Island, and Rev. J. A. Carey of Chicago.

After these exercises the invited guests will go to Cedar Point, where a banquet, given by the interstate board, will be held.

On the morning of September 11 the guests will return to Put-in-Bay. On this day will take place the impressive ceremony of the removal from their present graves of the bones of the American and British officers killed in the battle of Lake Erie, to the crypt in the Perry memorial, where they will be reinterred with international honors.

Delegations consisting of the governors and their staffs, state officials, members of the United States senate and house of representatives, and other distinguished citizens from the states participating in this centennial will be present.

This celebration will be international in its scope, as it will commemorate the equal valor and heroism of the sailors of both fleets participating in the battle of Lake Erie, which was fought on September 10, 1813; and also the fact that this battle marked the end of naval warfare on the Great Lakes and was a herald of the century of peace between the English-speaking people that will have ensued since the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814.

* * *

These celebrations have the great merit of being incentives to historical study, and they form milestones in our recurrence to the past. This generation has almost forgotten the War of 1812. Two of its events, however, are stamped upon the popular mind, these are Perry's Victory and the Battle of New Orleans. Every other fact seems to belong to the historian alone. Perry on Lake Erie and General Jackson at New Orleans are the people's recollections of the War of 1812. Of the two events the former is the most important because it was the decisive factor of results. Every war has determining battles. A great historian has written a book on "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." In this work, written in 1851, Sir Edward Shepherd Creasy has described what he considered the great engagements that determined human history. He would have broadened his scope of vision and surrendered nothing to the truth of history if he had included Perry's Victory on Lake Erie in his work. The War of 1812 was practically and truly a second War of Independence. If Great Britain had won it would have been at the cost of American Nationality. It would have resulted in a loss of National territory and National power. Already through Hull's disgraceful surrender, Michigan was a British possession. Ohio was invaded, and it was only at frightful cost that Proctor and Tecumseh were repulsed at Forts Meigs and Stephenson. Up to the time that Perry defeated the British on Lake Erie, the campaigns in the Northwest were purely defensive without positive results. General Harrison had created a splendid army for the invasion of Canada but it was impossible until the British were destroyed on the Lakes. Proctor and Tecumseh were at Malden with an army of five thousand ready to pounce upon Ohio in case Perry was defeated. Harrison and his army were at Sandusky Bay ready to recover Michigan and invade Canada. Both were within sound of the guns of the hostile fleets. When Perry sent to Harrison his famous message the whole situation was relieved and solved. The direct results were Harrison's invasion of Canada, his victory over the British and Indians under Tecumseh at the Thames, the overthrow of English power in Michigan and the peninsula and the protection of the whole Northwestern frontier from British invasion and Indian depredation. The effect was positive and electric. It was recognized, as it was, as the decisive battle of 1812. It was so regarded by the British press. And it did not fail to strike the American mind in the same way. Washington Irving in the *Analectic Review* for December, 1813, only a few months after the battle, thus wrote concerning it: "The

last roar of cannon that died along her shores was the expiring note of British domination. Those vast internal seas will perhaps never again be the separating space between contending nations, but will be embosomed within a mighty empire; and this victory, which decided their fate, will stand unrivalled and alone, deriving lustre and perpetuity from its singleness. In future times, when the shores of Erie shall hum with busy population; when towns and cities shall brighten where now extend the dark and tangled forests; when ports shall spread their arms and lofty barks shall ride where now the canoe is fastened to the stake; when the present age shall have grown into antiquity, and the mists of fable begin to gather round its history, then will the inhabitants look back to this battle we record as one of the romantic achievements of the days of yore. It will stand first on the page of their local legends and in the marvelous tales of the borders."

Surely Irving's vision has been realized beyond its most extravagant hopes or dreams, and to the decisive battle of Lake Erie can it truthfully ascribe it.

* * *

There is an interesting incident in connection with Perry's departure from Erie, where his fleet started from, which shows how unimportant events may control powerful results. There was a bar in the harbor of Erie that offered to Perry a dangerous and almost insuperable obstruction to the floating of his vessels into the Lake; this was especially dangerous and doubtful to the *Lawrence* and the *Niagara*. Captain Robert Heirot Barclay, the British commander, had been blockading the harbor for a week. He felt that Perry could not cross the bar without much labor and time—if at all. Barclay was right in this assumption, for when the vessels were towed to the bar Perry found to his disappointment that the lake was below its usual level; that there was only four feet of water, instead of six, and that even the smaller vessels could not be towed over.

Feeling secure in this situation Barclay on Tuesday, August 2nd, sailed away to a point in Canada where he and his officers were invited to a dinner. On this occasion he responded to a toast in which he said: "I expect to find the Yankee brigs hard and fast on the bar at Erie when I return, in which predicament it will be but a small job to destroy them."

While these festivities were held the young American commander was busy. J. Fennimore Cooper, in his "History of the Navy of the United States," (Vol. II, p. 289) thus describes how the vessels were towed over the bar: "Without any appearance of unusual preparation, Captain Perry privately gave the order to repair on board their respective vessels and to drop down to the bar. This command was immediately obeyed; and at about 2 P. M., the *Lawrence* had been towed to the point where the deepest water was known to be. Her guns were whipped out, loaded and shotted as they were, and lowered on the beach; two large scows, prepared for the purpose, were hauled alongside, and the work of lifting the brig proceeded as fast as possible. Pieces of massive timber had been run

through the forward and after parts, when the scows were sunk to the water's edge; the ends of the timbers were blocked up, supported by these floating foundations. The plugs were now put in the scows, and the water was pumped out of them. By this process, the brig was lifted quite two feet, though when she got over the bar it was found that she still drew too much water. It became necessary to 'come up' everything, sink the scows anew, and block up the timbers afresh. This duty occupied the night."

When Barclay returned from his banquet at 8 A. M. on the 5th of August, he found the *Lawrence* over the bar, and the other vessels on their way. He turned away, to meet them on the 10th of September, in a defeat. Thus an unwise dinner engagement gave Perry that liberty which resulted in his victory. He was securely "bottled up," and nothing but the convivial inclinations of Barclay gave him the opportunity to free himself.

* * *

Perry's Victory has been celebrated in song and story, and on the painter's canvas. Indeed, as Washington Irving wrote, "The mists of fable begin to gather round its history." It was made the subject of countless ballads; the Nation, states and cities vied in honoring the hero of the Lakes. The city of New York ordered the famous artist, John W. Jarvis, to paint a portrait of Perry in his boat on his way to the *Niagara*. He is represented with the banner of the *Lawrence* floating from his shoulders to the breeze. As a matter of fact it is closely wrapped about him under his arms. The most famous and best known picture of the historical event is that of William H. Powell, executed in response to a joint resolution of Ohio Legislature passed April 17, 1857. The State paid ten thousand dollars for this painting. The payment was authorized April 13, 1865. Every Ohioan is familiar with this noble production which hangs in the rotunda of the Capitol. But it is purely idealistic in its construction. Some critics have undertaken to name the sailors in the boat. The only portrait in the painting is that of Perry. His young brother is shown by his side; he was not in the boat but remained on the *Lawrence* with the balance of the crew. Lossing states that he went with Perry to the *Niagara*, and Roosevelt adopts this statement in his "Naval War of 1812." It is absolutely unfounded in fact. Henry T. Tuckermann in his "Book of the Artists," (1867) a study and progress of art in America, gives an interesting history of the painting. He says the sailors "are genuine nautical types, models from the Brooklyn Navy Yard." Powell painted his masterpiece in New York. He subsequently painted an enlarged copy for the Federal government and it is now on the East stairway leading to the Senate galleries. The painting is dated 1873. His studio for this work was in the Capitol, and he took as his models men engaged in work in that building. So that historically speaking, the famous painting of Perry's Victory, outside of the central figure, is purely ideal.

* * *

One of the most impressive facts of the battle was the youth of the officers of the American squadron. Perry himself was but twenty-seven

years old; his subordinate commanders were younger still. Dr. Usher Parsons, the medical officer of the flag-ship *Lawrence,* says that "The average age of the commissioned officers of Perry's squadron was less than twenty-three; the average age of the warrant officers was less than twenty years." On the other side, Barclay was one of the British veterans of the sea. He had served with honor and distinction with Nelson at Trafalgar and was desperately wounded in that memorable sea fight. Subsequently he lost an arm in a naval battle with the French. His second in command was Captain Finnis, of experience and honorable standing in the British navy. The rank and file of his sailors were from the Royal Navy. The termination of the Napoleonic wars enabled Britain to send some of her most seasoned veterans to the States. Perry faced as formidable a British fleet as any American in history, and for the first and only time in the history of Great Britain a British fleet was defeated, and the Union Jack hauled down.

* * *

The sanguinary character of the conflict has not been exceeded in American naval warfare. This was especially true on board the flag-ship *Lawrence.* It was literally cut to pieces and its crew was practically massacred by the British cannon. Blood, brains and bodies were strewn on the deck. When Perry left his ship twenty-two of his crew were killed and sixty-one wounded. He aided in firing the last gun himself so badly was he situated. When left in the small boat with four of sailors, for the *Niagara* then were only fifteen sound men aboard. This terrible result was due to the fact that for two hours the full force and weight of the enemy's fire was directed upon the *Lawrence.*

RISE OF MEDICAL COLLEGES IN THE OHIO VALLEY.

BY OTTO JUETTNER, M. D., F. R. S. M. (ENGL.),

Author of "Daniel Drake and His Followers," Secretary of the "Western Association for the Preservation of Medical Records," Cincinnati, O.

(Read at the sixth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Society at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, November 6, 1912.)

In telling the story of early medical education in the Ohio Valley or, for that matter, in the West, the account must properly begin with a reference to the two men who were the founders of the two institutions where the work of preparing young men for the practice of medicine was first attempted on this side of the Alleghanies. These two men whose gigantic figures loom up in silent and solemn grandeur at the very inception of the story of Western civilization, seem larger and more imposing after the elapse of nearly a century and have long become landmarks not only of medicine in the West, but of the United States, being among the most distinguished characters in the annals of medicine in America. One of them is Benjamin Winslow Dudley, the founder of the Medical Department of Transylvania University in Lexington, Ky., the other is Daniel Drake, that versatile and brilliant man who established the Medical College of Ohio in Cincinnati in 1819. The life-work of these two eminent medical educators forms one of the brightest pages in the history of American medicine and was of incalculable service to the cause of civilization in that unexplored Western territory which, one hundred years ago, was one vast empire of barbarism.

Benjamin Winslow Dudley, the father of the medical school in Lexington, Ky., was born in Virginia in 1785, but came to the pioneer-town of Lexington when he was but one year old. Here

he remained, lived, worked and died at the ripe old age of 85 years. Dudley studied medicine at the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, the oldest and most distinguished medical school in the United States. Young Dudley was an impressionable and ambitious student who drew no end of inspiration from the teachings of the famous men who composed the Philadelphia faculty. Among them was Benjamin Rush, usually called the "Father of American Medicine," who had signed the Declaration of Independence and enjoyed a national reputation as a physician and a public man. Then there were the two surgeons-general of the American army during the Colonies' struggle for freedom, John Morgan and William Shippen who after the war had become associated with the newly founded Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. Dudley graduated in 1806 and hastened back to Lexington to offer his friends and neighbors his stock of newly acquired knowledge. His ambition was to be a surgeon, but he waited in vain for patients who were willing to let him try his surgical skill on them. In another Kentucky town, namely Danville, a young surgeon had arisen who attracted patients from far and near, Ephraim McDowell, who in 1809 performed the first ovariotomy on record and through his bold stroke has earned a place among the greatest surgeons of all history. With such a man in a sparsely settled country as a competitor, Dudley's chances were not very promising. He was poor and found himself compelled to adopt some method of keeping the wolf from the door. He purchased a flat-boat, loaded it with produce, headed it for New Orleans, and floated down the Kentucky, the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to the desired port. He invested the proceeds of his cargo in flour. This he billed to Gibralter which he reached some time in 1810; there and at Lisbon he disposed of it with large profits. The liberal supply of filthy lucre in his pocket re-awakened his medical ambition. He went to Paris and London and sat at the feet of great masters in surgery. With new hopes and greater ambition than ever he returned to Lexington where a disastrous epidemic of malignant typhus was raging. His European prestige proved to be quite a drawing card. Everybody wanted to be treated by the man who

had studied at Paris and London. Thus Dudley in a few years became a famous physician and surgeon. In 1817 the Trustees of Transylvania University in Lexington conceived the idea to add a Medical Department to their institution and drew Dudley into their confidence. The word "Transylvania" as you may remember, was the original name of the colony which eventually developed into the State of Kentucky. When in 1780 the charter for a seminary in Lexington "for the teaching of the higher branches of learning," was granted, it was decided to perpetuate the historic name by calling the new school "Transylvania Seminary" and afterwards "Transylvania University." Dr. Dudley was made the head of the medical department and at once proceeded to organize a faculty. The rise of this school, the first medical school in the West, was most auspicious. Lexington was noted for its culture and urbanity. It had 8000 inhabitants, among them some wealthy people who, in addition to their shekels, had plenty of local patriotism to help the town along. Lexington was generally called the "Athens of the West" and nobody questioned its ultimate supremacy as the leading city in the Ohio Valley. Cincinnati at that time had 10,000 inhabitants, mostly poor workingmen who had collected from all parts of this country and Europe and, of course, could not cope with their neighbors in Lexington either in wealth or in education. Compared to Cincinnati, a typical Western pioneer-town, Lexington with its wealth and fine colonial mansions appeared like a metropolis. Yet Cincinnati began to be well known in many places. A little pamphlet had appeared in 1810 which gave much information about the town and proved to be an immensely effective advertisement, especially in the East where the pamphlet was eagerly read by people who intended to try their fortune in the West. In 1815 a pretentious little volume appeared which gave still more definite information about Cincinnati, its topography, climate and municipal and civic possibilities. This book called "Picture of Cincinnati" found its way even to Europe where parts of it were translated and published for the benefit of prospective emigrants. The author of the aforesaid pamphlet as well as of the "Picture of Cincinnati" was a young Cincinnati physician whose name I have already mentioned. He was

destined to become one of the greatest figures in American medicine and cannot inappropriately be called the Father of Western Medicine, namely Daniel Drake. When Dudley was casting about for material to organize the Transylvania Medical Faculty, he thought of Drake and offered him a professorship in his school. To be a professor in a medical school in the West was such an unusual distinction that Drake did not hesitate for a moment to accept the offer. Before telling you anything more about Dudley and his new school in Lexington, it seems proper to pause for a few moments and think of Drake who—aside from his medical achievements—is one of the pioneers of civilization in the Ohio Valley and in the upbuilding of the entire West.

Drake and Dudley were born in the same year, 1785. Drake was born in New Jersey and was about two years old when his father came West to locate near Maysville, Ky. Here young Drake was reared amid scarcity of money but wealth of virtue until he was fifteen years of age when his father arranged to send him to Cincinnati to study medicine under a typical doctor of colonial times, Dr. William Goforth. In 1805 Dr. Goforth made Drake a full-fledged doctor of medicine by granting him a diploma, the first diploma received by a medical student in the West. Later on Drake took a course in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In 1817 Drake left Cincinnati and went to Lexington as a member of the medical faculty of Transylvania University. Incidentally let me call attention to that splendid historical book in which Drake describes his early youth in Kentucky. It is a book which every one who is interested in the pioneer-history of the Ohio Valley, should read.

In connection with the early history of Cincinnati it is of interest to know that the two names of the town, namely Losantiville and Cincinnati, were suggested by two men who were closely related to the medical profession. John Filson who invented the name of Losantiville, was a medical student and intended to locate as a physician in Lexington, Ky. Unfortunately his career came to an untimely end before he had a chance to carry out his plans. The name of Cincinnati was the suggestion of General Arthur St. Clair. He wanted to thus honor

the patriotic order of the "Cincinnati" of which he was a zealous member. Before the fortunes of war tempted him to become a soldier he had studied medicine for one year in London under the famous surgeon, John Hunter.

The story of the Medical Department of Transylvania University, especially the first decade of the school, presents a composite product of every phase of human emotion from the heroically sublime to the grotesquely ridiculous. It reads like an epic poem when the achievements of the really great men are referred to, who composed the faculty, beginning in 1817. Dudley was a tremendously able man, but he was intensely human. This fact injects much pathos and still more humor into the narrative. Thundering Jove was not a greater autocrat than Dudley was in the management of the Transylvania School. He was a giant in stature, had an awful temper and, when aroused, used language in the faculty-room that laid no claim to elegance while its force could not possibly be questioned. He was fond of emphasizing his remarks with his fist which he would use with telling effect on the faculty-table or, if he was disposed to impress some special member of the faculty, on the head of that special member. Some of the professors were Kentuckians who did not take kindly to this mode of argumentation. The result would be a fisticuff-engagement in which Dudley usually held his own. Dudley used surgical instruments with consummate skill, but—in true Kentucky style—he was also very handy with a gun. One of the distinguished professors associated with Dudley was Wm. H. Richardson, a typical Kentuckian, who came from an excellent family and was a very scholarly man. During one of the faculty-meetings Richardson criticised some suggestion which Dudley had made. Dudley told him that if he did not keep his mouth shut, he would shoot his d—— head off. Richardson told him he would meet him at any time and accordingly a duel was arranged. The two gentlemen shot at the same moment. Richardson's bullet went astray, while Dudley's bullet struck Richardson in the leg, severing the femoral artery. Richardson would have bled to death if Dudley had not come to the rescue by ligating the artery. After the operation the two antagonists shook hands and were good friends ever

after. In spite of this and similar occurrences the medical school of Transylvania flourished and was for fully three decades one of the great American colleges of medicine. In 1826 the class numbered 235 students. Among the professors were some of the most distinguished medical men of their time. Dudley was a tower of strength. In spite of his erratic manner, he enjoyed the respect of his colleagues on account of his great ability as a surgeon. The operation known as "lithotomy" he performed more than 600 times with a mortality of only 4 p. c. and all this before the days of anaesthesia and surgical cleanliness. This record alone stamps him as one of the immortals in the history of surgery. Another strong man of the Faculty was Charles Caldwell who was a wonderfully productive writer and was thought to be one of the, if not the most learned American physician of his time. His clever speculations on phrenology won him many admirers in his day and make good reading even today. Then there was Charles Wilkins Short who had a national reputation as a botanist and who is still remembered because some American plants bear his name. There were many other distinguished medical teachers connected with Transylvania. In 1839 the City of Lexington erected a special building for the medical school. About 1860 the medical school of Transylvania was abandoned. During its brilliant career more than 2,000 American physicians had received their degree at the old school. The grim old warrior who had founded the school outlived it by ten years. He died in 1870.

During the thirties some of the medical professors of Transylvania seceded and founded the Louisville Medical Institute which after 1840 rose to great prominence. Daniel Drake taught at this school from 1840 to 1850. Samuel D. Gross who afterwards rose to one of the most exalted stations in American medicine as professor of surgery in Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, was also connected with the school for a number of years. Lunsford P. Yandell, the professor of chemistry, had a great reputation in his day. This school was the prolific mother of a number of small medical colleges in Louisville that came, saw and—were finally absorbed into the medical department of the University of Louisville.

I mentioned the fact that Daniel Drake was one of the early professors in the Transylvania school. He remained just one year. One season with Dudley was all he could stand. Drake returned to Cincinnati in 1818 and at once got busy planning a medical college in Cincinnati. The result of his activity was the Medical College of Ohio which began a most tempestuous career in 1819. Within two years after the college had sprung into existence, Drake was expelled by his own faculty. The faculty consisted of Drake, Jesse Smith, professor of surgery, and Elijah Slack, the president of the old Cincinnati College, who taught chemistry. These three men were their own trustees and when trouble arose about some minor matters, Smith and Slack decided to expel Drake which was accordingly done. Drake described this serio-comic episode in a pamphlet entitled "The Rise and Fall of the Medical College of Ohio." This pamphlet is a classic of its kind and shows the versatile Drake in a new role, that of a delightfully keen humorist. No physician who is interested in the medical history of the West, should forego the pleasure of reading this unique document. After his expulsion Drake spent most of his time getting even. In 1831 the Trustees of Miami University of Oxford, Ohio, arranged with Drake to open a medical department in Cincinnati. Drake brought some excellent talent to Cincinnati mainly from the East. The most distinguished medical teacher who was given a chair in the prospected Medical Department of Miami University was John Eberle who had a national reputation as a medical author. The plan miscarried most disastrously. To meet the dangers of the unexpected competition, a re-organization of the Medical College of Ohio was affected by the trustees of the latter and, in some manner or other, the newly imported professors of the Miami University Medical School were induced to join the Ohio College. When he saw that the scheme had failed, Drake meekly joined the procession and again became a teacher in the school which he had founded in 1819. At the end of the session he resigned and decided to try another plan to set himself right with the world. The old Cincinnati College listened to Drake's eloquent pleading and opened a medical department in 1835. The school was the climax of

Drake's career as a builder of medical schools. This school which was abandoned in 1839, marks without a doubt the highest point ever reached by medical education in the West. The men whom Drake assembled in this great school were all national celebrities and stars of the first magnitude in their respective lines of work. They were such men as Samuel D. Gross whose name I have already mentioned in connection with the Louisville Medical Institute where he taught after he left Cincinnati, Willard Parker who later on in New York became a world-famous surgeon, Horatio G. Jameson who was the first American to be invited to speak before a medical society in Europe, Joseph Nash McDowell, Ephraim McDowell's nephew, founder of the first medical college in St. Louis, and James B. Rogers, afterwards professor of chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania. Men of this caliber were Drake's associates in the Cincinnati College. The school collapsed after four years of glorious existence because it had no facilities for giving bedside instruction. It was barred from the old Commerical Hospital because only the professors of the Medical College of Ohio which was a State institution, had access to the hospital.

In spite of difficulties and hardships without end the Medical College of Ohio soon became a formidable rival of the Transylvania school. One of the first graduates of the Ohio College was John L. Richmond who performed the first Cæsarean section in America. I had the good fortune of presenting the life and services of Dr. Richmond to the medical profession of Cincinnati last winter and succeeded in arousing considerable interest. The result was the erection of a monument commemorating Dr. Richmond's famous Cæsarean section, in Newtown, O., only a few miles from Cincinnati. In 1827 the first building in the West devoted to medical teaching arose on Sixth Street, near Vine, and was the home of the Medical College of Ohio until 1852 when a larger building took its place. Among the teachers of the Ohio College, even before 1840, were some very eminent men, notably Reuben D. Mussey, the great surgeon, Jared Potter Kirtland who afterwards went to Cleveland and became one of the greatest naturalists in the West, and John Locke whose name is familiar to every American student of

the natural sciences. The Ohio College flourished for fully seventy years. In 1896 it became the medical department of the University of Cincinnati. Since that time it has gradually disappeared from the list of the great American medical schools. It is almost tragic to contemplate the career of Cincinnati, once the proud queen of western medicine and now occupying not even the first place in medicine in her own State, Cleveland and Columbus having robbed her of her laurels as a center of medical education. Everybody knows that the medical interests of Cincinnati have for a dozen years or more been in the hands of men who seemingly were in no way equal to the task of living up to the traditions of an honorable past.

In addition to the medical schools named there are only two more which were organized before 1840, the old Physio-Medical School in Cincinnati and the old Worthington Medical College, in Worthington, Ohio. The home of the Physio-Medical school was the historical building known as Mme. Trollope's Bazaar at the S. E. corner or Third street and Broadway in Cincinnati. Its founder was Alvah Curtis, a very able but erratic man who divided his time between lecturing on medicine and fighting the rest of the profession. This school enjoyed a prosperous existence for about thirty years. When its founder died in 1880, the school collapsed.

The medical school of Worthington College began in 1830 under the presidency of Dr. Thomas V. Morrow. In 1839 the people of Worthington took exceptions to the robbing of their graveyards and emphasized their protests by wrecking the building of the medical school and attempting to destroy Dr. Morrow's house. Dr. Morrow decided that Worthington was not a good soil for medical teaching and went to Cincinnati where he became the founder of what is to this day known as the Cincinnati Eclectic College, at one time one of the most powerful medical schools in the country.

The history of medical schools in the Ohio Valley is not without its humorous features. The short-lived career of the Evansville Medical College, many decades ago, was a product of the religious fervor and temperance agitation of those days. Classes were opened with prayer and lessons in anatomy made

more interesting by the interjection of an occasional Bible-reading. Students who promised not to use liquor, tobacco and profane language were admitted without having to pay any tuition. The average medical student found these requirements too exacting. Thus the schools soon closed its doors. The number of medical schools of Cincinnati was appalling. At one time there were almost as many medical colleges in Cincinnati as there are today in the entire German empire. Whoever felt so inclined, could start a school of medicine with himself as cashier and professor of everything. Diplomas could always be had for the asking at so much per. These were the days of medical freedom when rascals and ignoramuses thrived at the expense of education and progress. Finally medical legislation put an end to this carnival of greed and graft. Of all the medical schools in the Ohio Valley only the fittest have been able to survive. In Cincinnati, of all the medical schools, legitimate, spurious and positively criminal, only two are left: the Eclectic Medical College which has the larger classes and the old but moribund Medical College of Ohio which under the protecting wing of the municipal University of Cincinnati still manages to figure in the list of the medical schools of the Ohio Valley. The forced resignation of the late distinguished P. S. Conner sounded the final death-knell of this once famous institution. Like Daniel Drake, Conner became the victim of the malice and petty jealousy of such as coveted his prominence and his position. The ultimate collapse of the school is only a question of time. The school may eventually be absorbed by one of the larger and more viable medical schools in Ohio.

It is a suggestive coincidence that I am discussing the history of medical education in the Ohio Valley on the sixtieth anniversary of the death of the greatest medical teacher in the history of the West. He was a product of the Ohio Valley where he did his most enduring work in the interests of progress and education. He organized the first Public Library in Cincinnati, helped to found the old Cincinnati College of which the present Cincinnati Law School is the last remainder, organized the first Literary Society in Cincinnati, likewise the first art school and also the once famous College of Teachers, started three differ-

ent medical schools in Cincinnati, gave the first impetus to the building of the Southern Railroad, suggested and outlined the canal system of the Middle West in his "Picture of Cincinnati," and, in addition to all this, enriched the literature of the West by many notable contributions. If he had done nothing more than to leave us his monumental work on the "Topography, Geography, Meteorology, Climate and the Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America," he would still rank with the greatest sons of the West. He above all others deserves honorable mention in connection with the subject of education in the Ohio Valley. I trust that the day will not be far off, when the present generation will find some suitable means of perpetuating the memory of this great Western pioneer and patriot, DANIEL DRAKE.

ANDREW POE'S ENCOUNTER WITH INDIANS.

(From the Draper Mss. Border Forays, 5 D — Chap 29, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.)

Andrew Poe was born the thirtieth of September, 1742, in Frederick county, Maryland, George Poe, the father of Andrew, died while the latter was in his teens. He remained at home until he became of age, living with his mother and an elder brother. Not long after the termination of Pontiac's War, he came to the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, where he remained some time; when, in company with two others, he commenced the first settlement on Harman's creek, in what is now Washington county, Pennsylvania, at a point about twelve miles from the Ohio river. Two years after, he returned to Maryland, and induced his brother Adam, who was some years younger than himself, to go with him to his new location. Andrew had already selected a tract of land for a farm and made improvements; Adam, upon his arrival out, also secured a piece not far from his brother's. Here the two continued to reside. Andrew was five feet, eleven and one-half inches in hight; and his usual weight, two hundred and five pounds. He was a man of unusual strength and activity.

On the twentieth of September, 1781,[1] a party of Wyandot warriors, seven in number, was sent by the Half King, principal or head chief of that nation, from the banks of the Walhonding, where the latter then was on his way to the Sandusky, on a maraud upon the white settlers to the eastward of, and across the Ohio river. Among the braves were three sons of that sachem, the oldest of whom was Scotash who afterward became chief of the Wyandots. The latter was put in command of the party,[2] which reached and crossed the river near the

[1] Heckewelder (Narr., p. 279,) speaks of an expedition leaving that day,—two sons of the Half King with the party.

[2] Thomas Edgington was, on the first day of April, 1782, captured by a party of ten, one of whom was Scotash; and from whom and others he received these particulars: Statement of his son, Geo. Edgington,—1845. Compare Vermont Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, p. 356.

mouth of Tomlinson's run, a distance of about twelve miles from the settlement of the Poe's on Harman's creek.

The Wyandots came within one mile of Adam Poe's about midnight, capturing one Jackson, a man about sixty years of age, whom the savages found alone in his house. With their prisoner, they immediately set off for the Ohio. But the fact of the incursion of the Indians into the settlement having been discovered just after they had departed, a small number at once assembled, and made preparations to pursue the marauders as soon as it was light enough to see their trail. Andrew Poe was chosen a lieutenant—to lead the party.[3]

That night there was a sharp frost—the first of the season; so that the borderers, in pursuit, as soon as the morning dawned, had but little difficulty, although all were mounted, in following the tracks of the savages. Rapidly they approached the Ohio. On the river hill, half a mile from the stream, they dismounted and tied their horses. They were now a short distance below Tomlinson's run,[4] the trail at the bottom of the hill turning down the river. Here fresh signs of the Indians were discovered. Some of the men were now cautioned by their leader to march quietly; as they were making considerable noise with their feet in running. The fear was, that the Indians would discover them and at once kill their prisoners. But one of the men, in particular, was not to be restrained; so Andrew Poe turned squarely to the right, leaving his company, and, making his way cautiously, took a straight course to the immediate bank of the Ohio.

[3] Pension Statement of Adam Poe (1833): MS. copy. The traditions handed down from Andrew Poe, agree substantially with the declaration of the former, except as to the date. Adam gives the month as September — corroborated by Heckewelder. It would seem to be abundantly substantiated that the incursion was made a short time previous to the arrival of the Moravian Missionaries upon the banks of the Sandusky river. As to the year, there can be no question; both the brothers, when, in aftertimes, their attention was called to it, said it occurred in 1781. Compare, also, De Hass' Hist. Ind. Wars, W. Va., p. 336; Charles McKnight's Western Border, p. 443.

[4] Both Thomas Edgington (who lived at the time a short distance above the present Steubenville, but on the Virginia side) and Andrew Poe (in his Pension Statement) agree as to the locality.

The residue of settlers, with whom was Adam Poe, followed the trail of the retreating Wyandots to the river, where they discovered five Indians and the prisoner, Jackson. Four of the savages were making a raft which they had quite completed, while the remaining Indian stood sentry and also guarded their captive. The borderers got within twenty-five yards of the warriors before they were discovered. Jackson saw them at the same moment, and sprang forward to escape to his deliverers, but his savage keeper seizing a tomahawk pursued him instantly and succeeded in striking him in the back with the weapon, fortunately, however, inflicting not a very serious wound. Before the Indian could repeat the blow, he was shot dead by one of the settlers. Thereupon, the rescued man ran up and embraced one of the borderers—William Castleman, crying out, "Oh! Castleman! Oh! Castleman"; seeming all unconscious of his wound; so over-joyed was he to escape.

In the meantime, the bordermen had fired upon the four Wyandots and the latter returned the fire. The Indians all sprang into the river; one only escaped, and he—Scotash—badly wounded in the hand. He was the elder of the three sons of the Half King, and leader of the party. One of the settlers was shot,—a young man by the name of Cherry. He sat down by a sugar-tree, expressing a hope that his companions would not let the Indians scalp him. His wound was in his left side cutting away the lower part of his left lung. Thus ended the contest with the five savages, which, of itself, would have been a memorable one; but, as will now be seen, it had already been eclipsed by a hand-to-hand conflict up the river a short distance, wherein the leader of the white men was performing prodigies of heroic daring.

Andrew Poe, when he left his companions, and had reached the river bank, peered cautiously over it. He discovered two Indians near the water's edge, both half bent, with their guns in their hands, and looking intently down the river. The two savages were brothers of Scotash and sons of the Half King;

neither was remarkable for size;[5] one, however, was a trifle smaller than the other; nor was either of them a chief of the Wyandots; but their father being head-sachem of the nation, they, of course, were of distinction and importance.[6] When first discovered by Poe, they were evidently alarmed at the noise of the approaching party farther down the stream.

Andrew Poe instantly concluded to shoot the larger Indian and then, with his butcher-knife, jump down the bank—about fifteen feet at that point to the water's edge and attack the other before he could turn and use his gun. It was a most desperate resolve. He had not been discovered; so, taking deliberate aim, he pulled the trigger—but his gun missed fire. Both Indians at once turned around, with a "Waugh!" of surprise. Poe, as quick as thought, dropping his gun, jumped down the declivity, intending first to dispatch the larger savage with his knife, and then the smaller one. As he alighted upon them, he caught each around the neck. His weight and the force acquired from the distance he had jumped, brought the larger Indian upon his back and Poe upon his breast, the other savage being brought down, also, and held there by Poe's right arm and his right leg over the fellow's body. Both their guns fell from their hands as Poe descended upon them.

The smaller savage made violent efforts to disengage himself from the clasp of his antagonist; but he was held by Poe as in a vice; meanwhile the latter tried to reach his knife which was in a scabbard attached to his shot-pouch and was partly under him as he lay upon the larger Indian. The savage comprehending his intention, seized his left hand; the other Indian

[5] This fact would seem to be fairly authenticated. Edgington was not only so informed, the next Spring, by Scotash and Simon Girty, but by several others who knew them well. It is equally certain that neither bore the name of Big Foot. No printed account gives the "Big Indian" that name within fifty years after the occurrence mentioned in this chapter.

[6] As early, at least, as the Spring of 1779, the three brothers had gone to war against the border: "This day six warriors came in here, all Wyandots, and three of them the Half King's sons;—they killed two men somewhere above Redstone."—Heckewelder to Brodhead, 9 Apr., 1779, from Coshocton. MS.

all the while struggling to get loose. Poe now thought he would make a desperate effort to get hold of his knife handle and draw the weapon from its sheath with his right hand, even if, in so doing, he should release the smaller savage, trusting to his efforts and prowess with the weapon to dispatch the two. He had, however no sooner loosened his right hand grip and seized hold of his knife with his thumb and finger, and made a jerk, than the Indian under him let go of his left hand—the knife came easily from its scabbard; so easily, in fact, that the jerk caused it to fly several feet from him upon the shore. This effort of Poe necessarily gave the smaller Indian a chance to free himself from his foe.

The chances now were decidedly in favor of the Indians. The larger one clasped his strong arms around Poe holding him fast, while the other seized a tomahawk lying upon a raft which was fastened to the shore not more than six feet away, and aimed a blow at the head of his antagonist; seeing which, the latter threw up his right foot, the toe of his shoe striking the Indian's wrist as the weapon was descending—sending the tomahawk flying into the river. There was still one in reserve upon the raft, which the savage lost no time in securing and after two or three feints, levelled another blow at Poe's head. The latter threw up his right hand and received the weapon on the wrist, cutting off one of the bones and the cords of three of his fingers. The tomahawk sticking fast among the sinews, was drawn from the Indian's hand as Poe threw back his arm, dropping some distance away upon the ground.[7] The larger Indian now loosened his hold of Poe who immediately jumped up, seizing one of the guns as he rose, with his left hand, and it being already cocked, he shot the smaller Indian dead. This somewhat lessened the odds against him.

Scarcely had the fatal shot been fired, when the other Indian jumping to his feet, seized Poe and threw him into the river; but the latter, at the same time grasped the savage's breech-clout with his left hand and brought him tumbling along with him into the stream. The water was deep and both went

[7] This weapon, still preserved in the Poe family, is seven and one-quarter inches long; and the blade two inches wide.

under. Now a mighty struggle was made by each to drown the other. Sometimes one was under, sometimes the other, and frequently both. Poe getting his antagonist by the tuft of hair upon his scalp held his head under the water until he thought him drowned. They had been by this time carried by the current quite a distance from shore. Letting go the savage's hair and pressing him down with his right arm over his neck, Poe endeavored to swim with his left hand, getting at this time his head above the surface to breathe. But the Indian immediately slipped out from under his arm, rose to the surface, also, and swam for shore with all possible speed, followed by his disabled antagonist who was unable to overtake the uninjured savage.

The moment the Indian reached the shore, he sprang for the loaded gun, seeing which, Poe quickly turned and swam back into the current, to escape the shot. The savage in cocking the gun broke the lock. Throwing it down, he picked up the empty gun and sprang to the raft for a shot-pouch and powder-horn and commenced loading. Meanwhile Poe continued to swim away from shore, turning upon his back and exposing only his face; at the same time calling aloud for his brother Adam whom he supposed could not be far away; and he was not mistaken; for the latter, after the contest was over with the Indians down the stream, missing his brother and hearing the report of a gun up the river, hastened to the spot. It was a very opportune arrival; for he reached the top of the bank with his gun, unloaded, however, and caught sight of the savage just as he was in the act of commencing to load. Adam remained unperceived by the Indian but was discovered by Andrew in the water who called to him to load quickly.

It was now a question whether the savage would shoot Andrew or Adam the savage; it all depended upon who should load first. The Indian would have had the first shot, had he not, in drawing the ramrod let it fly from his hand upon the beach. This gave his unseen antagonist the advantage; for, by the time he had recovered the ramrod, rammed down the ball, and raised the gun to shoot, the crack of Adam's rifle brought him down,

mortally wounded, but able to spring into the river, where he struggled as if in the agonies of death. Seeing this turn of affairs Andrew commenced swimming again toward the shore; at the same time calling to his brother to catch the savage or he would get away. While Adam was descending the bank and endeavoring to reach the Indian, others of the party who had made their way up the stream after the conflict with the five Indians, now espying Andrew in the river and supposing him to be an Indian shot at him;—one ball splashing the water into his face, another cutting his hunting-shirt, while a third one wounded him dangerously.

Adam observing the accident paid no more attention to the savage, but sprang into the river and assisted his wounded brother ashore. The Indian sank and was seen no more. All things considered, the encounter must be set down as one of the most remarkable ever known to have taken place upon the border in all the wars with the savages of the West. As soon as it was over, young Cherry was brought up and placed beside Andrew upon the beach; he died in half an hour. The wounded man and the dead one were taken up the hill and back to the spot where the horses were tied, when a litter was made and Andrew placed upon it. Both were carried to the settlement,[8] where Cherry was buried. Andrew Poe did not get well of his wound for nearly a year; indeed, he never fully recovered the use of the three injured fingers; and his right hand became smaller than the other. He died in Green township, Beaver County, Pennsylvania, on the fifteenth of July, 1823.

Scotash, the Wyandot who escaped, although badly wounded in the hand, as had been shown, swam the river and hid until night came on when he re-crossed the stream, found the dead body of his brother, who was shot by Andrew Poe on the shore, and buried his as well as he could where a tree, near by, had turned up the earth.[9] He then made his way homeward, com-

[8] Compare Smith's Hist. Jeff. Coll., p. 391 note.

[9] The late William Walker, of Wyandotte City, Kansas, used to relate that his mother (a Wyandot of the Big Turtle clan) informed him that the two sons of the Half King slain in the Poe contest were of the Porcupine clan,

municating the news of the disaster to the Half King.[10] The sachem afterward took ample revenge for the death of his two sons, by his unremitting hostility to the Americans; but that the nation at large ever attempted to requite the injuries done them by sending one of their number to murder Andrew Poe, after peace had been declared, or at any other time, is a prevailing tradition,—but one wholly unworthy of credit.[11]

[10] Just where the Half King was informed of the death of his two sons, whether upon the Walhonding or the Sandusky, is uncertain. Compare Heckewelder's Narr., p. 281, with Schwemitz' Zeisberger, p. 517.

[11] See Finley's Wyandot Mission, p. 254, for the tradition; and *The Cadiz,* (O.) *Sentinel,* Nov. 29, 1854, for its complete refutation.

GEN. CLARK'S CAMPAIGN, 1780.

OFFICIAL LETTERS.

(From the *Maryland Journal*, Oct. 17, 1780.)

"RICHMOND, (Virginia) Oct. 4.

Extract of a letter from Col. *George Rogers Clark* to his Excellency the Governor, dated Louisville, August 22, 1780:

"By every possible exertion, and the aid of Col. Slaughter's corps, we completed the number of 1,000, with which we crossed the river at the mouth of Licking on the first day of August, and began our march on the second. Having a road to cut for the artillery to pass, for 70 miles, it was the 6th before we reached the first town, which we found vacated, and the greatest part of their effects carried off. The general conduct of the Indians, on our march, and many other corroborating circumstances, proved their design of leading us on to their own ground and time of action. After destroying the crops and buildings of Chillecauthy, we began our march for the Picawey settlements, on the waters of the Big Miamie, the Indians keeping runners continually before our advance guards. At half past two in the evening of the 8th, we arrived in sight of the town and forts, a plain of half a mile in width laying between us. I had an opportunity of viewing the situation and motion of the enemy near their works.

I had scarcely time to make those dispositions necessary before the action commenced on our left wing, and in a few minutes became almost general, with a savage fierceness on both sides. The confidence the enemy had of their own strength and certain victory, or the want of generalship, occasioned several neglects, by which those advantages were taken that proved the ruin of their army, being flanked two or three different times, drove from hill to hill, in a circuitous direction, for upwards of a mile and a half; at last took shelter in their strongholds and woods adjacent, when the firing ceased for about half an hour, until necessary preparations were made for dislodging them. A

heavy firing again commenced, and continued severe until dark, by which time the enemy were totally routed. The cannon playing too briskly on their works, they could afford them no shelter. Our loss was about 14 killed and thirteen wounded; theirs at least triple that number. They carried off their dead during the night, except 12 or 14 that lay too near our lines for them to venture. This would have been a decisive stroke to the Indians, if unfortunately the right wing of our army had been rendered useless for some time by an uncommon chain of rocks that they could not pass, by which means part of the enemy escaped through the ground they were ordered to occupy.

By a French prisoner we got the next morning, we learn that the Indians had been preparing for our reception ten days, moving their families and effects: that the morning before our arrival, they were 300 warriors, Shawanese, Mingoes, Wyandotts, and Delawares. Several reinforcements coming that day, he did not know their numbers; that they were sure of destroying the whole of us; that the greatest part of the prisoners taken by Byrd, were carried to Detroit, where there were only 200 regulars, having no provisions except green corn and vegetables. Our whole store at first setting out being only 300 bushels of corn, and 1500 lbs. of flour; having done the Shawanese all the mischief in our power, after destroying Picawey settlements, I returned to this post, having marched in the whole 480 miles in 31 days. We destroyed upwards of 800 acres of corn, besides great quantities of vegetables, a considerable proportion of which appear to have been cultivated by white men, I suppose for the purpose of supporting war parties from Detroit. I could wish to have had a small store of provisions to have enabled us to have laid waste part of the Delaware settlements, and falling in at Pittsburg, but the excessive heat, and weak diet, shew the impropriety of such a step. Nothing could excel the few regulars and Kentuckians, that composed this little army, in bravery, and implicit obedience to orders; each company vying with the other who should be the most subordinate."

The above official report of CLARK of his Shawanoe campaign does not appear in the Calendar of Virginia State Papers — so the introductory portion is wanting. (Note by L. C. D.)

BOWMAN'S CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

(Copied and published, by permission of the Wisconsin Historical Society, from the Draper MSS., Bedinger Papers, "A"—Vol. I., pp. 19-31 inclu.—EDITOR.)

Started about 1st of June—and continued about 4 weeks—(vide page —, for bear killing). Holder commanded a company—not over 20 or 25 belonged to Boonesboro—the remainder in neighboring Stations, if any then settled, marched to Lexington, thence on to the mouth of Licking. When near the mouth, here one of the party rambled off to hunt, & while clambering a hill, discovered a buffalo below him, & in attempting to run, fell, when the hunter, desirous of performing some valiant exploit, ran up, bounded upon its back, & with his knife he actually killed the animal. This hero of a hunter was greatly complimented by the troops.

At the place of rendezvous, at the mouth of Licking, beside other troops were a party of some 70 from the Falls of the Ohio, under Col. Wm. Harrod. They belonged near Red Stone Old Fort on the Monongahela, & had visited the country to locate lands down the Ohio. On their way up from the Falls, they had visited Big Bone Lick & had brought a large quantity of the bones of the Mastodon or mammoth in a canoe, which they designed carrying to Pittsburg. It was the presence of these men in the country whose aid could be secured, that chiefly led to the expedition.

Bowman had also reached, by another rout. But a day or two elapsed & the necessary arrangements effected, the little army took up the line of march, up the valley of the Little Miami. Soon after commencing the march Maj. Bedinger was introduced for the first time to Col. Bowman, who, having heard that Bedinger had seen service to the eastward, desired him to act as Adjutant and Quarter Master, to which he readily consented.

During the march, and when pursuing a trail in Indian file, they passed a rattlesnake by the side of the path unobserved, & the man who had brought up the rear was bitten by the reptile—& sent back to the boats, with wh. a few men were left to guard, & ordered to be sent down to the Falls. No Indians were seen. When within 8 or 10 miles of the Indian town, & near the close of day, a council was held to determine upon the mode of attacking the town. The troops divided into three parties—one under Logan—another under Jas. Harrod, & the third under Holder. Logan with his own & Wm. Harrod's company was to go to the left of the town, Harrod with Bowman to the right —and Holder in front—take their respective positions as early in the night as they could reach, & between Logan's and Harrod's command a space to be left through which for the Indians, when roused from their cabins by Holder's party, to escape; it being deemed the better policy to suffer them first to get out of the town & then fall upon them, rather than completely surround them & compel to keep their cabins or take to their council house, from which, as the sequel proved, they might make a successful stand. These arrangements made, the march was resumed with proper care & secrecy. Each party posted itself as originally designed—Logan on the left between the town & the Miami—Harrod on the right, & Holder directly in front of the town, in the high grass.

It was early in the night when the town was reached & the several designated positions occupied. All was quiet until about midnight, when an Indian came running in on the trail the troops had pursued. He had evidently, when out hunting, or something of the kind, discovered the signs of a large army invading the country & directing their course towards the Shawanese town of Chillicothe on the Little Miami, & was then on his way to give the alarm. As he neared Holder's party, puffing & blowing, & seeming to suspect or discover the trap into which he was running, he suddenly stopped & made a kind of interrogative ejaculation, as much as to say, "Who's there?"—when one of the party by the name of Ross shot him, upon which he gave a weak, confused yell, & falling to the ground Jacob Stearns (who escaped a few months before when his father was defeated on Boone's

Trace) ran up, scalped & tomahawked him.* By this time the town was aroused to a sense of their danger; the dogs set up a great noise, & the squaws with cries & whimperings were heard to say "Kentuck! Kentuck!" Finding themselves surprised & their town surrounded, they fled in dismay to the large council house near the center of the town.

In the hurry of the moment, Holder's men marched into the town, killed a few dogs, & may have shot Indians; when the Monongaheleans set up a confused hallooing within plain hearing of the council house, saying, "if there were any prisoners, with the Indians, they had better flee; that the Kentuckians were strong, & that all that remained in the council house would be killed in the morning." Portions at least of Harrod's & Logan's men, since the plan of attack had been so changed by circumstances, now run into the town—occasional shots were interchanged, but the most were busily engaged in searching the deserted cabins, from which their occupants had so suddenly decamped they carried nothing with them. The articles of plunder consisted chiefly of silver ornaments, of which a large number were found, together with a goodly quantity of clothing; and lastly, a fine scarlet vest & a double-barreled gun. Simon Girty's, recognized by a soldier along, who had but recently been a prisoner with the Shawanoese. It was during this scene, or perhaps at its close, that Logan attempted the moveable battery. While these things were progressing the Indians in the Council house seemed busily employed in cutting port holes until near day light. ("B". It sh(oul)d be remembered, that among the troops were several who had been prisoners with the Indians & understood their language sufficiently well, at least to comprehend whatever Black Fish said to his warriors—& he spoke in a very sonorous manner, exhorting them to remember that "they were men & Warriors; that they must fight and be strong; that their enemies, who had invaded

*(Holder's party laid close & still a short time, giving time for some 6 or 7 of the Indians to come out and ascertain the cause of the alarm, who approached cautiously with the arms recovered & one behind another & sufficiently near Holder's party, cocking their guns, the noise of wh. was heard by the Indians who stopped, when they were fired upon & fled, leaving some blood behind.)

their firesides, were merely Kentucky squaws, and his braves could easily whip them." To all this they would subscribe by a kind of simultaneous & rapidly spoken gutteral affirmative, very much like "ye-aw, ye-aw, ye-aw, ye-aw," &c.

"A man or two were wounded," says Maj. Bedinger—& perhaps with Logan. "C." This sacking did not continue long —nearly all left, and went to hunting up Indian horses outside the town; while a little party of 15, among whom were Maj. Bedinger, Jesse Hodges, Thomas & Jack South, & one or two of the Proctors, had screened themselves behind a large oak log not over 40 paces from the council house & there awaited the approach of day break, after wh(ich) for several hours frequent shots were exchanged by the respective parties. While this little party lay thus awaiting patiently a vigorous support from their friends, they were doomed to disappointment. There was some firing from some cabins on the left, from Logan's party; but nothing like a concerted action. Wm. Hickman, who had served with Bedinger at the siege of Boston, & who, by-the-way, was strongly suspected of having stealthily killed a man below Pittsburg during Dunmore's War,—while peeping around the corner of a cabin to the left of Bedinger's party, was shot through the head, and died instantly. He remarked the previous evening that he had a presentiment that he sh(oul)d be killed in the expected attack in the morning.

Bedinger's little band continued to lay close behind their rude & uncertain breast work. The log (it was an oak) was something over two feet in diameter, & lay a little up from the ground, but the grass & weeds grew thickly beneath and around it. Had the Indians known it, they might have killed the entire party by directing their fire *under* the log; as it was, whenever a Kentuckian would venture to expose himself to get a more satisfactory shot, several instantaneous cracks from the enemy's port holes would tell how closely they watched the old oak log, & the every movement of those screened behind it. Several were already killed, though repeatedly cautioned by Bedinger to avoid exposure. Tom South, who lay directly to the right of Bedinger, eager to get an effective shot, ventured to take a preliminary peep, and Bedinger had scarcely exclaimed "down with your

head," when South was shot in the forehead & with a single groan fell down partly upon his side. His young brother John, or Jack, as he was familiarly called, then a lad of about 17, who was on Maj. Bedinger's left, was affected at the fate of Thomas, & shed some tears, & asked Bedinger if he could not place his brother in a position in wh(ich) he could die easier. This could not with safety be done; but he expired in a few minutes after. By this time seven of the fifteen behind the log were killed, beside Hickman at the corner of the cabin, & still the survivors awaited a regular & combined attack from their friends. But they hoped in vain. About nine o'clock, Col. Bowman made his appearance partly behind the hill, on horseback some 200 yards to the right of Bedinger's party, & waiving his hand exclaimed at the top of his voice—"Make your escape!—make your escape! I can bring no one to your assistance!" Bedinger then said to his seven surviving companions, that he would take the lead and they sh(oul)d dodge in oblique directions, with a quick zig-zag movement, & in this way make for a few scattering trees some sixty or 70 yards to the left but still within reach of the enemy's fire. It was discovered that the Indians had comprehended Bowman's orders, and a few were scattering out of the council house; no time was to be lost—Bedinger started, jumping through the grass, frog-like, first in one direction, & then as suddenly in another, sometimes seizing a shrub violently to aid in throwing him to some opposite and distant point—and the while balls whistling past & around him like so many hail; but being strong and remarkably active in his zig-zag movements, singularly enough he escaped them all, & reached a good-sized tree, behind which he made a few moments' rest. Upon looking around he was surprised to see that none had followed his example; but it must be confessed after all that they acted wisely, for by this time, and it was all the work of a moment, the Indians had discharged their rifles, & before they could reload the whole party were beyond their reach, without so much as receiving a single shot. The retreat was as successful as it was singular. Just before leaving the log, he espied his old friend Ralph Morgan behind a tree to the left, fighting single-handed on his "own hook"—every now and then the Indians from the

council house would pay him their respects, & make the bark fly merrily from the tree behind wh(ich) he was posted; Bedinger called out to him, that he was needlessly exposing himself, & had better get out of the way of danger.

("C". About this time, a negro woman came running from the council-house to Logan's party on the left, pretending to have made her escape, but very evidently sent by the Indians purposely to deceive & frighten their invaders. She represented that Girty was at the Pickaway town (some 8 or 10 miles distant, perhaps) with a hundred of his Mingoes & would soon arrive. This intelligence, notwithstanding the evidence of stratagem it bore upon its face—for Girty's scarlet vest & rifle had been found & he was very likely in the council-house—spread among the troops; & the Monongaheleans who did not exactly relish the idea of fighting, were not slow to magnify the number of the expected reinforcement of the enemy under Girty, & in this way the one hundred soon reached the terrible number of six hundred. While all this was transpiring, the negro woman, who had been unmolested, secretly disappeared—another evidence that hers had been an errand of deception.)

When Bedinger & his little band reached their friends, partly behind the hill within long rifle shot of the council-house, in a confused mass—some distance still farther to the south, were some three hundred horses, guarded by a large number of men. (Jesse Hodges' deposition will tell the number of horses.) Bedinger ordered the men to form in a line of battle just behind the brow of the hill, which with here & there a tree, served as a protection; here they were to make a stand, & check the Indians who were advancing at a distance, sheltered behind the scattering trees, & firing upon the Kentuckians. Not more than a fourth of the men could be got into the line, & as the others were scampering off out of harm's way, these could not be expected long to expose themselves; & while here & there some brave spirit would venture a chance fire upon the distant foe, the more timid would every now & then dart off singly & in squads, until after a short lapse of time when, the remaining few, seeing the foolhardiness of attempting to maintain their ground unaided & unprotected, sought their safety in flight.

Bedinger, who as adjutant, & in the absence of any apparent movement on the part of Bowman, had assumed the command & formed the line, was not a little mortified at the needless consternation that seemed to pervade the troops—he had hoped to have made a stand & defeated the enemy in open battle. When the last of the line commenced retreating, he fortunately found his horse, mounted and moved on with the fugitives; soon overtook his old friend & companion-in-arms at the siege of Boston, Wm. Oldham, who had been with Morgan's riflemen in the disastrous attack on Quebec, & the same who was subsequently killed in St. Clair's defeat—consulted with Oldham, & then ordered the officers to form their respective companies in single file, Logan's command to the right, Harrod's to the left, & Holder's in the center, and about 30 paces apart; with orders for Holder's line, when the word "halt" was given, to divide & the rear half to fall back & close the rear, while the other portion were as quickly to close the front—thus forming a hollow square. This order was effected, & the men formed, about a mile from the hill. In this order the three divisions moved on rapidly, with an Indian but seldom seen or heard, & certainly they did no execution—some three, or four, or five miles were gained, and a creek, (less in size, probably, than Cesar's, where they subsequently followed) easily forded on foot—for nearly all were on foot; when Bedinger, who was in the rear, on reaching the elevated ground, on the southern bank, looking back perceived a shaking among the tall grass & herbage in the flat on the opposite side, & soon after, some of the enemy were seen to make demonstrations of crossing the creek,—ordered a halt some 40 or 50 rods south of the stream; Holder's company, according to previous understanding, closed the front and rear. Until now the drove of horses, with a suitable guard for their protection, had been driven in front—separated frequently from their colts, no small neighing was kept up. They were now placed within the hollow square. The ground for making a stand was very judiciously chosen, elevated, and a sufficiency of trees & fallen timber for the protection of the men. There had evidently been a small windfall & some of the fallen trees were piled upon each other, affording in many instances, a

very desirable shelter from the enemy's fire. The men were ordered to shelter themselves as well as they could, compatible with the design of a hollow square: some accordingly treed, while others screened themselves behind the fallen timber. "D." It was now about half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon. The firing & yelling of the Indians were first heard in front—& soon all around; with the loud & distinct voice of Black Fish heard, first in one direction & then another, encouraging his braves, repeating in substance the speech he made them at the council-house, adding, "that, as they now had the Kentuck surrounded, they must have them all—not suffer one to escape." And wherever the well-known voice of their beloved War Chief was heard, their hearty responses and reiterated whoops would make the woods resound again. Their number was small, it could scarcely have exceeded fifty,—but their deficiency in numbers they remedied as well as they could by resort to stratagem & greater activity. While at one point Black Fish, the life & soul of his people, was exhorting his warriors to "be strong and fight,—load well & shoot sure," in another direction a little squad would feign to have killed some unfortunate *Kentuck*. & raise with their schrill voices their accustomed scalp yell,—alike to encourage their friends, & strike terror to the hearts of their foes. The Indians were careful not to show or expose themselves, but would creep up as near as they could with safety, fire, then skulk away to re-load, & renew the zig-zag fight. Whenever the Kentuckians, on the other hand, fancied they saw the trembling of some distant cluster of bushes, or luxuriant bunch of tall grass, or peradventure really nodding to some passing breezes they would fire upon the suspected covert. This singular and irregular contest, which lasted nine hours, was comparatively bloodless. The Kentuckians, without positive evidence, claimed to have made several effectual shots; & lost, it is believed, some one or two killed, & perhaps as many slightly wounded. It was now past sundown. Bedinger went to Col. Bowman, & said, in substance, "As the surrounding enemy seemed to be increasing in numbers, and redoubling their zeal with their success; and as our men were sinking under fatigue and hunger, it was necessary that a vigorous effort should be

made to disperse them." Col. Bowman, who seemed disheartened, replied, "Do as you please; I don't know what to do." Bedinger added, "We must rush upon them on foot with tomahawk in hand, advance rapidly, dodging as we proceed, & in this way we shall avoid the enemy's fire, then with ours reserved, we can dash upon them and force them to retreat." Accordingly Bedinger and some other officers called out, "Come, boys, let's rush on with tomahawks in hand, and reserved fire," & leading the way, a party of 40 or 50 of the boldest of the men followed, and made for the well-known voice of Black Fish, not then more than 40 or 50 yards off. In this well-planned charge, Black Fish was mortally wounded, the Indians were seen hurriedly to place their fallen chief upon a horse, with a faithful warrior mounted behind him, & then fled toward their town. It was observed that Black Fish was dressed in a beautiful white shirt richly trimmed with brooches & other silver ornaments; &, from white prisoners who subsequently escaped or were liberated, it was ascertained that the brave Shawaone chief expired as he entered his town. Though an enemy as he was, we cannot but admire the intrepid bearing and self-devotedness of the brave eloquent but unfortunate *Black Fish*.

("D." As the troops halted, one Elisha Bethiah, who belonged to James Harrod's company & had been badly wounded in the thigh (in) the night attack on the Indian town, was now in (the) front & favored with a good horse, concluded he would choose to risk his chances of escape alone, rather than hazard himself, already wounded as he was, in another fight with the Indians. He dashed off, & just at this moment the enemy gained the front, & four of them pursued Bethiah. His horse proved that his rider had not over-estimated his good qualities, & soon out-stripped his pursuers. That night the wounded man, fatigued & not a little exhausted, selected some suitable spot, dismounted, fastened the horse's rein to one of his wrists, with perhaps some protection between himself & animal, laid himself down & sleep was soon upon him. When he awoke the next morning, he was alarmed to find his horse gone. The horror of his situation rushed upon him far away in the wilderness, he knew not where, save that it was in an enemy's country; destitute even of the

commonest food—& utterly unable to walk! While thus in despair brooding over his misfortunes, his horse came up to him —doubtless at home he had been *tolled* to the habit; & Bethiah, with a joyous heart, mounted his good steed & continued on his way. In due time he reached Harrodsburg, recovered from his wound; & often used to allude, with grateful feelings, to this instance of singular sagacity in his horse, in returning to the aid of his helpless master.)

The retreat was now resumed at dusk, & within 4, 5, 6 miles struck Cesar's Creek; this, tho bearing a little to the right of their route, was taken as a guide for a considerable distance, sometimes following along down (the) stream on its banks, & at others along its bed knee-deep in water: All who wished were mounted upon the horses taken from the Shawanees. Maj. Bedinger, who riding his own horse, soon after the march re-commenced and before reaching the creek,—got his hat brushed off by the branch of a tree, jumped off, and feeling around for it in the dark, some one coming up behind gave the horse a little rap to make him step aside, when he took fright and broke away, carrying off saddle, bridle, camp kettle & blanket—the distant tinkle of the kettle at it came in contact with brush or trees, told but certainly that the horse was beyond reach. Maj. Bedinger plodded along on foot through brush, & briars & nettles, & lagged behind somewhat. The party halted a short time; but fearing lest the Indians should be re-inforced & follow in pursuit, they soon resumed their slow & weary retreat. At this point Maj. Bedinger got a poor, sharp-backed excuse of a horse, without saddle or blanket, & jogged on with the others —& while sitting sidewise upon his horse, the animal jumped one side & threw him off backwards down a little ravine, but luckily escaped with a few knocks & bruises. Then the retreat continued—it was a meandering rout that they pursued. They suffered exceedingly from hunger; nor did they venture to hunt the following day—the fear of an attack from a pursuing foe, to recover their horses, was enough to impel them forward, & as quickly as possible to leave the enemy's country. The second night, worn down with fatigue & hunger, they ventured to take a little repose, & it was but little, then up, & on for the land

of Ky. Early the ensuing day they reached the long-wished for Ohio, crossed just above the mouth of the Little Miami. Maj. Bedinger was careful to place several sentinels in the rear, to guard against surprise; one of these, Thornton Farrow, saw an Indian dog at a distance—which was considered, at the time, satisfactory evidence that the Indians, not being able to collect together a sufficiently formidable army in time for pursuit, had sent a few spies to see that their invaders had actually left the country. Bedinger and the sentinels, were the last to leave the enemy's shore.

The army now felt more at ease—moved on some three or four miles in the rear of the elevated hills skirting the river, reached a fine large spring—here a halt was made. Hunting & fishing soon supplied the camp; these with rest soon gave new life and vigor to them all. They were once again in a land of plenty, where pea-vines, wild clover, & wild rye, furnished abundance of food for the half-famished horses. It was now agreed to have a sale of the horses & other booty, & then make an equal division of the amount realized. The conditions were simply these: a credit of a year—the captains were to keep the accounts with their respective companies, and when it should be subsequently ascertained that any one had bid in property exceeding the amount of his dividend, he was to pay the surplus; and this excess to be given to such as had fallen short of theirs. The theory was very pretty, & all seemed well pleased with it; & excepting such horses as had been stolen from the settlements, identified by their owners present, or kept in reserve for the proper claimants, the sale commenced. Some of the finest horses were struck off at fifty or sixty dollars, but generally much less; & a pound of silver trinkets would bring some twenty dollars. Thus went the large drove of horses, the silver ornaments, clothing, and other articles. The Monongaheleans, who seemed to figure prominently in everything save fighting, were far from being modest in the number of their bids, or the amount of property they purchased. The result was, scattered as the purchasers were, from Red Stone Old Fort to the Falls of the Ohio, & thence to Boonesboro on the Kentucky, no collections were ever made; of if made, never accounted for to those who

had a right to expect them. The spring where Bowman's party camped, and where the sale took place, is to this day known as *The Horse Camp Spring.*

Thus ended the celebrated campaign of 1779—a campaign, it sh(ould)d be remarked, the real history of which has been but imperfectly understood. Made at so early a day, & not as fortunate in its results as some of its successors, it is not strange that its true character should have been misconstrued or undesignedly misrepresented. Bowman, when too late to retrieve his error, seems to have felt keenly the miscarriage of the expedition, & given himself up to despondency and inaction. Nor is it at all certain, that he should be made the scape goat for the failure of the enterprise. The numbers engaged were amply sufficient, the officers confessedly brave and experienced; & withal, they reached the Indian town entirely undiscovered; they evidently found less than its full quota of warriors there, & the plan of attack seemed proper and judicious. And notwithstanding all these auspicious circumstances, superadded to their great superiority of numbers, the campaign was well-nigh a total failure. The Monongaheleans, upon whose aid so much reliance had been placed, seemed to have engaged in it more from motives of plunder than patriotism. They were the first to disobey express orders and set up a noise, when they should have remained silent; they were the first, *after the cabins had been sacked,* to seize upon & magnify the foolish story of Girty's pretended reinforcement, thereby engendering a panic among the troops, who abandoned the immediate vicinity of the town; & it appears highly probable, & perfectly in character, that they should be foremost in searching for horses, foremost in *not* fighting, & foremost in the retreat. Their desire for gain was sufficiently manifest at the sale at the horse-camp spring. With such a body of almost semi-savages, whose pernicious examples were but too contagious, is it to be wondered at that Bowman, chagrined & disheartened, should ride up and call out to Bedinger's little band behind the memorable oak log, to make their escape, for he could bring no one to their assistance—not that he *would* not, but truth extorted the confession that he *could* not.

There is still another feature in the case worthy of notice. When the hope was expressed to Bowman during the outward march, that at least the women and children that might be taken should be spared; some of the Monongaheleans slipped in their notions about such matters, with "No! indeed; kill them all, the d—m savage! we are ordered to destroy the heathen off the land —& as for these little Indians, if not killed, they will soon be big ones!" Such were the men, very like, who two years after went out from West Penna. under Col. David Williamson and butchered in cold blood the unoffending Moravian Indians on the Muskingum — & such doubtless were the men from that same region of country, who, by their timid, nay dastardly conduct, contributed in no small degree to the defeat & misfortunes of the ill-fated Crawford in 1782. At all events, it was the conviction of Maj. Bedinger & others on the expedition of Bowman, that had the Monongaheleans not have been along, the result would have been more creditable; but with them, defeat was preferable to victory—for an indiscriminate massacre, as with the Moravians, would doubtless have followed success, & an eternal disgrace would have attached to the campaign of 1779.

BOWMAN'S CAMPAIGN—1779.

BY HENRY HALL,
A Survivor, Bourbon Co., Ky.

(From the Draper MSS., in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society.)

Notes taken in April, 1844.

From *Henry Hall,* of Bourbon Co., Ky.: born near Phila. 24th May, 1760—Apr. 1844.) Mr. Hall was in Wm. Harrod's company, of about 60 men, from the Falls of Ohio. Edward Bulger, who was subsequently killed at the Blue Licks, was ensign of Harrod's company. Mr. Hall does not think James Harrod nor John Haggin were out—recollects but four companies, commanded by Wm. Harrod, Benj. Logan, Levi Todd & John Holder. Bowman's men numbered altogether about 230 men.

Rendezvoused at the mouth of Licking—Wm. Harrod's company reached there first, & turned in to killing buffalo, bear and deer, for provisions—killed some game at Big Bone Lick, & there got some of the bones of mammoth.

Harrod brought 2 keel boats & 3 canoes—& in these, all the troops crossed at the mouth of Licking, save 32 who were left to take care of the boats. No cabin was built; they lived in the boats, & kept plying up & down until the troops returned—thus kept moving about, thinking it less dangerous than to remain stationary. Left the mouth of Licking on Friday morning, May 25th, & reached the vicinity of (Little Chillicothe) the town, on Sunday eve, May 27th (Note, by L. C. D. [Lyman C. Draper]—While copying these memos., I have referred to Gen. Dan. Smith's Journal of '79 & '80, I find that the last Friday in May, '79, *was the 28th,* & that the Monday following was the 31st—I w(oul)d naturally think, that Mr. Hall mistook the date (28th May of starting for the mouth of Licking, for the date of the attack—L. C. D.) & halted in the prairie a few hundred yards east, or perhaps south east, of the town, the dogs

barking, while the captains went to reconnoitre. Mr. Hall thinks it was after midnight when they searched there—don't recollect about the moon; but it was quite foggy. The captains were gone near an hour. A disposition of the men was now made—Wm. Harrod's company were to attack the east or upper end of the town, while the other captains went further around.

One of Cap(t). Wm. Harrod's men, named Hutton, seeing an Indian coming into town, shot him and he fell; & Hutton ran up to take his scalp, when one of the others mistaking him for an Indian, fired & very slightly wounded Hutton in the side. At this alarm some five or six Indians came running out of the cabins and shot at the men, & were shot at in turn (& probably Black Fish was here wounded, as Mr. Jackson says). Then the Indians retired; & the fog again settling, it was thought best to remain as they were; & while thus upon their arms, two Indian drums were beat in the town at a loud rate. Some of the Indians *did* throw themselves (as Jackson says) into some cabins near the council-house, & from there fired, &c.

Laid still for an hour or so; when daylight came, commenced fighting & continued some time. In a cabin Mr. Hall saw an Indian repeatedly remove a shingle from the roof & shoot out; Hall & some others were posted behind a deserted cabin; a left-handed gunner was needed to get a good shot at the opening in the roof. Hall, who could shoot as well left as right handed, watched, & when the Indian's gun was seen to take its place in the aperture, Hall took aim a little above & fired; this hole was closed, and no more firing from that quarter. Wm. Hickman, of Harrod's company, ran from behind the cabin where Hall was, & took post behind the white oak log, & exposing himself too much, was shot through the forehead—the sun was then an hour high. The Indians hollered out, proposing that they would fight the whites out in the woods—& Bowman seemed to accept, & ordered the men to fall back into the woods & form; the men were in confusion & did not obey. Shortly after, however, they fired some 10 or 12 cabins at the east end of the town; these were set on fire chiefly with the aid of small bags of powder, which were found, more or less, in almost every cabin, furnished doubtless by the British. This was about 9 or 10 o'clock in the

morning. Then gathered up the horses around the town—got some five or six hundred. Got strouds, clothes, leggings, shirts (one of which Hall had, having on it 1100 brooches) & a great variety of English goods. While retreating out of town Jerry South was shot between the shoulders, the ball passing through his body & lodging under the skin of his breast—he was packed on a horse, with some one behind to hold him on—he died the 2nd day after.

Commenced the return march about eleven o'clock, & went some distance—2 or 3 miles—towards Detroit (this going towards Detroit must be an error—went perhaps S. E. to Xenia, then tacked to L. W.—L. C, D.). Then Bowman ordered the spies to tack, and steer for the mouth of the Little Miami. Bowman was advised to ambush the trail, as the Indians were seen following at a distance; when the whites would leave a small prairie, the Indians would be seen entering it on the other side. Got some 6 or 8 miles, & just crossed a creek, when they found themselves surrounded by the Indians. The ground was a pretty good piece; the Indians had, in this particular, no advantage; timber thick on the north east side, & pretty much barren on the other sides, with scattering trees & shrubbery. It was now about one o'clock. The men had thus far marched in three lines, with the horses within the lines. A hollow square or circle was now formed, & a scattering fire commenced which soon became quite brisk.

During the fight John Moredock was shot in the head. Tho(ma)s Guthrie was shot in the mouth, though not dangerously. Some one was shot in the thigh, & was lying down in the hollow square, & seeing the firing slack on one side of the line, & some Indians attempting to cut him off, mounted a horse & dashed off, hotly pursued by three Indians—he managed to escape them, though several times they came in view. At night he lay down, fastening the bridle to his wrist & fell asleep—awoke, found the horse gone, & felt that he must perish in his lone & almost helpless situation, but over-powered with fatigue & weariness he again fell asleep; awoke by the singing of birds at daybreak, & was rejoiced to find his horse close by him! Crept

up and got on, & that day fell in upon Bowman's trail and overtook the troops.

After fighting some time, Hall got a fair shot not over ten steps off, at an Indian loading his gun—the Indian jumped up several feet & fell, when Hall had to escape from several Indians around him.

Edward Bulger proposed, as the only way of extricating themselves, to mount several of the horses, dash out, rouse up the Indians from their coverts, fire and return. Accordingly Bulger, Hall and three others thus made a sally and returned—& every one of the five horses were shot, some fell dead as they re-entered the hollow square or circle—it made no great difference, as the horses were Indian plunder. This new mode of carrying on operation placed the Indians—instead of the whites, as heretofore—on the defensive. Other horses were mounted—the number of men increased a little, & again dashed out; — & between that and dark made some six or seven sallies—the last one near after dark, when the flashes of the guns on both sides were distinctly visible. The Indians now drew off; & Bowman renewed his march—went two or three hours, passed through a piece of swampy ground, & down a branch or creek; when emerging from the low ground, a halt of two hours was ordered for the men to rest, & then resumed the march.

The men were in great confusion & anger—blaming Bowman for bad management, & for not taking an active and vigilant part himself; & while thus bandying complaints a great many of the horses strayed off—men were nearly starved.

It should be remarked, that on Sunday evening, while lying on the prairie for the officers to reconnoitre, it was quite cold, & the men mostly took their blankets & threw them around them —in these, were their small supply of provisions; & when they were ordered to take their respective positions in surrounding the town, they left their blankets there—& when they left next day, they were too much confused to re-possess their blankets, & thus lost their provisions.

Had Bowman been attacked during this return march, after the afternoon fight, it must have resulted disastrously.

Mr. Hall thinks Bowman's loss was seven or eight killed, & three or four wounded.

At the mouth of the Little Miami they found the boats, which had been directed to be there—crossed the Ohio—got but 163 horses over—were slower in getting back to the Ohio than in going out. Had the sale on the South bank of the Ohio, a little above the mouth of the Little Miami. The property sold, amounted, when apportioned off, to about 110 [pounds] to each man; little, however, was ever collected or distributed—& thus, as it proved in the sequel, each got what he bid off.

Capt. Wm. Harrod, with 6 others, went up the Ohio to Red Stone in the two keel boats &c.—and took along several bones & tusks got at the Big Bone Lick.

LOGAN'S CAMPAIGN—1786.

(From the Draper MSS., Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.)

Mr. Henry Hall was out on this campaign. Were some 8 or 9 hundred men—Colos. James Garrard, Benj. Harrison, Thos. Kennedy, and Hugh McGary were the principal officers under Logan.

When Logan reached Meckacheck, some 18 or 20 Indians remained, and the men rode after and killed them most all. Capt. Irvine and others were pursuing an Indian with a broken thigh, & did not rush upon him as quick as they ought—he snapped several times at Irvine, who thought the gun was empty; finally the Indian shot him in the breast, while on horseback—Irvine died that night. Rhody Stafford, was on the look for the same Indian (hid in the tall grass—vide Gen. Lee's statement—L. C. D.) & coming forward in the search, when he received a shot under the collar bone—then one of the men ran up & shot the Indian in the head. Stafford died at Maysville on the return of the troops. Wm. Rout was wounded.

Moluntha's Town was about a mile from Mackacheck, at the head of the prairie. There was Moluntha, & his queen & several others—some 15 or 20 prisoners, one or two of whom were white girls—one of these was badly cut by one of the Colonels mistaking her for an Indian. After the prisoners had been taken an hour, McGary went up to Moluntha, who had about his person a good many silver trinkets & jewelry, and asked—"Do you remember the Blue Lick Defeat?" "Yah, I do," replied Moluntha—upon which McGary cursed him, and snatched a squaw hatchet from the queen & with two blows killed Moluntha. Don't recollect about McGary cutting the queen's fingers off. McGary was much blamed—it had been strictly ordered, that no prisoners, after having surrendered, should be injured. No recollection about McGary's justifying himself for the act.

Next day went & took McKee's Town, 6 or 7 miles off—it was deserted; and burned these & some half a dozen on the Big

Miami;—but no more fighting. At McKee's—his (McKee's) house was hewed log—had windows & a porch, this with his hay &c. were burned. The fighting was confined to Meckacheck and the killing of Moluntha at his own town. At McKee's Town killed some hogs & beef cattle. All the towns were burned. But little plunder was taken—some kettles, etc.

Rendezvoused at Limestone or Maysville; & there on return disbanded.

The fight at Meckacheck was on the 17th Oct. and on the 17th left the towns on their return.

April, 1844. L. C. D.

(Copied.)

MAJOR GEORGE ADAMS.

GEO. A. KATZENBERGER, GREENVILLE, OHIO.

This section of Ohio is replete with historical events, many of which have been chronicled, while some have come down to us in the guise of legends. In the early days of the pioneers many soul-stirring events occurred with but few participants who realized that the recording of the same would be of value and of great interest to later generations.

One of the men very prominent in the early history of this section of Ohio was Major George Adams. This short sketch cannot claim to reveal any more than occasional facts, "until now hid away in the past's valley of oblivion." Written about eighty years after the death of the man of whom it treats, this review includes nothing ascertained from the chief character himself, and nothing is stated that was told to the writer by any one who knew him.

The facts related were previously "precipitated into the opaque sediment of history," and have been gleaned from various publications. Edgar's "Pioneer Life in Dayton & Vicinity," as well as Beers' History of Montgomery County is authority for the statement that George Adams was born in Virginia, October 26, 1767; served as a drummer boy in the War of the Revolution, and in 1790 came to Fort Washington with dispatches to General Harmar.

Another authority states that Adams and another man came down the Ohio River from Pittsburg in a canoe with an express to General Harmar at Ft. Washington. Harmar's army had marched a few days before they arrived. Governor St. Clair, who was there, wished Harmar to get the express, and proposed to furnish Adams with a good horse, saddle and bridle, if he would follow the army. He agreed to the proposal and was furnished with rifle and ammunition, parched corn, a little flour and a piece of pork and started to find Harmar. On the fourth

day he overtook the army at the old Indian town of Chillicothe, near Xenia, Ohio, about fifty miles from Ft. Washington. He delivered the dispatches to General Harmar, joined the Kentucky mounted men and continued with the army.

Harmar's command consisted of three hundred and twenty regular troops from New Jersey and Pennsylvania and 1133 drafted militia, (which really meant indiscriminate volunteers, aged men, and inexperienced boys) from Pennsylvania and Kentucky.

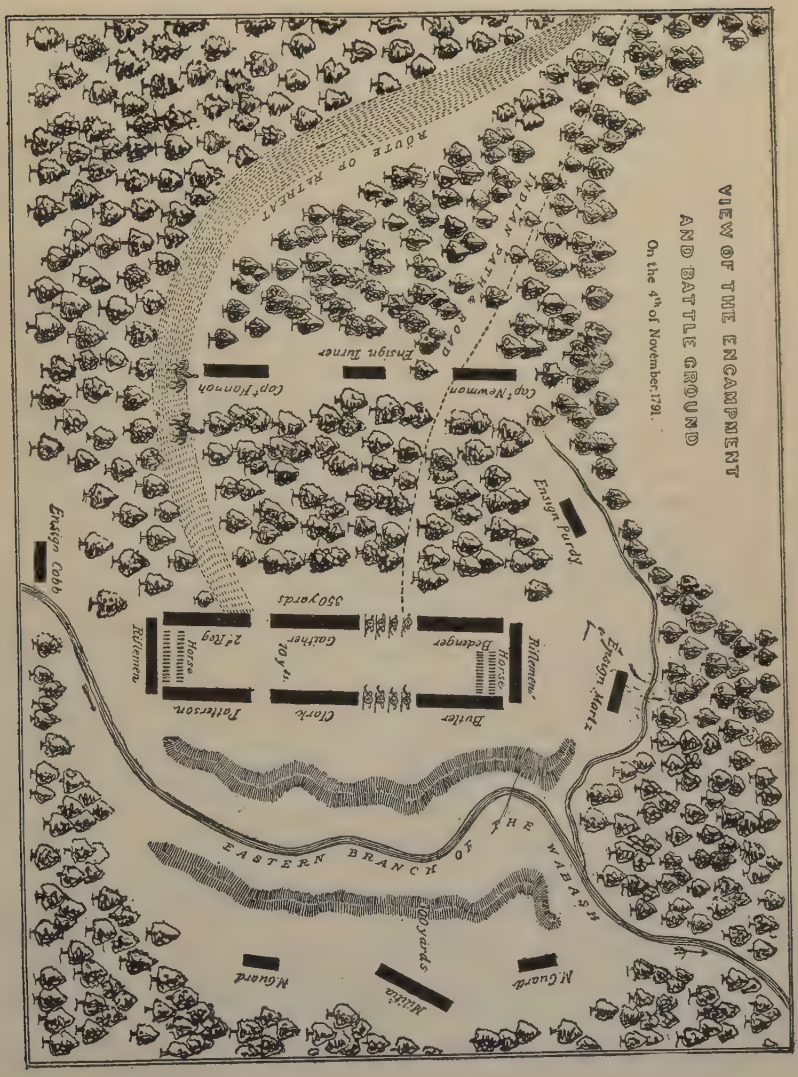
According to Frazer E. Wilson (History of Darke County) "The militia advanced up the Mill Creek valley on Sept. 26th, 1790, and the main army followed on the 30th. The forces were united on the 3rd of October and took the trace made by Geo. R. Clark up the Little Miami valley, passing near the present sites of Lebanon and Xenia, Ohio; crossing Mad river at old Piqua town (between Dayton and Springfield, O.); proceeding northwesterly and crossing the Great Miami above the present site of Piqua, Ohio; thence to the site of Loramie's store (Berlin, O.), across the old Indian and French portage to the St. Mary's river (near St. Mary's, O.), and on toward the Miami villages (Fort Wayne, Ind.).

Moorehead in his article on the Indian Tribes of Ohio, in Vol. VII. of said publications affirms that Harmar advanced northward from Cincinnati about twenty-five miles to a position on the great Miami, at which place Fort Hamilton was established the following year, and there united with the volunteer militia troops from Kentucky and Pennsylvania, whereupon he moved northeastwardly upon the chief town of the Shawnees, Chillicothe. On Harmar's approach he found the smoking ruins of a burned and abandoned village; not an Indian was to be seen. They had sacrificed their "Moscow," and retired ten miles in the direction of the confluence of the Mad River and the Great Miami; took up an advantageous position and awaited Harmar's movements who played into their hands by sending a small detachment under General Hardin of but two hundred and ten men to attack them. Moorehead's apparent confusion in this matter arose, probably from the fact that the Maumee in early days was called the Miami of the Lake, and that Chilli-

cothe is simply the Shawnee name for town, there being one of that name near Xenia and another on the Maumee as well as in other localities.

According to Major Denny's journal on October 18th, the men moved off with great reluctance, and when about three miles from camp not more than two-thirds of his command remained, the others having dropped out of ranks and returned to camp. Hardin proceeded and about ten miles from camp, not expecting to be near the enemy, he suddenly came upon a party supposed to be about one hundred only, and owing to the bad order of his men and their dastardly conduct, was entirely defeated. The Indians made the first discovery and commenced a fire at the distance of 150 yards, and advanced. The greatest number of the militia fled without firing a shot; some few with thirty regulars that were of the detachment, stood and were cut to pieces. Contrary to Moorehead this happened at the Miami village or Maumee towns on the Maumee River, about one hundred and seventy miles from Fort Washington. Two very considerable branches meet here, the St. Joseph from the northwest and the St. Marys from the southwest near Fort Wayne. On the same day the army moved from the Miami village and encamped at Chillicothe, two miles east. This last statement of Denny's does not conform to Moorehead's article, which states that this chief town of the Shawnee is three miles north of Xenia, and can be explained that Chillicothe signified "the town" and that there were several of that name in the country of the Shawnees.

On the twenty-first, quoting Denny, the army, having burned five villages besides the capital town, and consumed and destroyed twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears, took up their line of march back toward Fort Washington, and encamped eight miles from the ruined villages. At nine o'clock at night the General ordered four hundred choice men, militia and regulars, under the command of Major Wyllys, to return to the towns intending to surprise any parties that might be assembled there, expecting the Indians would collect to see how things were left. The Major about midnight marched in three divisions at the distance of a few hundred yards apart, intending to cross the Omee (Maumee)


VIEW OF THE ENCAMPMENT
AND BATTLE GROUND
On the 4th of November, 1791.
ROUTE OF RETREAT
INDIAN PATH
OLD
Ensign Turner
Cap.t Newman
Cap.t Flannoh
Ensign Purdy
Ensign Cobb
Ensign Mentz
Butler
Clark
Patterson
Bedenger
Gaither
Faulkner
Militia
Militia
2 Rifle
Horse
Riflemen
Riflemen
Horse
350 yards
350 yards
M Guard
M Guard
EASTERN BRANCH OF THE WABASH

as day broke, and come across the principal ruins all the same instant, but at different quarters.

Without giving all the details of the combat that ensued when the whites and the Indians met on the morning of the 22nd, it is sufficient to state that the Federals lost forty-eight men and two officers, and the militia not so many. Major Fontaine, who commanded the Cavalry and was with the center division, charged the enemy but was not supported—His men faltered; himself far in front, was singled out and fell. Among those who faltered not was George Adams. One of the rare and valuable Irwin manuscripts appears in Vol. VIII of *Hulbert's Historic Highways* and is quoted with the spelling and capitalization from the original manuscript. "Major Fountain had the Command of The Light horse and mounted men he Charged right in among The Enemy fired off his pistols and Drew his Sword Before They Could recover The Shock George Adams informed them that he was Near The Major at That Time That it appeared when The Enemy got over Their surprise Ten or Twelve Indians Discharged Their guns at him The Major kind of fell or hung on his horse They then Discharged Several Guns at said Adams he received Several flesh wounds But recovered By this Time The Militia and regulars Come up." It is also reported that when the Major found that his troops would not charge with him he called out to Adams, "stick to me my brave fellow."

McBride's Pioneer Biography (Vol. II, page 182) is authority for a statement that among the wounded was George Adams, who had killed five Indians while out on the expedition and had himself received four wounds. One ball entered his thigh; one broke his arm; another passed under his arm, grazed his body and lodged under his other arm and the fourth went through part of his breast and lodged under his shoulder blade. It is claimed that 43 bullet holes were shot through his coat.

In the History of Darke County John Wharry is authority for the statement that Adams was five times shot and severely wounded, which statement is confirmed by Edgar, above referred to.

In writing to C. E. Cist in August, 1845, Irwin recalls that Adams received four or five flesh wounds by a volley from the Indians. Elsewhere I found a memorandum to the effect that Irwin went to see Adams in the evening after the fight, that he looked bad and was very weak from the loss of blood before his wounds were dressed. Edgar continues "The Surgeons dressed his wounds but said he could not live until morning, and ordered his grave dug." Wharry confirms this and says he was carried on a litter between two horses to Cincinnati, although on the way a grave was dug for him three evenings in succession. Beers' history is authority for the statement that he was about five feet, eight inches tall and had red hair, which he wore very long. At Fort Washington he recovered entirely, becoming a strong and robust man. Mr. Adams was constantly in the service scouting through the Indian countries and was with St. Clair at the disaster of Fort Recovery, November 4, 1791, He is referred to in the testimony of Captain Slough, at the Court of Inquiry, requested by the defeated General. Referring to the evening before the battle, Slough testifies, "George Adams, who had gone out with us as my guide, came up by this time, and said he thought it would be prudent for us to return; and, as I found the men uneasy I ordered them to fall into the path in Indian file and return to camp, and, if they were attacked, to defend themselves with the bayonets altogether, and not fire their pieces. Every fifteen or twenty yards we heard something moving in the woods, on both sides of the path, but could not see what it was. We pushed on, gained the militia camp as soon as possible. I gained my party near Colonel Oldham's tent and went into it and awakened him, about, I believe, twelve o'clock. Adams was with me when I went out, and returned, and heard the conversation. I told Col. Oldham that I was of the same opinion with him that the camp would be attacked in the morning, for I had seen a number of Indians."

In the testimony of Col. Semple it appears that "just after the taps of the drums, on the morning of the fourth, I heard Major Butler interrogating Adams, about the success of the enterprise of Captain Slough, the preceding night; Adams replied that they had seen a number of Indians; that he (Adams)

had shot at, and he believed that he had killed one, and wished a party to go out with him and endeavor to find the Indian. Major Butler seemed displeased that they had taken no prisoners; about this time the firing began, the attack having been made on the militia."

This defeat has been fully treated in the two Volumes of the St. Clair papers, in the various addresses delivered at Fort Recovery, and in Wilson's, "Peace of Mad Anthony." Adams assisted in the retreat, as appears in the Irwin manuscript (see Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publication, Vol. X, page 379) as follows:—

"George Adams, who afterwards lived and died in Darke County, and was on that campaign I think as a spie. St. Clair placed great confidence in him for former services. He was with the gen'l. A short time before the army retreated he came to that part of the line, near where the trace was, give three sharp yells and said—'Boys let us make for the trace.'—He took the lead, a charge was made. I was within five or six feet of him. The Indians give way, a few guns was shot from both sides. When we had got perhaps about thirty rood Adams ordered them to halt and form a line. They were then on the trace and could not be stopped. The race continued perhaps four or five miles when they slackened their pace and arrived at Fort Jefferson a short time after sun set."

Edgar is authority for the further statement that Adams was made Captain of the Scout of Wayne's army and on one of his trips a comrade pointed out his two graves, neither of them occupied.

It appears that Adams was with Wayne in 1794 after the army left the garrison at Greenville, and on the way to the site of the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Wharry says that "On the third night after leaving Greenville Wayne's forces were encamped in the southeastern part of what is now Patterson Township, Darke County, and the main body of the Indians were not more than two miles distant from him on the bank of Black Swamp Creek, in the same township. On that night, at a Council held in the Indian camp, at which Major Adams was present, disguised in full Indian rig and paint, Little Turtle, one of the Indian Chiefs, strongly urged that the onslaught be made before morning."

Adams was probably with Wayne at the victory on the Maumee and at Fort Greenville in 1795 during the negotiation which resulted in peace.

For services as drummer boy in the Revolutionary War Adams received a warrant from the Government for one hundred acres of land, which he located south of Hamilton, Ohio, and upon which he lived for a short time. Knowing thoroughly of the rich lands of the Miami toward Mad River, the profusion of luxuriant verdure and native vegetation to be found in its rich, splendid bottoms and over the rolling timber lands, Adams ventured further into the forest with his little family when it was found that the Indians would respect the treaty.

His services in the Indian war entitled him to a large tract of Government land. He entered four hundred acres of first rate land in sections 21, 27 and 28, range 6, Township 1, East bank of the Miami and built his cabin in the bend of the river, below, near to Silver Creek (Hole's). With his family he brought their scanty cabin furniture and supplies, his rifle, axe and one horse critter; beginning life in the back woods by cultivating (that year, 1797) a little garden and corn patch at the edge of the prairie on his land.

In the river were fish in abundance, and in the woods game and wild honey, so that even in that first year there was but little privation for his family. With each year his farm was improved and the furniture and the cabin were made more comfortable. In the fields were cattle and hogs, and the fertile soil yielded abundant crops. The farmer and his family had bread and butter, milk, meat and vegetables in plenty for themselves and gave freely of it to hungry travelers and wandering Indians.

At the Indian alarm of 1799 Adams organized with settlers of the neighborhood a garrison for the defense of a blockhouse on Zechariah Hole's land and the cabins around. There were no Whites west of the river and it was feared that the Indians might come down the Bear Creek trail to destroy the feeble settlements along the river. For some time, possibly a month, scouts were kept out and the families repaired to the blockhouse

each night, but the danger passed without the settlement being molested.

That part of his farm near the mouth of the creek was known as Adams prairie, where in after years militia camps were located and camp meetings were often held.

For medical services rendered by Dr. John Hole, who had settled not far from where Adams had located there was issued, because money was scarce, the following due bill:—

"November 1, 1801: I agree to deliver to Dr. J. Hole a winter's smoaking of tobacco, or five venison hams."

(Signed) GEORGE ADAMS.

Several uneventful years elapsed during which his cabin was headquarters for various meetings. About this time he became religious and joined the New Light Church, although the family Bible states that in the year 1806, George and Elizabeth Adams joined the Baptist Church, called the Union Church, near Dayton on the Great Miami.

The War of 1812 breaking out, President Madison issued orders in April calling out a force of 1200 Ohio Militia for one year's service. On April 11th *The Ohio Centinal,* published at Dayton, Ohio, announced that. "Governor Meigs is expected in Dayton on the 20th to inspect the Company of Rangers that was being raised in that neighborhood." Later it states that "Orders were read at a Battalion Muster and also the Volunteer Bill passed by Congress February 20." It was expected that a sufficient number would volunteer to obviate the necessity of a draft, but only twenty stepped forth at the call of their country, thus confirming as Upton states in his most valuable book, "The Military Policy of the United States," that the great lessons of the Revolution, as well as those taught by the Indian expeditions were wasted upon the Government. The cry of "On to Canada" resounded from one end of the land to the other. Instant invasion was loudly advocated by the orators of the day, and many of our statesmen profoundly ignorant of the preparations needed for meeting a disciplined foe, did not hesitate to insist that a small body of volunteers and militia would amply suffice for the end in view.

In consequence of the lack of volunteers, the battalion was ordered to assemble on April 16th at Adams' Quarry near the mouth of Hole's Creek, five miles from Dayton. George Adams was one of those who promptly came to the front and was ordered to report with his battalion at that place "to have a draft if necessary." The coats of the soldiers in the army of 1812 were blue, with scarlet collar and cuffs, and they wore cocked hats, decorated with a cockade and white feather. April 29th a man was killed and scalped near Greenville and three murdered men were found in the woods near Fort Defiance. The Governor having appointed April 30th as a day of fasting and prayer, religious services were held at the Dayton Court House. The order, making Dayton the rendezvous of the militia, had been issued by Governor Meigs early in April, but when on May 1st the first companies arrived no preparation for their accommodation had been made. They bivouacked on the Common, now Cooper Library Park, without tents or other camp equipage till the middle of the month. Many of them were even without blankets. There were 2000 Indians in Ohio in 1812, most of them in the northwest corner of the State. It became necessary on account of the hostile attitude of the Indians to build several block houses in Montgomery County as rallying places for the settlers of Preble, Darke and Miami Counties.

At noon on Saturday, August 22nd, the news of the surrender of Hull's army reached Dayton. The people of this neighborhood and on the frontier were much alarmed by this terrible disaster. General Hull who was a tried hero of the Revolution and a favorite of Washington, in his appeal to the public, after he had passed the age of three score and ten, refers to the lack of discipline of his troops, and that a mutinous spirit prevailed, one hundred and eighty of the Ohio militia refusing to cross the river at Detroit "alleging as a reason that they were not obliged to serve outside of the United States."

Again quoting Upton, "The value set upon the militia by our opponents was shown by the fact that they permitted them to return to their homes, while the regulars were sent as prisoners to Montreal." The need of prompt action became apparent. As soon as the news of Hull's surrender had reached Governor

Meigs he ordered $40,000 worth of the public property to be removed from Piqua to Dayton. It is impossible for the present generation to realize the horrors and sufferings of the first year of the war. In King's History of Ohio it is stated that "An eye witness described the country as depopulated of men, and the farmer women weak and sickly, as they often were, and surrounded by helpless little children, were obliged, for want of bread, to till their field until frequently they fell exhausted and dying under the toil to which they were unequal."

That our Nation's natal day was as usually celebrated, notwithstanding adverse conditions is shown by a news item to the effect that the Fourth of July was celebrated at Greenville by a a volunteer company under command of Capt. VanCleve, all meeting at Mrs. Armstrong's for dinner and toasts.

I found in the *Centinal* of August 26th (which paper has since been destroyed in the Dayton Library by the flood) that "In the course of the morning of that date six companies consisting of upwards of four hundred men were organized into a battalion and chose Maj. George Adams their commandant. In the afternoon Major Adams marched from town with three hundred and forty-one men completely equipped."

Shortly after this time two regiments of Montgomery County militia were stationed at Piqua; Major Adams' battalion was ordered to St. Marys, and Col. Jerome Holt and his regiment to Greenville, where they were directed to build a block house and stockade. Later, as the Indians were threatening Fort Wayne, it became necessary to obtain reinforcement for Major Adams' battalion, who were about to march from St. Marys to the relief of that post. On September 2nd, 1812, Governor Meigs issued an address appealing to the valor and patriotism of the citizens, and General William H. Harrison asked for "any number of volunteers, mounted and prepared for active service, to continue for twenty-five or thirty days" adding that "those brave men who may give their country their services on this occasion, may be assured that an opportunity of distinguishing themselves will be offered." Several days later Harrison published another address, "I have now a more pressing call for your services! The British and Indians have in-

vaded our country and are now besieging, (perhaps have taken) Fort Wayne."

From the *Centinal* of September 9th we glean the information that "The Ohio Volunteers under Col. Adams, who marched from Piqua for the relief of Fort Wayne, proceeded as far as St. Marys where they found it prudent from the report of their spies to wait for reinforcements. On Sunday last the Kentucky Volunteers proceeded from Piqua to reinforce them; on Monday General Harrison left Piqua to take command of the whole in person." The army thus collected at St. Marys is said to have numbered four thousand and with General Harrison marched for Fort Wayne on September 9th. The distance was fifty-five miles and he arrived on the twelfth. The army destroyed the Indian villages and then returned to St. Marys.

From a roster examined by me in the Adjutant General's office at Columbus I find that Adams was Major and Lieutenant Col. for one month from August 23rd, 1812. The *Centinal* of September 23rd confirms the record by stating "Colonel Adams' regiment of Ohio Volunteers was discharged at Fort Wayne. They returned home where their prompt patriotism shown in volunteering for the defense of the frontier, without an instant's delay, was highly appreciated."

In September General Harrison was commissioned Major-General in the United States army and Commander-in-Chief of the troops in the northwest territory, and ordered to take Detroit. His troops were neither drilled nor supplied with sufficient ammunition, provisions and other necessaries. From his headquarters at St. Marys September 29th, 1812 he sent an appeal "presenting his compliments to the ladies of Dayton and soliciting their assistance in making shirts for their brave defenders, who composed his army, many of whom are almost destitute of that article, so necessary to their health and comfort."

The Ohio *Centinal* of October 7th contains a notice that, "Colonel George Adams wishes to raise a company of mounted riflemen, to join General Harrison as soon as possible. All those brave men who are disposed to aid the cause of their country in her present struggle are invited to meet at Dayton on Saturday next for the purpose of organizing themselves into

a company to march immediately to Fort Defiance." Steele in his History of Dayton is authority for the statement that "Early in October Major Adams raised a company of mounted riflemen, who expected to proceed at once to Fort Defiance, but as the Indians from the Mississinewa region were becoming very troublesome to the inhabitants of Preble and Greene Counties the new Dayton company was ordered to Fort Greenville. The Indians murdered any of the people of those countries whom they found outside of the block houses and stole many horses and cattle. Two little girls were killed on the second of October within half a mile of Greenville."

It will not be inappropriate at this place to insert an account of the murder of the Wilson children, which George W. Wolfe in his outline of History of Darke County states occurred in July 1812. The last named issue of the *Centinal,* which was published on a Wednesday, refers to the murder as having been committed "on Saturday last," which would make the date October 3, 1812, and would not be much of a variance from Steele's account above quoted. Combining the account in the *Centinal* with Wolfe's article it would appear that Patsy and Anna Wilson, daughters of "Old Billy Wilson" and aged respectively fourteen and eight years (*Centinal* says eleven) accompanied by their brother, older than they, left the stockade in the afternoon to gather berries, probably crossing Greenville Creek where Locust street intersects the creek, near N. Kuntz's saw mill. *The Centinal* states that the girls were out gathering grapes with their brother, a boy of about seventeen, not more than two hundred yards from Mr. Terry's stockade, where they were discovered by three lurking Delaware Indians. The Indians had two guns, both of which they discharged at them but without effect. The girls were too much terrified to be able to make their escape; they both fell victims to the savage tomahawk. Wolfe says that the brother had left his gun nearby and the three were some distance apart at the time of the surprise. Not being able to secure his gun, the brother escaped by swimming the stream. The account in the *Centinal* is to the effect that the boy had a shotgun with him, loaded with small pigeon shot, and that he was pursued by one of the Indians

armed with a tomahawk and scalping knife, as far as Mr. Terry's mill pond, which lay between them and the stockade. He there wheeled and aimed at the Indian who instantly retreated; this enabled the boy to swim the pond and reach the stockade in safety. His cries and the screams of the girls attracted the attention of Abraham Scribner and William Devor, who immediately ran to the spot, but the Indians had fled after killing the girls by blows on the head with the poll, or back of their tomahawks. *The Centinal* states that the alarm was so soon given that the savages succeeded in scalping only one of the girls, the eldest, they cut across the head of the other but did not get the scalp off. The dead bodies were carried into the fort, where three companies were stationed under command of Major Lanier. The sisters were buried under the tree near where they were murdered and this was the last tragedy of its kind in those perilous times. About the first of July, 1871, the remains of those two sisters were taken up and in the Greenville Journal of June 8th, 1871, appears the lengthy program of the pioneer basket meeting to be held July 4th at the grove of N. Hart, half mile north of Greenville, at which appropriate orations and ceremonies were to be held. A committee of young girls carried the remains to the new Greenville cemetery where they were deposited, a large assembly of people being in attendance to show their respect for the dead. On the same day a large granite bowlder, weighing perhaps four tons swung under a wagon, drawn by six horses, was driven into the cemetery and placed over their graves. Here let them rest in peace, and may their monument be a constant reminder to us of the trials and dangers through which the early settlers passed and may it admonish us of the importance of properly appreciating the privileges and blessings we enjoy.

Reverting now to Major Adams, who as we stated raised a company of mounted riflemen, and proceeded to Fort Greenville, we find the following notice in the *Centinal* of December 16th, 1812:

AN ESTRAY MARE.

Sometime in November was taken up at the head of Still Water by a scouting party from Fort Greenville, a sorrel MARE, with a blazed

face, two near feet white, fourteen and a half hands high, supposed to be six years old next spring. She is supposed to have strayed or been stolen from the army. The owner can have his property by applying to the subscriber, commanding at Fort Greenville.

(Signed) GEORGE ADAMS.

The savages did not make their way to Dayton but approached near enough to alarm the people. On the first of December a detachment of regulars arrived in Dayton where, as they were only partly mounted, they remained until the 11th to procure horses. On the 11th, leaving their heavy baggage at Dayton, they proceeded northwesterly on an expedition against the Indians in the Miami villages near Muncie town on the Mississinewa, a branch of the Wabash. Thirty Indians were killed during this expedition, fully sixty wounded and forty-three taken prisoners. While on their return to Dayton the men exhausted their supply of provisions and forage; snow and ice rendered the roads almost impassable; the wounded were suffering from cold and exposure and from lack of surgical attention and nursing, and the hands, feet and ears of nearly every man in the force were frosted. On the 22nd of December Major Adams arrived from Greenville with ninety-five men, and immediately supplied the almost starving soldiers with a half ration each. The next day Colonel Holt also came to their assistance with provisions so that they were able to march to Greenville, which they reached on the 24th. While in camp twelve miles south of Greenville a resolution of thanks to Colonel Holt and Major Adams and their men for the prompt and efficient relief they had afforded them, was voted by Colonel Campbell's command. They arrived at Dayton on Sunday the 27th where they rested for several days before proceeding to their headquarters at Franklinton, (Columbus, Ohio). The *Centinal* says that "Their solemn procession into town with the wounded extended on litters, excited emotions which the philanthropic bosom may easily conceive but it is not in our power to describe them."

The following is a copy of a letter from Major George Adams to Major Reid, dated Fort Greenville, December 27, 1812:

"The Indians taken in the late battle, forty-one in number, were left at this place, and yesterday were sent to Piqua guarded by twenty-five of my men. On yesterday evening the Indians, sent by Col. Campbell to the Delaware towns arrived at Greenville. They state that all the Delaware Indians will be here within six days, and that a number of them may be expected this evening."

More than two years later came the glorious news that peace had been concluded between the United States and Great Britain, but in the meantime there had been a treaty of peace between the Indians and the Whites under General Harrison, all differences being reconciled at the second Treaty of Greenville, July 22nd, 1814. Edgar states that Adams was in command at Fort Greenville when peace was declared, but was not released from duty until the Indians were quieted, but this statement is open to question.

McIntosh's History of Darke County is authority for the statement "Soon after Harrison's Treaty, Major Adams, an old soldier of Wayne's army, erected a kind of chopping mill, five miles below Greenville upon the later site of the mill of Oliver & Co.," but Edgar says that "while located at the Fort, Adams entered land on Greenville Creek, where he built a cabin and moved his family and later built a corn cracker and saw mill." Under the History of Adams Township, Darke County, occurs the statement that "very soon after the cessation of hostilities, Major George Adams came to the township and, studying the needs of the pioneers and his own interest as well, erected a flouring mill on Section 33, where now stands the mill of Stoltz and Coppess. This was the pioneer mill of the county, and became known far and wide and there are many pioneers now living (1880) who have a pleasing recollection of the gallant Major and his old time mill."

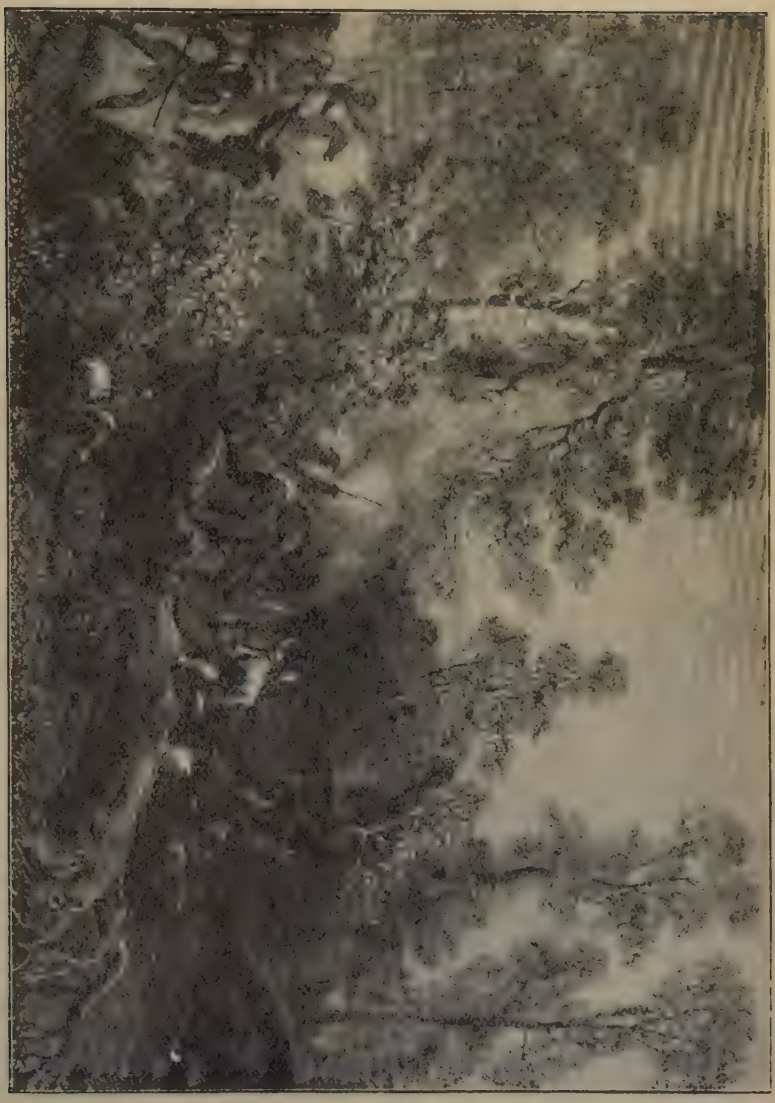
Similarly it is stated that while out scouting in the vicinity of Greenville he became acquainted with the fine mill site that he afterward occupied. Adams' mill turned out very coarse meal and very little of that. Wheat was also ground, but customers were obliged to bolt their flour by hand, and it would have satisfied any Grahamite to have used the product of the mill. Still, the mill was a popular resort, all the more so after

a little grocery had been established where whisky and tobacco were retailed. Here was a place at which shooting matches, quoit throwing and an occasional fist fight were common. Adams was a genial, fun-loving man, widely known and deservedly popular; a crowd of congenial spirits gathered about him, and the little settlement took the name of "Adams' Mill," and when the township was finally organized, (1819) it was named in his honor. A more recent structure at the old site is now known as "Baer's Mill."

Adams is also referred to in Charlotte Reeve Conover's volume "Concerning the Forefathers," Mrs. Catherine Patterson Brown stating in her Memoirs "Colonel Hawkins, Major Adams, Dr. Hole, with father and possibly others whom I may have forgotten, made up a circle of Revolutionary soldiers, respected in the community and honored on all public occasions during their lives." This volume confirms the activities of Major Adams, adding "Major George Adams, Colonel Patterson and his sons-in-law Captain Nisbet and Henry Brown, were closely associated in frontier affairs from the opening to the close of the War of 1812."

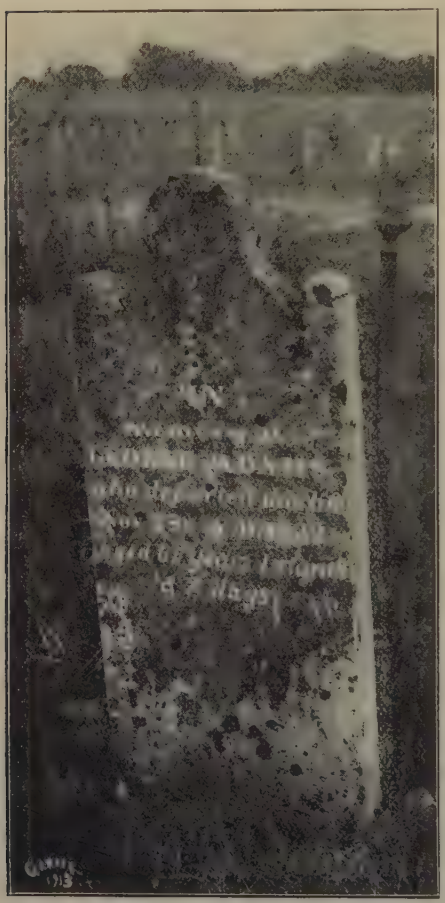
On January 20th, 1819, the first bridge to cross the Miami at Dayton was open for travel and Ashley Brown writes, "It was shortly after the opening of this bridge that Captain and Mrs. Nisbet visited the Rubicon, and returning to Twin Creek took Colonel and Mrs. Patterson with them, the intention of the two men being to ride over to Greenville creek to call upon Major George Adams; but this project they abandoned in order to enjoy several days' hunting, as deer had been plentiful."

I find no further reference to Major Adams in any volumes at my disposal, but it is known that the two Houses of the Ohio Legislature in joint session on the 15th of December, 1826, and the 22nd of January, 1827, elected an Auditor of State, a keeper of the Penitentiary, a State Librarian and other officers, George Adams being appointed Associate Judge for Darke County. Edgar states that, "Adams held this office until his death, November 29th, 1832," but we find only the one appointment in the Official Records.



Battle of Miami or Fallen Timbers.

Upon inquiry at the Pension Department we find that it does not appear on the records of that Bureau that Major George Adams ever made application for a pension for services in any of the Indian Wars and the War of 1812, but upon inquiry at the War Department we are informed "no record has been found of the service of George Adams, in the Indian Disturbances referred to. The name George Adams, however, appears as that of Lieut. Colonel in the Caption of the Company Rolls of a regiment of Ohio Militia covering the period of August and September, 1812, and as that of Major in the Captions of the Company rolls of a Battalion of Ohio Militia for the period from September, 1812, to May, 1813."



Grave of George Adams.

Major George Adams was married January 26th, 1792, probably at Limestone, Ky., to Elizabeth Ellis, who was born March 1st, 1773, in northwest Virginia and who died February 22nd, 1847. It is to be deplored that no additional facts are at hand concerning this worthy pioneer woman. As years pass on, the gathering of facts like the foregoing becomes more and more difficult because

original sources become obliterated or destroyed, but the beneficent influence of the pioneer woman must ever be acknowledged. Patriotic mothers nursed the infancy of freedom. Their counsels and their prayers mingled with the deliberations that resulted in a Nation's assertion of its Independence. They animated the courage, and confirmed the self-devotion of those who ventured all in the common cause. They willingly shared inevitable dangers and privations, relinquished without regret prospects of advantage to themselves, and parted with those they loved better than life, not knowing when they were to meet again. We have no means of showing the important part women bore in maintaining the struggle, and in laying the foundations on which so mighty and majestic a structure has arisen. History cannot do them justice; for history deals with the workings of the head, rather than the heart. Family tradition has it that Miss Ellis' mother was Elizabeth Ellis, probably the wife of General Ellis of Marietta, Ohio. The family Bible gives a record of twelve children. The first, John, born 1792, died five years later; the second son, George Adams, was born in 1794. The first daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1796, at which time it is probable that Adams was still living near Cincinnati, which had ceased to be known as Fort Washington in January, 1790, upon the arrival of Governor St. Clair. *The Illustrated News* of Cincinnati under date of September 11, 1886, has an item to the effect that Elizabeth Adams was born in Fort Washington, and that she was the first white female child born in Cincinnati. Inasmuch as the same writer reveals his historical inaccuracy by stating that George Adams was a cousin of Daniel Boone, and was a Major in the regular army at Fort Washington, and was badly wounded in Harmar's defeat in 1812, not much reliance can be placed upon the information he endeavors to convey. It is a fact, however, that Elizabeth Adams at about the age of twenty married Caleb Worley, and in 1823 removed to Covington, Miami County, where she resided until she was past ninety-five years of age.

Another son, Thomas, was born in 1798, and died at the age of thirty-three; Isabella Adams was born in 1800 and died at the age of fourteen; Mary, born in 1802, lived but two years

and Nancy, born in 1803, lived until near the close of the Civil War. Another son, William Adams, was born in 1806, but the date of his death is to me unknown, while Margaret, born in April, 1808, died in the same month; Caleb, born in 1809, died in 1842, and Cynthia was born in 1811. The last child, Martha Adams, born in 1816, married Robert L. Harper, died in 1894, and the family Bible was last known to be in the possession of her daughter, Martha Brubaker, a grand-daughter of George Adams. A grand-daughter of Elizabeth Adams, who married Caleb Worley, resides in Greenville, and her oldest son, Oscar Kerlin, Jr., was one of the two boys who unveiled the Treaty Tablet, in Greenville on August 3rd, 1906.

Possibly other facts concerning Major George Adams are obtainable from records and from descendants of him who has fallen into the deep tranquillity of endless sleep. Major Adams lies buried in the Martin cemetery near Greenville, and in his grave are doubtless a number of the bullets which the surgical skill of early days could not remove.

The purpose of this article has been to do justice to the memory of one whose military and civil life was so closely interwoven with the early history of Western Ohio and of Darke County in particular.

"A braver, bolder, gentler man,
Ne'er served his native land."

LETTERS OF SENATOR H. B. PAYNE OF OHIO.

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The original of the following letters are in the possession of the contributor. They treat of interesting political events, interesting, particularly, to residents of the Buckeye state and to students of the history of the Middle West. They would seem to have something more than passing significance because of the prominence of the author of them, and of the public men and public measures considered.

It is decidedly refreshing to note the absolute independence of Senator Payne. No one can read these letters without becoming convinced that the author of them knows his views upon public questions, and, knowing them, dare to announce and maintain them. He was something more than a mere time-server. His sincerity was above question. His courage was strictly of the herculean order.

The contributor had no personal acquaintance with Mr. Payne. And these remarks are almost entirely based upon the tenor of these interesting letters. But the death of him has been so recent, that there are many still living who will know if these random observations are, in truth, well-founded and just.

In the confident belief that this foreword may have some interest in connection with the copies of letters submitted, the contributor leaves the rest for the reader to supply in such manner as to him may appear fit and historically true.

CLEVELAND, Ap. 10th, 1884.

HON. JAS. R. DOOLITTLE.

DEAR FRIEND:—I beg to apologize for the delay in acknowledging and replying to your esteemed favor of the 29th ult. In the first place, several days were consumed in its journey to Washington, where its author must have supposed that Senators take their seats 12 mos. before their term commenced; and sec-

ondly, I thought I could reply to your inquiries about Ohio more satisfactorily after our Spring elections.

With most of your views of the probable candidates on the Republican side I concur, except, in my opinion, Blaine and not Gen'l Sherman, will be nominated at Chicago. I also fully agree with you in your opinion and estimate of Tilden.

Now as to Ohio and the October election. What I thought of the situation and prospect in January you will find in my Banquet Speech (a copy of which I mail to your address, as you may not have perused it). Subsequent events and reflection confirmed every line and paragraph of it. But for the insanity at Washington we could and would have carried the State in October by 25 or 30,000. Then with the prestige of such a victory the states you named would have all followed suit and secured the national victory in November. But devils and fools would have it otherwise. Carlisle was made Speaker. Hurd, the fanatic free-trader was, against the united protest of all our members, and the known wishes of the entire party in the state, placed on the Ways & Means Com., and under the lead of Watterson and the Kentucky Statesmen, a crusade was commenced for "Revenue only" and against the "Ohio Platform". All that was wanted to secure success on our part was that the tariff for this Congress should be let alone. The present law had not been tested. No man could tell wherein it was defective. Nobody asked for change or agitation. No amendatory law could be passed. Evil and only evil could result from the attempt. But demented, conceited, desperate schemers would not have it so. They proclaimed "free trade or defeat"! Hence the "Morrison Bill", with its senseless, illogical and ridiculous *horizontal* strike. Last October the reduced wool rate gave us at least 10,000 votes. Both parties pledged their efforts to restore the former rate. M's bill, instead of restoring it, deducts 20 more and the recent vote of the House shows an immense majority of democrats in that direction. Now how can we expect that the wool-growers can be induced to vote with us in Oct. or Nov.? Unless the democratic members by some bad step rebuke this free trade madness, and with the coming convention pronounce distinctly for the Ohio Platform it will, in my opinion, be utterly useless to enter a

canvass to carry Ohio in October. It is equally clear that no one of the States named by you can be carried in November.

But more than this. Since my election and the publication of the Banquet Speech I have received more than 500 letters, including some from every state in the Union, most of the writers saying that the speech was all the platform they wanted. At least 5 Southern States, it is said by leading intelligent men, will vote the Republican ticket if the issue is made in free trade, Virginia, W. Virginia, N. Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, & Tennessee, may at least be placed in the doubtful list. Most of these states with Penn., N. Jersey & Conn. have adopted the Ohio platform. Yet if on the Morrison Bill it appears that a majority of the Dem. party are free traders, I doubt much whether the Ohio Platform adopted at Chicago would recover us from the shock which this agitation has given in alarming the business men of the country. Without such recovery Ohio will give a majority against us of at least of 30,000, and the party will sustain a more disastrous defeat than at any election since the close of the war

I am very busy, and write in much haste. I grieve that I cannot present a more hopeful view of our situation and prospects.

I have but a single ambition of a personal character, and that is, to witness the inauguration of a Democratic President, but now I fear that I must abandon that hope.

Ever truly your friend,

H. B. Payne.

Cleveland, June 12th, 1884.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,

My Dear Sir:—I beg to reply briefly but frankly to the inquiries in your letter of the 10th inst.

1st as to myself, my course as to Secession, Vallandigham, was open, direct and well known. No sympathy felt or expressed for either. I denounced incipient secession at Charleston, and was a Douglas war Democrat through the entire struggle. On the finance, hard money, bi-metallic, am an advocate of retaining the present issue of Greenbacks as an element of the circulating medium.

This however, in my view, is now of little moment. I do not wish to make public my opinion as to Ohio, lest it might tend to injure Thurman's prospects. But to you I say in all frankness that no Democrat can carry this state against Garfield. I believe I would come as near doing so as any one, and as against Grant or Blaine, should not have doubted it. But Ohio has always been Whig or Republican, when there was a full vote and but two tickets.

In my judgment, we can and must win by selecting candidates suitable for the seats of Conn., N. Y., N. J., & Indiana. We can even share one of them. Why not then let the Delegations from those States name the men? Hendricks, I am sorry to say, will not be acceptable to the East, but will not some man at the East, like Hancock or Hubbard of Conn. be acceptable to all? Personal preferences must be set aside and the best man for success united upon. I believe Garfield, outside the Wes. Reserve, is not a strong candidate.

In haste, truly your friend,

H. B. PAYNE.

CLEVELAND, June 22d, 1884.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE,

MY DEAR SIR:—Your suggestions are eminently opportune and sensible. There is no necessity for collision in regard to the tariff. Leaving out the few rank, selfishly ambitious, idiotic free traders, all will agree that a wise revision is desirable with a view to a large reduction of revenue as well as of taxation. The word "only" must be left out at all hazards. A majority of the Southern States have already pronounced its fate.

Nothing would please me more than your election as President. I was at Phila. and Baltimore, and know all about your qualifications. Your location, your views, experience, etc., etc., points to you as the man. Whatever I can do with Ohio delegates & others, will be done most cheerfully. I shall not be in Chicago, but Ohio will be there in strength and as a "unit."

Very truly your friend,

H. B. PAYNE.

NOTE. — This letter is not directed to Judge Doolittle by name. But there can be no doubt that it was intended for him. It is an open secret that Mr. Doolittle was a receptive candidate for the Democratic nomination for President at this time.

DUANE MOWRY.

CLEVELAND, Aug. 14, 1884.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE,

MY DEAR SIR:—I have delayed replying to your letter of the 11th inst. for a day that I might confer with my son, the Col. & some other friends.

We all agree that you should come to Ohio where we believe you can do more good than in any other field.

We are not sanguine, but quite hopeful of success in October. The Trades Union and disaffected Irish gave us considerable uneasiness for a time, but danger from those sources has lessened, is lessening. We now expect the gain from the Germans and from the active support of the state officials will more than compensate any loss from the former. Whatever increase is gained by the Prohibitionists will come mainly from the Republicans. If we cannot carry Ohio this year, I shall despair of ever doing so in a presidential election canvass. This scandal affair is unfortunate to say the least. Some of the tenderest portion of the goody good people may be frightened away from us.

You name the two vulnerable points in Blaine's case. But should not our Speakers and Press make the campaign more aggressive? The Currency and Reconstruction questions are disposed of. The Tariff is practically and happily settled. The main issue is reform. The corruption, extravagance, waste and uselessness of the party in power call for retrenchment and reform, etc.

Ever truly your friend,

H. B. PAYNE.

CLEVELAND, June 2d, 1893.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE,

DEAR SIR:—I have your favor of the 1st inst. and most deeply regret to say that I have no business or social acquaintance

with Mr. R. that will enable me to render the aid you desire. I sympathize with your views and should be happy in your success.

As you may desire to apply in another direction, I return the papers.

And am very truly your friend,

H. B. PAYNE.

NOTE. — I have no definite means of knowing who is the "Mr. R." referred to in Mr. Payne's letter. I have a suspicion, however, that the "papers" had something to do with Judge Doolittle's application for an appointive position under President Cleveland's second administration. I know that Mr. Doolittle was an aggressive candidate for both the Russian and Austrian Mission. And I also know that Mr. Cleveland absolutely declined to consider his name for any appointment whatever, in spite of the fact that Mr. Doolittle was a warm supporter of Mr. Cleveland's candidacy before the people. As one of Mr. Cleveland's most intimate friends said to the writer: "It was most regrettable that President Cleveland chose to treat Judge Doolittle's application with silent contempt and indifference. For, Mr. Doolittle was, in every way, a capable and worthy man. He would have reflected credit upon the administration." This letter, except as it may indicate the feelings of Mr. Payne towards the efforts of Judge Doolittle as above mentioned, is of slight historical significance. DUANE MOWRY.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XXII. No. 4. OCTOBER, 1913.

E. O. Randall

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES.

Reuben Gold Thwaites, whose work in the field of Western history has made his name familiar to every American historical student, died in Madison, Wis., on October 22. He was born in Dorchester, Mass., in 1853, and in 1866 removed to Wisconsin. From 1876 to 1886 he was managing editor of the "Wisconsin State Journal," published in Madison. In 1886 he was elected Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and editor of the society's "collections," which positions he has occupied continuously since. He was President of the American Library Association in 1900, and has held various other prominent offices of an active or honorary sort. His first published work, "Down Historic Waterways," appeared in 1888; this was followed at intervals of two or three years by "The Story of Wisconsin," "The Colonies, 1492-1750," "Our Cycling Tour in England," "On the Storied Ohio," volumes on Father Marquette and Daniel Boone in the "Pioneers of America" series, a "Brief History of Rocky Mountain Exploration," "France in America," a volume on Wisconsin for the "American Commonwealths" series, besides several other books of educational or other more specialized character. Perhaps Dr. Thwaites's most valuable work was his editorial labors upon "The Jesuit Relations," published in seventy-three volumes during 1896-1901, which will always remain a noble monument of historical scholarship. He also edited the series of "Early Western Travels, 1748-1846," in thirty-six volumes, authoritative editions of the Lewis and Clark Journals, Father Hennepin's "New Discovery," Lahontan's "New Voyages to North America," Kinzie's "Wau Bun," and several other middle Western historical sources.

The editor recalls with pleasure his literary and personal associations with Dr. Thwaites. To him our Society is indebted for many of the original publications relative to the Early West, and in his death we recognize a distinct and almost irreparable loss to Western historical research.

THOMAS J. BROWN.

Thomas J. Brown, a life member of this Society, died at his home in Waynesville, Warren county, Ohio, early on Wednesday morning, April 2nd, 1913. He was born near the village of Bellbrook, Greene county, Ohio, August 16th, 1833, thus at the time of his death, being but a few months under eighty years of age. Mr. Brown's entire life was spent in the immediate vicinity of the place of his birth and the home of his boyhood.

THOMAS J. BROWN.

Thomas J. Brown was the youngest son of David W. and Lydia Rowser Brown, who came here from Bedford county, Pennsylvania, and settled in Greene county at a very early period and reared a large family of children. Of the ten children comprising the family, only one, Mrs. S. P. Kindle, of Waynesville, Ohio, a sister, survives Mr. Brown, although all grew to adult age.

At the age of fourteen Mr. Brown suffered the loss of his hearing, but with the fortitude which characterized his entire life, he bore his affliction without a murmur. In fact, the loss of this faculty seemed to sharpen those remaining, and with stimulated desourcefulness he sought his life work and pleasure along lines in which his affliction would not interpose too great a handicap. In Science and Journalism principally, he found an adequate vehicle for carrying his aspirations to a gratifying achievement.

Mr. Brown received his education at Wittenberg college, where he developed a deep interest in the study of scientific works and literature. This led him into the field of Geology, in which he became a recognized scholar. He was closely associated with the late Professor Edward Orton, of Ohio State University, for a number of years, and took an active part in the Geological survey of Warren and Greene counties.

At an early age Mr. Brown became interested in the study of Archæology, finding much material for research in his section of the state. Residing within a few miles of Fort Ancient, Warren county, that great earthwork became a source of never failing interest to him, and for a period of more than half a century it was the objective point of numerous pilgrimages. He became a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society in 1889, and always took a deep interest in its welfare and proceedings, and was a valued contributor to the quarterly publications. He was likewise a member of the Maryland

Academy of Sciences and a contributor to the organ of that body. During his years of study and field explorations, Mr. Brown assembled a large collection of Geological and Archæological specimens. A few years before his death he presented to the Bellbrook High School, where as a youth he had been a pupil, his Geological collection, and a few years previously gave his Archæological collection to the Museum of the O. S. A and H. Society.

On May 23, 1861, in St. Barnabas Church in Baltimore, Maryland, Mr. Brown was married to Sophia Annie Stinchcomb, who died March 13, 1911, shortly before the fiftieth anniversary of their wedding. The couple began life at Cottonwood Farm, near Ferry, Greene county, but in 1878 they moved to Waynesville, where they spent the remainder of their lives.

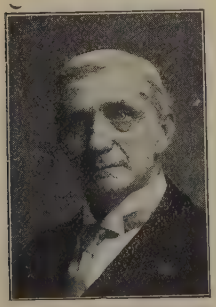
In a business way Mr. Brown, perhaps, was best known as the owner and editor of the Miami Gazette, which paper he edited for more than a quarter of a century.

Two daughters, Annie Urith and Mary Thomas, were born to Mr. and Mrs. Brown.

Despite his great age, Mr. Brown's mind remained clear until within a few moments of his death, and he was able to converse with his daughters concerning the events of the day.

ABRAHAM J. BAUGHMAN.

Abraham J. Baughman, for many years a member of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, died at Mansfield, O., October 1, 1913. He was born September 5, 1838 in Monroe Township, Richland County, this State. He received his education in the district schools, taught school and studied law, but on the breaking out of the Civil War he enlisted in Company I, 16th Ohio Volunteer Infantry and afterwards in Company E, 32nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry. Owing to ill-health he was honorably discharged on account of physical disability.



ABRAHAM J. BAUGHMAN.

In 1885 he was appointed to a clerkship in the U. S. Treasury Department at Washington, D. C. He afterwards was connected with the New York *World* and the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*. His taste however seemed to divert him to historical study and writing, so he returned to Ohio to devote his labor to this work. He wrote a history of Richland county, and contributed to the local state press results of his historical research. He organized the Richland County His-

torical Society in 1898, and was its secretary until his death. He was secretary of the Mansfield Centennial Commission. In 1904 he was a delegate to the American Historical Association.

During his newspaper career he was connected in various ways with the Canal Fulton *Herald*, Medina *Democrat*, Mansfield *Call*, Mansfield *Democrat*, New Philadelphia *Evening News*, Marion *Star*, Steubenville *Gazette* and the New Philadelphia *Ohio Democrat*. He was a member of the G. A. R. and Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Soldiers' Memorial Building at Mansfield.

INDEX VOLUME XXII.

A.

Abolition, 308.
  Hoster, Henry, 311.
  Rankin, John, 309.
  Slave Hunters, 315.
Adam, Alex, 197.
Adams, Elizabeth, 541.
Adams, Maj. George, 522.
  Associate judge, 538.
  Bill to Dr. Hole, 530.
  Bravery of, 526.
  Call for mounted riflemen, 533.
  Church affiliations, 530.
  Commandant of militia, 532.
  Enlists in War of 1812, 531.
  Erects mill, 537.
  Family of, 541, 542.
  Grave of, 542.
  Letter of, to Major Reid, 537.
  Marriage of, 540.
  Notice of estray mare, 535.
  Organized against Indians, 529.
  Receives land of government, 529.
  Record of, at Washington, 540.
  Sketch of, 522.
  Sources of information about, 522.
  Supplies regulars with provisions, 536.
  Wayne's campaign, 1774, in, 528.
  Work of, as scout, 528.
  Wounds of, 526.
  Vitality of, 527.
Adams' Mill, 538.
Adams Prairie, 530.
Address —
  Bullock, Rev. C. Seymour, O. V. H. A., 31.
  Constructing a navigation system in the west, 16.
  Hedges, Job E., New Orleans Centennial, 37.
  Pres. Taft, at New Orleans Centennial, 35.
  Pittsburg key to the west during American Revolution, 64.
  Ship and bridge building on the Ohio, 54.
  Vance, John L., O. V. H. A., 27.
Algonquins, 344.
America, Development of, 92.
American Fur Co., 346.
"American Pioneer," 426.
Anti-Federalist Party, Tammany supports, 369.
Articles [See Address].
  American interests in the Pacific, 91.
  Andrew Poe's encounter with the Indians, 492.
  Bowman's Campaign of 1779, 502, 515.
  Dedication of the Logan Elm, 267.
  Evolution of the Ohio-Erie boundary, 326.
  Ewing, Thos., Autobiography, 126.
  Fort Hill Indian Cemetery, 319.
  Fort McArthur Tablet Memorial, 409.
  French settlements of Great Lakes, 341.
  Gen. Clark's campaign, 1780, 500.
  Marking the Abolition Holes, 308.
  Major George Adams, 522.
  Ohio Frontier in 1812, 205.
  Ohio Valley Historical Association, 1.
  Old Fort Sandoski, 370.
  Protection of prehistoric mounds and village sites, 340.
  Rise of medical colleges in Ohio Valley, 481.
  Speech of Richard Douglas, of Chillicothe, 381.
  Tammany Society in Ohio, 349.
  The future of navigation on the western rivers, 79.
  The Sandusky forts, 322.
  Unveiling of Fort Recovery Monument, 419.
Art School, first in Cincinnati, 490.
Athenean oracle, The, 145.
Athens County, Ewing's reminiscences of, 187.
Australian Ballot in Ohio, 472.

B.

Baldwin, Judge C. C., 116, 380.
Battlefields, Monuments marking, 421.

Baughman, A. J., Sketch of, 551.
Bay, Col., 218, 222, 224, 226, 232, 240.
Bedinger, Maj., 505, 506, 511.
  Urges Bowman to fight, 510.
Beecher, Philemon, 162, 199.
Beersheba, 266.
Bellefontaine, Menary's Block House, 415.
Belmont Co., 250.
Bettinger, Albert, Future of navigation, by, 79.
Big Bottom, Report to Society on, 460.
Big Bottom Massacre, 181.
Big Bottom Park, 466.
Big Johnny Cake, 223, 230.
Black Fish, Chief, 509, 510.
Boat building, Evolution of, 56.
Boats, The Griffin, 328.
Boggs, Major John, 281.
Books —
  Collection of, 114.
  Increase of, 115.
  Pioneer, 139.
Boone, Daniel, Family of, 156.
Boundaries, Trouble over, 326.
Boundary, Canadian U. S. established, 447.
Bowman's Campaign, 1779, 519.
  Attack on Indian village, 504.
  Bethiah's escape, 510.
  Cowardice of troops, 507.
  Failure of, 513.
  Girty, Simon, Strategy of, 507.
  Harrod's company in, 515.
  Incidents of, 502.
  Little Chillicothe, fight at, 516.
  Loot disposed of, 512.
  Monongaheleans, The, 513.
  Plan of attack on Indians, 503.
  Skirmish with Indians, 509, 517.
  Retreats of troops, 511, 518.
  Troops of, at Little Chillicothe, 515.
  Troops loot Indian village, 516.
Boyne, Battle of, 180.
Bradstreet, Gen., Camp of, 379.
Bridges, 41, 42.
  "Belmont" case, 102.
  First across the Miami, 538.
  Hinder navigation, 49, 53.
  Pennsylvania-Wheeling contest, 102.
  Regulating construction of, 54.
  Wheeling, at, 43, 52.
Brigham, Clarence S., Address of, 111.
British, Forts erected by, 427.
  Perpetuates soldiers' memory, 431.
Broadhead, Col., Revolution, in, 71.
Brock, Gen., 416.
Brown, Capt. Benj., 145, 190.
Brown, Ethan Allen, 353.
Brown, Samuel, 194.
Brown, Thomas J., Sketch of, 550.
Brush, Henry, 172, 201.
"Buck-Tails," 363, 395.
Bulkley, John M., 341.
Bullock, Rev. C., Address, O. V. H. A., 31.
Burnet, Jacob, 162, 199.
Burr, Aaron, 350, 351.
Butler, Gen. Richard, 421.
  Death of, 422, 446.
  Ft. Recovery battle, 443.
Butterfield, Consul, History of Girtys by, 422.

C.

Caldwell, Chas., 486.
Callahan, Prof. Morton, Address, O. V. H. A., 40.
Campbell, Jas. E., Sketch of, 471,
Campbell, Maj. Wm., 427.
Camp Charlotte, 269.
Canals, Early western, 41.
  Transportation cost on, 33.
  Value of, 32.
  Washington's plans, 11, 14, 15.
Canton, Report of Indian attack on, 216.
Catholics, Influence of, on French settlements, 343.
Celeron, 331.
Centennial
  Account of murder of Wilson children in, 534.
  Adam's notice of an estray, 535.
Cesar's Creek, 511.
Charlevoix, 343, 345, 347.
Challerton, Thos., 197.
Champaign county, Tammany wigwam at, 364.
Chillicothe —
  Douglas, Richard, 381.
  Tammany wigwam at, 353.
Chillicothe, Little, 515.
Chillicothe, Old, 269, 523.
  Clark at, 500.
  Moorehead's error, 523.
China, 94, 96.
Chippewas, 346.
Christ, Statue of, 435.
Cincinnati —
  Early growth of, 483.
  Tammany wigwam at, 364.
  Two names of, 484.

Cincinnati College of Medicine, 1835, 488.
Faculty of, 488.
Cincinnati Eclectic College, 489.
Cincinnati, Society of, 349.
Noted members of, 349.
Civilization, Development of, 437.
Civil War, Seventh Ohio regiment in, 411.
Clark, Geo. Rogers, 296, 298, 300.
Battle with Indians, 500.
Campaign of 1780, 500.
Destroys crops of Indians, 501.
Expedition of, 73, 335.
Extract from letter of, 500.
Indian contests in, 442.
Revolutionary War in, 70.
Clark, James, 233, 234.
Letter of, 228, 235.
Cleveland, President, Opposition of, to Judge Doolittle, 548.
Cold Plague, 100, 198.
Colonial narratives, 112.
Colonies, Governments of, 112.
Columbus, Order of Saint, 350.
Comet of 1811, 197.
Commerce, Inter-state, controversies, 101.
Connolly, Dr. John, 297.
Indians influenced by Revolutionary war in, 73.
Connor, Dr. P. S., 490.
Coonskin Library, 150, 193.
Constitutional Convention, First in Ohio, 152, 196.
Contributors —
Bulkley, John M., 341.
Hall, Henry, 515.
Hanna, Chas. A., 322.
Hulbert, Homer B., 91.
Juettner, Otto, 481.
Katzenberger, Geo. A., 522.
Koch, Felix J., 308, 319.
Lowe, May, 267.
Martzolff, C. L., 126.
M'Grane, Reginald C., 326.
Mortimer, Rev. B. J., 205.
Randall, E. O. [Editorialana.]
Williams, Samuel W., 349.
Wright, G. Frederick, 371.
Counterfeiters, Rendezvous of, 166.
Courier de Bois, 342.
Courts —
Conflict with legislature, 104.
Decision in Belmont bridge contest, 103.
Interstate commerce decision of, 46, 47.
Crawford, Col. Wm., Burning of, 185.
Creighton, Wm., 174, 202.
Cresap, Col. Michael, 298.
Accusations against, 300.
Death of, 301.
Sketch of, 296.
Vindication of, 295.
Cresap, Thomas, 295, 296.
Croghan, George, 330, 333.
Curtis, Alvah, 489.
Cutler, Ephraim, 146, 152, 191.

D.

Dagenett, Chas. E., Address, dedication of Logan Elm, 288.
Daughters American Revolution Ft. McArthur Tablet, 409.
Dayton, Regulars reach, 536.
Death Bells, 132.
Dearborn, Gen., 416.
DeLery, Journal of, 322, 371, 376.
Denny, Major —
Journal of, 423.
Quotation from, 524.
Detroit, Proposed expedition against, 70.
Strategic value to Americans, 64.
Dilworth's Grammar, 185.
Doddridge, Philip, 171, 201.
Dongan, Thos. 329.
Doolittle, Hon. James R., Letters of Payne's to, 543, 545, 546, 547.
Douglas, Albert, Sketch of, 473.
Douglas, Richard, 381.
Harrison on, 386.
Jackson on, 386, 405.
Letter of, to committee, 383.
Sketch of, 381.
Speech of, 381, 385.
Van Buren, on, 387.
Van Buren, Harrison catechism by, 393.
Drake, Dr. Daniel, 481.
Builder of medical colleges, 488.
Expelled from Medical College of Ohio, 487.
Medical College of Ohio founded by, 487.
"Picture of Cincinnati" by, 484.
Public services in Cincinnati, 490.
Sketch of, 484.
"Topography, Geography, Meteorology, Climate and Diseases of the Interior Valley of N. A." by, 491.
Dudley, B. W., 481.
Character of, 485.
Duel with Richardson, 485.

Dudley, B. W.—Concluded.
Lithotomy performed by, 486.
Popularity of, 482.
Sketch of, 481.
Trader, 482.
Transylvania University at, 483.
Dunmore, Lord —
Indians influence, 66.
Treaty of, 298.
Dunmore's War, 267, 286.
Dyess, Prof., Address of, 10.

E.

Eagle, Significance of, as American emblem, 91.
Earthquake, 206.
Eberle, John, 487.
Editorialana [See Randall], 470, 549, 550, 551.
Edmunds, Peter, 266.
Education, Early medical, in Ohio Valley, 481.
Elliott, Matthew, 420.
Renegade, 269.
Emigration, 433.
England, Indians influenced by, 347, 441.
English-American peace compact, 453.
English —
Aid Indians, 436.
Factors in Ohio-Erie Boundary, 329.
Ohio in, 377.
English-French struggle for Ohio Valley, 330.
Episcopalians, First parish in Ohio, 382.
Erie Canal, 32.
Evans, Lewis, Map by, 380.
Evansville Medical School, Peculiar requirements of, 490.
Everett, Moses, 193.
Ewing, George, 178, 184.
Ewing, Thomas, Ancestry of, 126, 177, 180.
Autobiography of, 126.
Bear episode of, 147.
Boyhood Books of, 143.
Childhood experiences of, 140.
Children of, 177.
Counterfeiting gang broken up by, 166.
Early education of, 137.
Early oratorical efforts of, 161.
Early recollections of, 131.
Elected U. S. Senator, 175, 203.
Enters college, 156.
Family moves to Athens County, 140.
First legal case, 163.
Ewing, Thomas—Concluded.
Graduation of, 161, 199.
Legal associates of, 172.
Legal career of, 171.
Legislative candidate, 175.
Prosecuting Attorney, 165.
Reminiscences of Athens Co. by, 187.
Reply to Sen. Hayne, 203.
Salt boiler, 154.
Studies law, 162.
"Virgil's Aeneid" incident, 149.
Youthful reading of, 153.
Expansion, Cause of American, 8.
Course of American, 7.
Historical importance, 107.
Pittsburg's part in, 8, 9.

F.

Fallen Timbers, Battle of, 448.
Federal Creek, 186.
Filson, John, 484.
Findlay, Col., 227, 412.
Fish, Carl R., 119.
Flavel, John, 186.
Fontaine, Major, 526.
"Fool of Quality," 141, 186.
Forts —
Ancient, 467.
Blair, 74.
Dearborn, 416.
First in Ohio, 322.
Hamilton, 420.
Hill, 319.
Description of, 320.
Harrison's account of, 320.
Views of, 320, 321.
Jefferson, 421.
Junonduat, 378.
McArthur —
Description of, 412.
Location of, 409.
Mrs. Mack's address at, 414.
Tablet erected on site of, 409.
Malden, 416.
Meigs, 417.
Miami, 427.
Necessity, 412.
Pitt —
Capture of, planned, 66.
Social life at, 73.
Strategic value of, 65.
Recovery —
Attacked, 426.
Battle of, 448.
Col. Oldham at battle of, 443.

Forts—Concluded.
Fort Pitt-Recovery—Concluded.
Congress appropriates money for monument at, 419.
Congress erects monument at, 435.
Defeat at, 528.
Description of monument at, 453.
Gen. Keifer's address at unveiling of monument, 435.
Indians engaged at battle of, 442.
Little Turtle, at battle of, 443.
Monument marking battle-field, 451.
Neglect of soldiers' graves at, 432.
Reburial of men at, 451.
Second battle at, 450.
Touvelle's address at monument unveiling of, 427.
Unveiling of monument at, 419.
View of monument, 454.
Sandoski, 322, 370.
British rebuild, 371.
Goodman on, 377.
Location of, 323, 371, 377.
Monument on site of, 371.
Tablets on site of, 380.
Seneca, 417.
Stanwix, 333.
Washington, 420.
French —
Catholic influence on colonies of, 343, 344.
Character of colonists of, 341.
Colonial policy of, 341.
Colonies of, in Michigan, 341.
Early settlements of, 328.
Early settlements on Great Lakes, 341.
Emigrants, 341.
Forts of, in Ohio, 379.
Fort Sandoski, built by, 371.
Influence on Ohio-Erie boundary, 327.
Social position of Colonists of, 343.
Trading posts of, 345.
Fulton, Robert, 1718.
Right to navigate the Ohio, 21.

G.

Gelelemend, Wm. H., Sketch of, 265.
Genealogy, Preservation of records of, 116.
Gibson, Capt. Alex, Re-takes St. Clair's battlefield, 426, 448.
Gibson, Col. John, 269, 298.
Gist, Christopher, Journey of, 330.
Girty, Simon, 135, 185, 298, 420, 422, 424, 426, 441, 504.
Gnadenhutten, 230, 252, 253.
Goddard, Chas. B., 200.
Goforth, Dr. William, 484.
Goodman, N. T. —
Fort Sandoski, on, 377.
Journal of Capt. Wm. Trent, by, 323.
Goshen —
Assurances of friendship for, 218.
Attack planned, against, 236.
Beatty's advice to Indians of, 254.
Census of, 265.
Civil authorities asked to protect Indians at, 224, 260.
Letter to Moravian Church by Indians, 258.
Luckenbach's diary of, 260.
Men of Hull's army arrive at, 222, 225.
Moravian town at, 205.
Plan of Indian's removal from, 233.
School at, 261, 263.
Search for hostile Indians at, 217.
Spies at, 239, 248, 250.
Threats against, 224.
Vigilance at, 263.
Grand Army of the Republic, 430, 435.
Granger, Ebenezer, 168, 201.
Granville, Settlement of, 121.
Grant, W. S., 411.
Greathouse, Daniel, 297.
Great Lakes, Early French settlements on, 341.
Greene, Nathaniel, 349.
Greentown, 227.
Grenadier Squaws Town, 271.
Gross, Samuel D., 486.
Guernsey County —
Militia of, in War of 1812, 224.
Spies sent to Moravian village from, 250.

H.

Hagen, John J., 256, 257, 263, 265.
Half King —
Marauding part of, 492.
Sons of, 495.
Vengeance of, 499.
Halleck, Fitz Green, 363.
Hall, Henry, Birth of, 515.
Bowman's campaign, 1779, by, 515.
Logan's campaign in, 520.
Hamilton, Alex, 349.
Hamilton, Ohio, Tammany wigwam at, 364.

Hammond, Chas., 171, 201.
Hanna, Chas. A., 322, 371, 375.
Hardin, Gen. —
  Defeat of, 524.
  Troops, desert, 524.
Harmar, Gen., Adams carries dispatches to, 522.
  Army of, 522.
  Movements of army of, 523.
Harper, Alex., 175, 203.
Harrison, Benjamin, 392.
Harrison, W. H., 291.
  Battle of Thames, 447.
  Career of, 393.
  Fort Wayne relieved by, 533.
  Indian contests, 441.
  Needs of army of, 533.
  Ordered to take Detroit, 533.
  Presidential nomination of, 388.
  Poverty of, 396.
  "Tippecanoe," 395.
  Wayne campaign in, 448.
Harrison-Perry Embarkation Monument, 322, 380.
"Harrison Reformation," 386.
Harrison-Van Buren Catechism, 393.
Harris, Rev. Nathaniel, 184.
Harrod, Col. Wm., 502.
Hartford Convention, Tammany opposed, 363.
Heckewelder, John, 223.
Herrick, Myron T., Sketch of, 470.
Hickman, Wm., Death of, 505.
Historical Association Ohio Valley, Meeting of, 1.
Historical building, Pittsburg for, 111.
  Value of, 106.
Historical Sites —
  American method of preserving, 106.
  European method of preserving, 106.
Historical Societies —
  Early, 112.
  Legislative aid to, 110.
  Massachusetts, 112.
  Number of, 113.
  Province of, 113.
  Value of, 100.
History, Local, Value of, 108.
Hocking, Little, 186.
Hole, Dr. John, 530.
Holt, Col. Aids Campbell's regulars, 536.
Horse Camp Spring, The, 513.
Hosier, Admiral, 189.
Howell, Elias, 113, 202.
Hulbert, Homer B., "American interests in the Pacific," 91.
Hull, Gen. Wm., 410, 414.
  Appeal to the public, 531.
  Court-martial of, 416.
  Members of army visit Goshen, 223, 225.
  Surrender of, 174, 221, 416.
Hull's Trail, 417.
Hutchins, Thomas, 323.

I.

Illustrations —
  Abolition tablets at Ripley, 316.
  Abolition landing place, 309.
  Among the mounds, 319.
  Battle of Miami or Fallen Timbers, 539.
  Boggs monument, 290.
  Bourne's survey of Sandusky River, 378.
  Bronze plate on Boggs monument, 272.
  Campbell, Jas. E., 471.
  Congo Creek, 274.
  Dedication day at Logan Elm, 283, 285, 286.
  Douglas, Richard, 381.
  Ewing, Thomas, 147.
  Fac-simile monument of Abel Sherman, 128.
  Fort Recovery Monument, 454.
  Herrick, Myron T., 470.
  Lewis Evans, map, 1775, 374.
  Logan Elm, 273, 278, 307.
  Logan Elm Park, 281.
  Map, Sandusky-Scioto water course, 376.
  Mill stone used in Wolf Creek Mills, 136.
  Mitchell's map, 1755, 372.
  Pioneer soldiers Fort Recovery monument, 419.
  Raising the light, 311.
  Roosevelt, Nicholas, Jr., and family, 4.
  Start of the trail and the old slave, 310.
  Steps leading to Rankin Homestead, 317.
  The Ferry at Ripley, 313.
  The landing monument, 312.
  The "New Orleans," 2.
  The Ripley Wharfboat, 314.
  The Rankin Homestead, 315.
  View of encampment and battle-ground, 525.
  Views of Fort Hill grounds, 320, 321.

Illustrations—Concluded.
Wolf Creek mills, 160.
Wolf Creek mills site, 170.
Immigrants, Character of, 106.
Immigration, Organized, to Ohio Valley, 120.
Indians, 201.
Abel Sherman killed by, 133.
Allies of English, 65, 66, 213.
Black Eagle, 442.
Blue Jacket, 420, 424, 442.
Brant, Joseph, 424, 442.
British aid to, 420, 427, 436, 441.
British influence on, 347, 409, 414.
Buckongahelas, 420, 424, 442.
Canoes of, 55.
Catholic influence on, 343, 344.
Cayugas, 268.
Close of war with, in Ohio, 447.
Confederacy of, 1791, 442.
Cornstalk, 269.
Dagenette, Chas. E., Address, 288.
Dayton, near, 536.
Dedication Logan Elm at, 285.
Delawares, 330.
Depredations in Preble and Greene Counties, 534.
Dunmore's treaty with, 269.
Fighting methods of, 137.
Fort Hill Cemetery of, 319.
Fort Recovery attacked by, 426.
Fort Sandoski massacre, 373.
Fort Wayne threatened by, 532.
French mix with, 342.
George White Eyes, 135, 136.
Government's dealing with, 346.
Hatred for Moravian Indians, 222.
Influence on Ohio-Erie boundary, 333.
Legends of, 345.
Little Turtle, 419, 420, 424, 426, 443, 444.
Massacre at Paully's Block House, 379.
Massacres of, 130, 347.
Mingoes, 268.
Mohawks, 424, 441.
Moravian, 205.
Cause of antipathy toward, 242.
Letter of, to Moravian Church, 258.
Guns demanded of, 243.
Spies among, 233.
War of 1812, in, 225.
Morgan, George, Agent to, 69.
Murder of Wilson children by, 534.
Mythology of, 344, 346.
Indians—Concluded.
National Association of American, at Columbus, 282.
Northwest treaty of, 441.
Ohio tribes in Revolution, 65.
Osages attacked in War of 1812, 216.
Parker, Fred E., Address at Logan Elm, 294.
Pioneer contests with, 336.
Pittsburg treaty with, 67.
Prominent, 442.
Prosecutions for giving whisky, 207.
Round Bottom Massacre by, 130.
Shawnees, 441.
Ska, 215.
Skikellimus, 268.
St. Clair's campaign against, 420, 421.
Successes of, 441.
Superstitions of, 345, 346.
Suspicions of, 217, 220.
Tah-gah-jute, 268.
Tammany, 350.
Tammany organization imitates, 352.
Tecumseh, 424.
Tobias, 261, 262.
Treachery of, 438.
Treaties with, 333.
Wars with, 432, 437.
War of 1791, in, 420.
War of 1812, in, 209.
Wayne's victory over, 336, 447.
Western trails of, 74.
White Eyes, Geo., 185.
White's attack at Greentown, 228.
Wyandots, 412.
Inland navigation—
Foreign countries interested in, 31.
Importance of, 31.
Plans for, 17.
Washington's interest in, 11.
Internal improvements, Early interest in,
Interstate Commerce, 88.
Court decisions on, 46.
Interstate controversies, Causes of, 101.
Iroquois, 344.
Irving, Washington, Battle of Lake Erie, on, 478.
Iturbide, Augustin de, 198.

J.

Jackson, Andrew, 386.
Captured by Indians, 493, 494.
Partisanship of, 405.
Van Buren, on, 387.
James, James Alton, Address by, 64.

Jefferson, Thomas, 300, 351.
Notes on Virginia, 270.
Jesuits, 341, 343.
Johnson, Sir William, 333.
Joliet, 328.
Jones, Mrs. Howard, 275, 282.
Presentation Speech Logan Elm Dedication, 286.
Jones, Timothy, 195.
Juettner, Otto, 481.

K.

Katzenberger, Geo. H., "Major George Adams," by, 522.
Keifer, Gen. J. Warren —
Address at Unveiling of Ft. Recovery Monument, 435.
"Peace Pact" on, 452.
Kenton, Simon, 298.
King, Edward, 175, 203.
Knox, Gen., 349.
Koch, Felix, J., 308, 319.
Kribs, Major, 248.

L.

Lake Erie —
Battle of, 477.
Battle of, Cooper's account of, 478.
Battle of, Irving's account of, 478.
Fleet on, 415.
Monument to battle of, 417.
Ohio R. ship canal to, 27.
Powell's painting of, 479.
Significance of battle of, 480.
Lake Superior, Legend of, 345, 346.
Lancaster, Tammany wigwam at, 364.
Lands, Indian cede to government, 346.
La Point, 345.
La Salle, 328, 375.
Lay, George, Cowles, Address by, 101.
Lear, Tobias, 425.
Leib, Dr. M., 354.
Leonard, Benj. G., 173, 202.
Letters of Senator H. B. Payne of Ohio, 543.
Lexington, Ky., "Athens of the West," 483.
Libraries, Coonskin, 150.
Lincolns, The, 119.
Lindley, Jacob, 198.
Literary Society, First in Cincinnati, 490.
Lithotomy, Dr. Dudley, by, 486.
Lloyd, Thos., 353.
Lochabar, Treaty of, 333.
Locusts, 212.
Logan Elm —
Boggs family preserves, 271.
Boggs monument at, 272.
Dedication of, 267.
Stewart's address at, 302.
Tallmadge's address at, 295.
Deed for, 277.
Indians at dedication of, 285.
Location of, 267, 270, 272.
Money raised for purchase of, 280.
Poem on, 282.
Presentation speech, 286.
Presented to *Society*, 267.
Purchase of site of, 276.
Society at dedication of, 285.
View of, 278, 307.
Logan Elm Park —
Dedication of, 284.
Report to *Society* on, 459, 467.
Logan, John —
Account of speech of, 298, 300, 306.
Killing of family of, 297.
Sketch of, 268, 289.
Logan's Campaign, 1786 —
Indians killed at Meckacheck, 520.
McKee's Town, 520.
Moluntha's Town, 520.
Officers under Logan, 520.
Londonderry, Siege of, 180.
Longweil, Mde., Concerning Ft. Sandoski, 377.
Louis Philippe, Exile in America, 184.
Louisville Medical Institute, Founding of, 486.
Lowe, Mary, 267.
Luckenbach, A., 226, 227, 231, 247.
Charge of Moravian Mission, 256.
Moravian diary by, 260.
Sketch of, 265.
Lutherans, 246.

M.

Mackinac, Ft., English capture, 416.
Mackinac, Legend of, 345, 346.
Mackinaw, 343.
Mack, Mrs. John T., Address of, at Ft. McArthur, 414.
Madison, James, Letter to Ohio Tammany, 364.
Tammany's letter to, 363.
Manary's blockhouse, 415.
Manitou, 346.
Maps, Locality of Logan Elm, 270.
Marietta, Boat building at, 59.
Marmontel, 182.

Marquette, 328.
McAfee, Capt. Robert, 380.
McArthur, Duncan, Campaign of, 381, 415, 417.
McArthur, Fort, 409.
McDowell, Dr. Ephraim, 482.
McKean, Thos., 196.
McKee, Alexander, 420, 427.
McKee's Town, 520.
McMahon, Major Wm., 426.
  Battle with the Indians, 429.
Medical college, First building for, 1827, 488.
Medical College of Ohio —
  Faculty of, 487, 488.
  Founded, 487.
  Richmond, John L., graduate of, 488.
Medical School Miami University and Medical College of Ohio merged, 487.
Medical schools numerous in Cincinnati, 490.
Medicine, Cincinnati's decline in, 489.
Meigs, Return J., 355.
  Calls for troops, 532.
Menabou-Jou, Legend of, 346.
Merchant marine, Encouragement of, 100.
Methodists, 246.
  Oppose Tammany, 356.
Meyer, Lieut. Elias, 373.
  Sandusky fort erected by, 323.
M'Grane, Reginald C., 326.
Miami University, 487.
Michigan —
  French colonies in, 341.
  Indian mythology in, 344, 346.
Mifflin, Thomas, 195.
Militia, Drafted for War of 1812, 213.
Mills, "Floating," 181.
Mills, Prof. W. C., American Museum Association, at, 456.
Mills, Wolf Creek, 130, 136, 160, 170.
Mississippi Valley, 79.
  Commercial importance of, 88.
Mitchell, John, Map by, 371, 380.
Moluntha, Death of, 520.
Moluntha's Town, 520.
Money, Depreciation of, 77.
Montreal, 341, 342, 343.
Montour, Andrew, 330.
Monuments, Erected by U. S. government, 436.
Mooney, William, 349.
Moose hunting, 150.
Moravians [See Goshen], 514.
Moravians—Concluded.
  Account of death amongst, 210.
  Additions to, at Goshen, 211.
  Communion service of, 264.
  Diary of, at Goshen, 1812, 205.
  Disputes adjusted among, 213.
  False alarms among, 248.
  Fast day observed, 221.
  Fear of, abated, 261.
  Fear militia, 209.
  Festival of the Married Choir, 255.
  Henry, John, 266.
  Henry, William, 266.
  Indians warned against, 215.
  Interest of citizens in, 246.
  Kaschates, 219.
  Love feast of, 263.
  Massacre of, 253.
  New Philadelphia's attitude toward, 230.
  Plan for removal of, 229.
  Precarious position of, in War of 1812, 213.
  Right to bear arms, 244.
  School of, at Goshen, 261.
  Ska, Levi, 266.
  Suspicions against, 227.
  Threats against, 214, 223, 225, 226.
  Unconverted Indians among, 215.
Morgan, Capt. John, 127, 482.
Morgan, Col. George, 330.
  Indian agent in Revolution, 69.
Morrow, Dr. Thomas V., 489.
Morrow, Jeremiah, 175, 203, 397.
Morse's American Geography, 146, 192.
Mortimer, Benjamin J., 205, 259.
  Accused of being in English employ, 241.
  Called from Goshen, 256.
  Letter concerning removal of Indians, 229.
  Moravian Indians leave-taking of, 258.
  Threats against, 225.
Mounds, Fort Hill, 319.
  Law for protection of, 340.
Moury, Duane, Payne letters contributed by, 543.
Mss., Preservation of, 118.
Museums, Meeting of American Association of, 473.
Muskingum River —
  Moravians on, 205.
  Pioneer settlers on, 132.
Muller, Geo. G., 266.

N.

National Road, 295.
National Waterways Commission, 87.
Navigation —
Advantages of, 90.
Future of, on western rivers, 79.
Hill, James J., on, 89.
Interstate Commerce Commission on, 88.
Interstate controversies concerning, 101.
Johnson, Emery, on, 89.
Plans to aid, 84.
Root, Elihu, on, 89.
States' rights influence on, 17, 19.
Western, 16.
Wheeling-Pittsburg contest for, 52.
Navy, Maintenance of, 98.
Netawatwes, 265.
New England —
Ohio immigrants from, 119.
Ohio Valley related to, 119.
Renaissance, 122.
Second exodus to Ohio Valley, 121.
Pioneers from, 120.
New Orleans Centennial, 1.
Hedges, Hon. Jacob E., Address at, 37.
History of, 3.
Pittsburg's interest in,
"New Orleans" The, Christening of, 34.
Replica of, 6.
Voyage of, 36.
New Philadelphia —
Citizens of, visit Moravians, 218, 219.
Moravian proclamation, 237, 238.
War of 1812, Militia met at, 234.
Newspapers —
Athenean Oracle, 191.
Early Ohio, 196, 201.
Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, 171.
Pittsburg, early, 57.
Nicolas, Massacre of force of, 373, 377.
Noble, John W., 173, 202.
Northwest Territory —
Area of, 440.
Indians of, 440.

O.

Executive power in, 196.
Ohio —
Indians in, 1812, 531.
Population, growth of, 440.
Settlement of, 439.
Ohio—Concluded.
Tammany Society in, 349, 353.
Ohio Company, First, 295.
Ohio-Erie Boundary —
Establishment of, 335.
Evolution of, 326.
First attempts to establish, 332.
French factor in, 327.
Indian influence on, 333.
Ohio Land Company, First, 330.
Ohio River —
Bridges across, 48, 54.
Commercial importance of, 29.
Court decisions for bridges on, 46.
Discovery of, 375.
First bridge across, 41.
Improvement of, 27.
Influence of, in western expansion, 7.
Interstate contests concerning, 102.
Nationalizing influence of, 124.
Navigation of, 46.
Place in American history, 9.
Plan to connect with Potomac, 14.
Proposed improvements on, 85.
Ship and ship-building on, 54.
Ship canal to, 27.
Steam boating on, 1, 19.
Wheeling-Pittsburg rivalry on, 40.
Ohio River Improvement —
Importance of, 28.
Official recommendation for, 27.
Ohio Steamboat and Navigation Company, Organization of, 20.
Ohio Valley Historical Association —
Bullock's address at, 31.
Callahan's address at, 40.
Dyess' address at, 10.
Fifth annual meeting of, 1.
Spark's address at, 16.
Stecker s'address at, 16.
Vance's address at, 27.
Ohio Valley, English-French struggle for, 330.
Natural products, 529.
New England educational centers in, 121.
New England educational influence in, 122.
New England emigrants to, 119.
New England political influence in, 123.
New England relation to, 119.
Rise of medical colleges in, 481.
River systems of, 80.
Washington's interest in, 11, 13.

Ohio University —
Coonskin library in, 192.
Ewing, Thomas, graduates at, 161.
Olive Green Creek, 181.
Olive Green Garrison, 130, 131, 182.
Oppelt, 266.
Ordinance of 1787, 439.
Navigation clause of, 102.
Provisions of, 440.
Ossian, 197.
Ovariotomy, First on record, 482.

P.

Pacific, The, American interests in, 91.
Panama Canal, Use of, 99.
Pattin, John, Narration of, 322.
Paully, Ensign, Blockhouse of, 379.
Payne, H. B. —
Democratic prospects in Ohio, 547.
Douglas War Democrat, 545.
Independence of, 543.
Letters of, 543.
Morrison Bill, 544.
Presidential candidates, on, 546.
Tariff views, 544.
View of Ohio election, 1884, 544.
Penn's Treaty Elm, 305.
Pennsylvania-Virginia commercial rivalry, 52.
Perkins, James H., "Annals of the West" by, 424.
Perry, Oliver H. —
Notes on victory, 476.
Victory of, 447.
Perry's Victory, Centennial celebration of, 476.
Peter, Simon, David and Dorcas, 265.
Philippine Islands, American interests in, 98.
Phrenology, Caldwell, on, 486.
Physicians, Pioneer, 148.
Physio-Medical School, 489.
Pickaway County, Logan Elm in, 267.
Pickaway Historical Association, presents Logan Elm, 267.
Pickaway Historical Society, Organization of, 275.
"Picture of Cincinnati," 483.
Pickawillany, Fort at, 324.
Pioneers, 409.
Method of life, 188.
New England, from, 120.
Racial types of, 438.
Tribute to, 428.
Pittsburg —
Canals, value to, 32.
Commercial importance of, 109.
Historical building for, 106, 111.
Historic importance of, 109.
Indian treaty at, 67, 69.
Influence and growth of, 10.
Key to West in American Revolution, 64.
Ohio Valley Historical Association at, 1.
Ship-building at, 62.
Strategic point of, 11.
Washington's interest in, 11.
Wheeling's rivalry with, 40.
Pluggy's Band, 70.
Poe, Andrew —
Death of, 498.
Fight with Wyandots, 494.
Leads pursuit of Indians, 493.
Sketch of, 492.
Poetry — Logan Elm, 282.
Politics —
Aristocracy vs. democracy, 396.
Campaign doggerel, 393.
Ohio, 1812, 365.
Partisanship of, 405.
Personalities in, 152.
Tammany in Ohio, 356.
Pontiac, 373, 379.
Porto Bello, 189.
Blockade of, 142.
Pownall, Thomas, 380.
Presidential election, 1800, Tammany in, 351.
Public health, Interstate controversies concerning, 101.
Public library, First in Cincinnati, 490.

Q.

Queenstown Heights, Battle of, 198.

R.

Railroads —
Advantages of, 82.
Contest steamboating, 87, 104.
Early rivalry of, 49.
Early western, 41, 43.
Growth, 182.
Transportation costs on, 32.
Raisin, Indian massacre on, 347.
Randall, E. O. —
Abraham, J. Baughman, 551.
Annual report of, 456.
Editorials by, 470.

Randall, E. O.—Concluded.
Reuben Gold Thwaites, 549.
Sandoski dispute, 375.
Thomas J. Brown, 550.
Rankin, Rev. John, 308.
Experiences in abolition days, 317.
Homestead of, 312.
Raising the light at homestead of, 311.
Raymbault, 328.
Red Stone Fort, 297.
"Relation of New England to the Ohio Valley," 119.
Renegades, 441, 442.
Republics, Transitory nature of, 433.
Revolutionary War —
Clark-Broadhead Controversy in, 72.
Clark's expedition in, 73.
Detroit, proposed attack on, 70.
Ewing, Geo., in, 179.
Frontier defense in, 69.
Indians aid British in, 68.
Indian neutrality attempted in, 65, 69.
Pittsburg, importance in, 64, 109.
Soldiers in, 538.
St. Clair's record in, 449.
Richardson, Wm. H., Duel with Dudley, 485.
Richmond, Dr. J. L., Monument to, 488.
Ripley, Abolition days at, 308.
Abolition tablet at, 308.
Rankin homestead at, 313.
Roads, Cumberland, 41.
Military, 415.
Rogers, Major Robert, Journal of, 380.
Roso, James, 195.
Roth, Judge, 246, 249.
Round Bottom, Massacre at, 130, 181.
Rush, Benjamin, 482.
"Washington in domestic life," by, 425.

S.

Sachem, 358.
Sakuntala, 144, 190.
Salt —
Early manufacture of, 182.
Kanawha works, 154, 197.
Scarcity of, 132.
Sandusky River —
Boumes Survey of, 378.
Forts on, 322, 324.
Schools —
Moravian, 261.
Schools—Concluded.
Pioneer, 150.
Purpose of, 110.
Scotash, 492, 498.
Schofield, Judge Elnathan, 166, 200.
Serpent Mound, 466.
Sherman, Abel, 184.
Indians kill, 133.
Sherman, Charles R., 163, 200.
Ship-building —
Early decadence of in Ohio Valley, 63.
First in Ohio Valley, 56.
Sea-going, in Ohio Valley, 58.
Shippen, Dr. William, 482.
Short, Charles W., 486.
Silliman, Wyllys, 175, 202.
Simcoe, Governor, 427.
Six Nations, 334.
Sobieski, John, 146, 192.
Society —
Annual meeting of, 455.
Annual meeting of trustees of, 469.
Appropriations for, 460.
Auditor's report to, 463.
Bids let for Hayes' Memorial Building, 457.
Budget of, 458.
Contracts let for new building of, 457.
Corner-stone for new building, laid, 458.
Curator's report to, 460.
Estimates of appropriations for, 459.
Governor requests statement from, 459.
Logan Elm presented to, 267.
Members present at annual meeting, 455.
Meets at Port Clinton, 456.
Museum of, 458.
New trustees of, 457.
New members of, 456.
Representatives of, at Logan Elm dedication, 285.
Secretary's report to, 456.
Treasurer's report to, 462.
Trustees elected for, 468.
Soldiers —
American tribute to, 431.
Monuments to, 434.
Tributes to, 430.
Sons of Liberty, 349.
Sparks, Edwin Erle, 7.
Spiegel Grove, 467.
Spotswood, Governor, 329.

Stanton, Edwin M., 103.
States' Rights, 48, 101.
  Influence on navigation, 17, 19.
  Pennsylvania-Wheeling contest, 102.
St. Clair, Arthur, 349, 439.
  Appointed commander of forces against Indians, 443.
  Bravery of, 422.
  Burial of his soldiers, 429.
  Character of, 443.
  Character of troops of, 421.
  Criticism of, 425.
  Defeat of, 419, 421, 428, 440, 444.
  Denny's Journal on defeat of, 423.
  Description of battle, 447.
  Indians engaged in defeat of, 424.
  Later life of, 449.
  Loss at defeat of, 450.
  Military force of, 1791, 445.
  Name of Cincinnati suggested by, 484.
  Official report of battle of, 424.
  Re-burial of his soldiers, 430, 450.
  Retreat of his army, 423.
  Scenes in defeat of, 450.
  Sketch of, 448.
  Washington on defeat of, 425, 446.
  Washington Irving on defeat of, 445.
Steamboat, Fulton's, 18.
Steamboating —
  Conflict of rights for, 23.
  Decline of, 82.
  Disadvantages of, 83.
  Early building of boats, 22.
  "Enterprize," 26.
  Fitche's inventions, 33.
  Inland navigation, 10.
  Monopoly of, 25.
  "New Orleans," 2, 34.
  Ohio, on, 1.
  Railroad co-operation with, 88.
  Ship and brig building, 54.
  Trade influence of, 25.
  Western, 7, 81.
Stecker, H. Dora, Address of, Ohio Valley Historical Association, 16.
Stewart, Chase —
  Address Logan Elm dedication, 302.
Steuben, Baron, 349.
Sugar-making, 207.
Symmes, John Cleves, 365.

T.

Taft, Wm. H., "New Orleans," Christening at, 34.
Tallmadge, Frank, Address Logan Elm, at, 295.
Tamenend, Legends of, 351.
Tammany, Ohio —
  Admission of members to, 354.
  Anniversaries observed by, 362.
  Banquets of, 367.
  Cause of slow growth of, 365.
  Chief, 350.
  Dissolution of, 370.
  First hall of, 352.
  First members of, 353.
  Influence in politics, 355.
  Initiation into, 359.
  Internal disorders of, 366.
  Introduced in Ohio, 353.
  Members accused of idolatry, 356.
  Members of, 351.
  Methodist opposition to, 356.
  Methods of, 355.
  Organization and purpose of, 349, 357.
  Original name of, 350.
  Origin and history of, 349.
  Order of meeting of, 358.
  Patriotism of, 359.
  Permit to establish, 354.
  Petitions for Cincinnati Wigwam, 365.
  Political principles of, 366, 369.
  Power of, 351.
  Presidential election, 1800, in, 351.
  Purpose of, 351.
  Questions discussed by, 358.
  Sentiments of, 362.
  Society of, 349.
  State tribes of, 352.
  Temperance in, 367.
  Tiffin's, Gov. address before, 368.
  War of 1812 approved by, 363.
  Wigwams of, 365.
Tecumseh, 409, 424, 442.
"The Rise and Fall of the Medical College of Ohio," Drake, 487.
Thompson, Jas., 189.
Thornhill, Bryant, 176, 203.
Thorp, Capt., 223.
Thwaites, Reuben Gold, 106.
  Sketch of, 549.
Tiffin, Edward, 353.
  Address to Chillicothe Tammany, 368.
  Church trial of, 356.
  Letter to Madison, 363.
Touvelle, Hon. W. E. —
  Address at Unveiling of Ft. Recovery Monument, 427.
  Appropriation for Ft. Recovery Monument secured by, 435.

Transylvania University, 483, 486.
Medical department, 485.
Medical graduates of, 486.
Transportation, Cost of, 32.
Treaties —
Ft. Stanwix, 335.
Greenville, 336, 537.
Ghent, 337.
Indian, 333.
Lochabar, 335.
Trees, Historic, 303.
Trumbull, John, 350.
Tunkers, 246.
Typhus, malignant, 482.

U.

Underground Railroad, 308.
United States Bank, Ohio taxes, 201.
United States, Daughter of the War of 1812, 414.
University of Louisville, 486.

V.

Vaccination, Origin of, 146.
Valentine, Crawford, 297.
Van Buren-Harrison Catechism, 393.
Van Buren, Martin, 387.
Career of, 393.
Jackson, on, 387.
Oracles of, 394.
Principles of, 391.
Reference to ancestry of, 392.
Wealth of, 397.
Vance, John L., Address, O. V. H. A., 27.
Vinton, Samuel F., 200.
Voltaire, 383.

W.

Wallace, Cadwallader, 246.
Wallace, Samuel, preserves Logan Elm, 273.
Wallace, William, Author of "Tippecanoe," 395.
Walpole, Sir Robert, 189.
War of 1812, 205, 410, 414.
Call for Ohio militia, 530.
Cause of, 348.
Contempt of British for militia in, 531.
Declaration of, 212.
Detroit campaign, 381.
Dispute among militia, 220.
Distress first year of, 532.
War of 1812—Concluded.
Dress of soldiers, 530.
Ewing's service in, 157.
Fast day appointed, 221.
Fears of Indians in, 249.
Hull's campaign in, 221, 410, 414.
McAfee's history of, 380.
McArthur's campaign in, 412.
Militia in, 209, 213, 219.
Moravian Indians advised concerning, 222.
Moravian Indians' attitude toward, 209, 212.
Peace, 537.
Preparation, Lack of, 530, 531.
Tablets erected to commemorate, 417.
Tammany approves, 365.
Whites attack Indians, 228.
Warren, Tammany wigwam at, 364.
Wars, United States, 436.
Washington, George, 349.
America's attitude toward, 12.
Clarke's expedition, interest in, 78.
"Domestic life," in, 425.
Interest of, in West, 10, 13, 443.
St. Clair's defeat, 425, 446.
Washington, Pittsburg and Inland Navigation, 10.
Waterford, 133, 182.
Waterways, Contamination of, 101.
Watts, Isaac, Hymns of, 186.
Wayne, Anthony —
Ft. Recovery, at, 429.
Indian campaign of, 448.
Indians defeated by, 419.
Indian victories of, 447.
Weizer, Conrad, 330.
Western Reserve Historical Society, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380.
Western Pennsylvania, Historical Society of, 113.
Western Rivers —
Future navigation on, 79.
Steamboating on, 81.
Wheeling Bridge case, 40.
Wheeling —
Destruction of river bridge at, 52.
Growth of, 41.
Pittsburg rivalry with, 40.
Whigs —
Convention of, 1836, 38.
Douglas', Richard, speech before, 38.
White-Eyes, George, 185.
White River, Massacre of, 374.
Wilkinson, James, buries St. Clair's men, 424.

Wilson children —
Murder of, 534.
Re-buried in 1871, 535.
Wilson, Frazer E., Quotation from, 523.
Williams, Micajah, 203.
Williams, Samuel, W., 349.
Williams, Uriajah T., 175.
Wolf Creek, Mills on, 181.
Women, Pioneer, tribute to, 541.
Wood, Abraham, Expedition of, 329.
Wood, Capt. James, Indian treaty with, 67.
World's Fair, Historical importance, 107.
Worthington Medical College, 489.
Worthington, Thomas, 353.
Tammany supports, 355.
Wright, G. Frederick, 371.
Address at dedication of Ft. McArthur tablet, 409.
Wright, G. Frederick—Concluded.
Presides at *Society* meeting, 455.
Wylie, Richard T., "Ship and bridge building on the Ohio," by, 54.

X.

Xenia, Tammany wigwam at, 364.

Y.

Yandell, Lunsford P., 486.
Yeagley, J. M., Sketch of, 472.

Z.

Zane, Ebenezer, 296.
Zane's Trace, 183.
Zanesville, Tammany wigwam at, 364.
Zeisberger, David, 205.